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A COMPREHENSIVE COMMENTARY O

ON

THE QURÁN:

COMPRISING SALE'S TRANSLATION

AND

PRELIMINARY DISCOURSE,

WITH ADDITIONAL NOTES AND EMENDATIONS.

TOGETHER WITH

A Complete Index to the Text, Preliminary Discourse,
and Notes,

BY THE REV. E. M. WHERRY, M.A.

VOL. I.

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PREFACE.

IN presenting to the public the first volume of *A Comprehensive Commentary on the Qurán*, I think it necessary to make a brief statement as to the reasons which have led to the publication of this work, and the object sought to be attained thereby.

The idea of preparing such a work grew out of the wants which I felt in the pursuit of my own study of the Qurán, and in the work of a missionary among Muslims. The time required to gather up the results of the labours of various writers on Islám; the difficulty of preserving these results in a form suitable for convenient reference; and the still greater difficulty of bringing the truth thus acquired to bear on the minds of Muslims, owing to the absence of any medium whereby the proof-texts, referred to in the English works by *chapter* and *verse*, may be found in the original copies current among Muhammadans, where no such mode of reference is used;—all these suggested the great need of a work which would remove in some degree at least these obstacles to the study of the Qurán, and thus promote a better knowledge of Islám among missionaries.

It will thus be seen that I have not laboured simply to make a book. I have endeavoured to provide for a felt

want. My object has been to gather up in a few volumes the results of the labours of those who have endeavoured to elucidate the text of the Qurán, adding the results of my own study. It is in this sense that this work is entitled a Comprehensive Commentary. Though primarily intended for the use of those who, like myself, are engaged in missionary work among Muhammadans, it is hoped that it will render valuable service to others.

The plan adopted in the preparation of this work is as follows:—

I. To present Sale's translation of the Qurán in the form of the Arabic original, indicating the *Sipára*, *Súrat*, *Ruqú of the Sipára*, *Ruqú of the Súrat*, &c., as they are in the best Oriental editions.

II. To number the verses as they are in the Roman Urdú edition of Maulvi Abdul Qádir's translation. This arrangement will be of special benefit to missionaries in India.

III. To exhibit in the notes and comments the views of the best Muslim commentators. For these I am indebted for the most part to Sale, the *Tafsír-i-Raufi*, the *Tafsír-i-Hussaini*, the *Tafsír-i-Fatah-ar-Rahmán*, and the notes on *Abdul Qádir's Urdú translation* of the Qurán. Sale's notes have been almost entirely drawn (with the aid of Maracci's work in Latin) from the standard writings of Baidháwi, the Jalálaín, and Al Zamakhshari. I have also culled much from some of the best European writers on Islám, a list of whose works may be found below.

IV. To the above is prefixed Sale's Preliminary Discourse, with additional notes and emendations. And the last volume will contain a complete Index, both to the *text* of, and the notes on, the Qurán, which will enable the reader to acquaint himself with the teaching of the

Qurán on any particular subject, with a very small amount of labour.

In regard to the spelling of proper names, I have invariably Romanised the original form of the words, except when quoting from living authors, in which case I have felt obliged to retain the spelling peculiar to each writer.

In order to facilitate the study of individual chapters, and to help a better understanding of the various "revelations," I have prefixed to each chapter a brief introduction, showing the circumstances under which the revelations were made, the date of their publication by Muhammad, and also giving a brief analysis of each chapter as to its teaching.

As to the matter of the notes, the reader will perceive occasional repetition. This is due in part to the repetitions of the text, and partly in order to call special attention to certain doctrines of the Qurán, *e.g.*, its testimony to the genuineness and credibility of the Christian Scriptures current in the days of Muhammad; the evidence it affords to its own character as a fabrication; its testimony to the imposture of the Arabian prophet, in his professing to attest the *Former Scriptures*, while denying almost every cardinal doctrine of the same,—in his putting into the mouth of God garbled statements as to Scripture history, prophecy, and doctrine, to suit the purposes of his prophetic pretensions,—and in his appealing to Divinity to sanction his crimes against morality and decency.

The need of emphasising facts of this kind has grown out of the attempt of certain apologists for Islám to ignore these unpleasant truths, and to exhibit to the present generation an ideal Muhammad, no less unlike the prophet of Arabia than the Muhammad of Christian bigotry and

misrepresentation. My endeavour has been to show what the Qurán actually teaches on these subjects.

On the other hand, I have endeavoured to remove, as far as known to me, the misapprehensions, and consequent misrepresentations, of the doctrines of the Qurán, popular among Christians, believing that every such error strengthens the prejudices of Muhammadans, and thereby aids the cause it seeks to overthrow, whilst justifying similar misrepresentation from the Muslim side. Everywhere I have endeavoured to advance the cause of truth, to show just what the Qurán teaches, and so by stating fairly the issues of the controversy with Islám, to advance the great cause of bringing its votaries to a knowledge of Him to whom all the prophets of God pointed as the Son of God and the Saviour of sinners.

Finally, whilst I desire to express my obligations to all those, now living, whose writings I have consulted or used in the preparation of this volume, I wish specially to make thankful acknowledgment of the help afforded me by Sir William Muir, in permitting me to make use of his most valuable works on Muhammad and the Qurán in the preparation of this work. My thanks are also due to the Rev. P. M. Zenker, C.M.S. missionary, Agra, for much valuable assistance in gathering material from sources inaccessible to me.

Without further preface, and earnestly desiring the blessing of Him who is THE ONLY SINLESS PROPHET OF ISLÁM, and the only Saviour of fallen men, I commend this volume to the reader.

E. M. W.

LODIANA, *December 31, 1881.*

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
PREFACE	V
SALE'S PREFACE	3

SALE'S PRELIMINARY DISCOURSE.

SECT.

I.—Of the Arabs before Muhammad ; or, as they express it, in the <i>Time of Ignorance</i> ; their History, Religion, Learning, and Customs	13
II.—Of the State of Christianity, particularly of the Eastern Churches, and of Judaism, at the time of Muhammad's Appearance ; and of the Methods taken by him for the Establishing his Religion, and the Circumstances which concurred thereto	61
III.—Of the Qurán itself, the Peculiarities of that Book ; the Manner of its being Written and Published, and the General Design of it	96
IV.—Of the Doctrines and Positive Precepts of the Qurán which relate to Faith and Religious Duties	116
V.—Of Certain Negative Precepts in the Qurán	191
VI.—Of the Institutions of the Qurán in Civil Affairs	205
VII.—Of the Months commanded by the Qurán to be kept Sacred ; and of the setting apart of Friday for the especial Service of God	227
VIII. Of the Principal Sects among the Muhammadans ; and of those who have pretended to Prophecy among the Arabs in or since the time of Muhammad	233

THE QURÁN.

CHAP.

I.—Entitled Súrat ul Fátihat (The Preface).	287
II.—Entitled Súrat ul Baqr (The Cow).	291



LIST OF AUTHORS AND BOOKS QUOTED AND MADE USE OF IN THE PREPARATION OF THIS VOLUME.

- ABDUL QÁDIR IBN WALI ULLAH. Translation of the Qurán, with Notes, in Urdú.
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- BURCKHARDT, J. L. Notes on the Bedouins and Wahábys. 2 vols. 1831.
- BURTON, CAPTAIN. Pilgrimage to Mecca.
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- HUGHES, REV. T. P. Notes on Muhammadanism. Second edition. Also, Preface and Introduction to the Roman Urdú Qurán. Lodia edition.
- LANE, EDWARD WILLIAM. Selections from the Qurán.
- MUIR, SIR WILLIAM, LL.D. Life of Mahomet. The Testimony borne by the Coran to the Jewish and Christian Scriptures.
- NOELDEKE, TH. Origine et Compositione Surarum Quranicarum ipsiusque Quráni. Geschichte des Qorâns.
- PALGRAVE, W. GIFFORD. Central and Eastern Arabia.
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- RODWELL, J. M. The Koran. Second edition, 1876.
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- SYED AHMAD KHAN BAHADUR. Essays on the Life of Mohammed. The Tafsír-i-Raufi, an Urdú Commentary on the Qurán. The Tafsír-i-Fatah-ar-Rahmán.
- The Tafsír-i-Hussaini, a Persian Commentary on the Qurán.
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- WHEELER, TALBOYS. History of India, vol. iv., part i.

NOTE.

IN reading the Romanised form of Arabic proper names, the reader should pronounce—

a	as	u	in	but.
ā	„	a	„	far.
i	„	i	„	sin.
ī	„	ee	„	heed.
o	„	o	„	home.
u	„	o	„	do.
ū	„	oo	„	pool.
ai	„	i	„	side.

In reading the fractional sign R $\frac{1}{4}$, R $\frac{1}{2}$, &c., in the margin to the text of the Qurán, understand by the figures *above* the line *the Ruqá of the Sárat* or chapter, and by the figures *below* the line *the Ruqá of the Sípára*. The terms *Ruba*, *Nisf*, and *Suls* mark the *fourth*, *half*, and *three-fourths* of a *Sípára*.

SALE'S PRELIMINARY DISCOURSE,

WITH ADDITIONAL NOTES AND EMENDATIONS.



*SALE'S PREFACE TO THE PRELIMINARY
DISCOURSE AND TRANSLATION.*

I IMAGINE it almost needless either to make an apology for publishing the following translation, or to go about to prove it a work of use as well as curiosity. They must have a mean opinion of the Christian religion, or be but ill grounded therein, who can apprehend any danger from so manifest a forgery: and if the religious and civil institutions of foreign nations are worth our knowledge, those of Muhammad, the lawgiver of the Arabians, and founder of an empire which in less than a century spread itself over a greater part of the world than the Romans were ever masters of, must needs be so; whether we consider their extensive obtaining, or our frequent intercourse with those who are governed thereby. I shall not here inquire into the reasons why the law of Muhammad has met with so unexampled a reception in the world (for they are greatly deceived who imagine it to have been propagated by the sword alone), or by what means it came to be embraced by nations which never felt the force of the Muhammadan arms, and even by those which stripped the Arabians of their conquests, and put an end to the sovereignty and very being of their Khalífahs; yet it seems as if there was something more than what is vulgarly imagined in a religion which has made so surprising a progress. But whatever use an impartial version of the Qurán may be of in other respects, it is absolutely necessary to undeceive those who, from the ignorant or unfair

translations which have appeared, have entertained too favourable an opinion of the original, and also to enable us effectually to expose the imposture; none of those who have hitherto undertaken that province, not excepting Dr. Prideaux himself, having succeeded to the satisfaction of the judicious, for want of being complete masters of the controversy. The writers of the Romish communion, in particular, are so far from having done any service in their refutations of Muhammadism, that by endeavouring to defend their idolatry and other superstitions, they have rather contributed to the increase of that aversion which the Muhammadans in general have to the Christian religion, and given them great advantages in the dispute. The Protestants alone are able to attack the Qurán with success; and for them, I trust, Providence has reserved the glory of its overthrow. In the meantime, if I might presume to lay down rules to be observed by those who attempt the conversion of the Muhammadans, they should be the same which the learned and worthy Bishop Kidder¹ has prescribed for the conversion of the Jews, and which may, *mutatis mutandis*, be equally applied to the former, notwithstanding the despicable opinion that writer, for want of being better acquainted with them, entertained of those people, judging them scarce fit to be argued with. The first of these rules is, To avoid compulsion, which, though it be not in our power to employ at present, I hope will not be made use of when it is. The second is, To avoid teaching doctrines against common sense; the Muhammadans not being such fools (whatever we may think of them) as to be gained over in this case. The worshipping of images and the doctrine of transubstantiation are great stumbling-blocks to the Muhammadans, and the Church which teacheth them is very unfit to bring those people over. The third is, To avoid weak arguments; for the Muhammadans are not to be converted

¹ In his *Demonstr. of the Messias*, part iii. chap. 2.

with these, or hard words. We must use them with humanity, and dispute against them with arguments that are proper and cogent. It is certain that many Christians who have written against them have been very defective this way: many have used arguments that have no force, and advanced propositions that are void of truth. This method is so far from convincing, that it rather serves to harden them. The Muhammadans will be apt to conclude we have little to say when we urge them with arguments that are trifling or untrue. We do but lose ground when we do this; and instead of gaining them, we expose ourselves and our cause also. We must not give them ill words neither; but must avoid all reproachful language, all that is sarcastical and biting: this never did good from pulpit or press. The softest words will make the deepest impression; and if we think it a fault in them to give ill language, we cannot be excused when we imitate them. The fourth rule is, Not to quit any article of the Christian faith to gain the Muhammadans. It is a fond conceit of the Socinians that we shall upon their principles be most like to prevail upon the Muhammadans: it is not true in matter of fact. We must not give up any article to gain them: but then the Church of Rome ought to part with many practices and some doctrines. We are not to design to gain the Muhammadans over to a system of dogma, but to the ancient and primitive faith. I believe nobody will deny but that the rules here laid down are just: the latter part of the third, which alone my design has given me occasion to practise, I think so reasonable, that I have not, in speaking of Muhammad or his Qurán, allowed myself to use those opprobrious appellations, and unmannerly expressions, which seem to be the strongest arguments of several who have written against them. On the contrary, I have thought myself obliged to treat both with common decency, and even to approve such particulars as seemed to me to deserve approbation; for how criminal soever Muhammad may have been in imposing a false religion

on mankind, the praises due to his real virtues ought not to be denied him; nor can I do otherwise than applaud the candour of the pious and learned Spanhemius, who, though he owned him to have been a wicked impostor, yet acknowledged him to have been richly furnished with natural endowments, beautiful in his person, of a subtle wit, agreeable behaviour, showing liberality to the poor, courtesy to every one, fortitude against his enemies, and above all a high reverence for the name of God; severe against the perjured, adulterers, murderers, slanderers, prodigals, covetous, false witnesses, &c., a great preacher of patience, charity, mercy, beneficence, gratitude, honouring of parents and superiors, and a frequent celebrator of the divine praises.¹

Of the several translations of the Qurán now extant, there is but one which tolerably represents the sense of the original; and that being in Latin, a new version became necessary, at least to an English reader. What Bibliander published for a Latin translation of that book deserves not the name of a translation; the unaccountable liberties therein taken, and the numberless faults, both of omission and commission, leaving scarce any resemblance of the original. It was made near six hundred years ago, being finished in 1143, by Robertus Retenensis, an Englishman, with the assistance of Hermannus Dalmata, at the request of Peter, Abbot of Clugny, who paid them well for their pains.

From this Latin version was taken the Italian of Andrea Arrivabene, notwithstanding the pretences in his dedication of its being done immediately from the Arabic;²

¹ Id certum, naturalibus egregiè dotibus instructum Muhammadem, forma præstanti, ingenio calido, moribus facietis, ac præ se ferentem liberalitatem in egenos, comitatem in singulos, fortitudinem in hostes, ac præ cæteris reverentiam divini nominis.—Severus fuit in perjuros, adulteros, homicidas, obtrectatores,

prodigos, avaros, falsos testes, &c. Magnus idem patientiæ, charitatis, misericordiæ, beneficentiæ, gratitudinis, honoris in parentes ac superiores præco, ut et divinarum laudum. Hist. Eccles., sec. vii. c. 7, lem. 5 and 7.

² His words are: Questo libro, che già havevo à commune utilità

wherefore it is no wonder if the transcript be yet more faulty and absurd than the copy.¹

About the end of the fifteenth century, Johannes Andreas, a native of Xativa in the kingdom of Valencia, who from a Muhammadan doctor became a Christian priest, translated not only the Qurán, but also its glosses, and the seven books of the Sonna, out of Arabic into the Arragonian tongue, at the command of Martin Garcia,² Bishop of Barcelona and Inquisitor of Arragon. Whether this translation were ever published or not I am wholly ignorant; but it may be presumed to have been the better done for being the work of one bred up in the Muhammadan religion and learning; though his refutation of that religion, which has had several editions, gives no great idea of his abilities.

Some years within the last century, Andrew du Ryer, who had been consul of the French nation in Egypt, and was tolerably skilled in the Turkish and Arabic languages, took the pains to translate the Qurán into his own tongue; but his performance, though it be beyond comparison preferable to that of Retenensis, is far from being a just translation, there being mistakes in every page, besides frequent transpositions, omissions, and additions,³ faults unpardonable in a work of this nature. And what renders it still more incomplete is the want of Notes to explain a vast number of passages, some of which are difficult, and others impossible to be understood, without proper explanations, were they translated ever so exactly, which the author is so sensible of that he often refers his reader to the Arabic commentators.

The English version is no other than a translation of

di molti fatto dal proprio testo Arabo tradurre nella nostra volgar lingua Italiana, &c. And afterwards: Questo è l'Alcorano di Maometto, il quale, come ho già detto, ho fatto dal suo idioma tradurre, &c.

¹ Vide Jos. Scalig., Epist. 361 et

362; Selden., De Success. ad Leges Ebræor., p. 9.

² J. Andreas, in Præf. ad Tractat. suum de Confusione Sectæ Mahometanæ.

³ Vide Windet., De Vita Functorum Statu, sec. ix.

Du Ryer's, and that a very bad one; for Alexander Ross, who did it, being utterly unacquainted with the Arabic, and no great master of the French, has added a number of fresh mistakes of his own to those of Du Ryer, not to mention the meanness of his language, which would make a better book ridiculous.

In 1698 a Latin translation of the Qurán, made by Father Lewis Marracci, who had been confessor to Pope Innocent XI., was published at Padua, together with the original text, accompanied by explanatory notes and a refutation. This translation of Marracci's, generally speaking, is very exact; but adheres to the Arabic idiom too literally to be easily understood, unless I am much deceived, by those who are not versed in the Muhammadan learning.* The notes he has added are indeed of great use, but his refutations, which swell the work to a large volume, are of little or none at all, being often unsatisfactory, and sometimes impertinent. The work, however, with all its faults, is very valuable, and I should be guilty of ingratitude did I not acknowledge myself much obliged thereto; but still, being in Latin, it can be of no use to those who understand not that tongue.

Having therefore undertaken a new translation, I have endeavoured to do the original impartial justice, not having, to the best of my knowledge, represented it, in any one instance, either better or worse than it really is. I have thought myself obliged, indeed, in a piece which

* Of Marracci's translation Savary says, "Marracci, that learned monk, who spent forty years in translating and refuting the Korán, proceeded on the right system. He divided it into verses, according to the text; but, neglecting the precepts of a great master—

‘Nec verbum verbo, curabis reddere, fidus
Interpres,’ &c.—

he translated it literally. He has not expressed the ideas of the Korán, but travestied the words of it into barbarous Latin. Yet, though all the beauties of the original are lost in this translation, it is preferable to that by Du Ryer."

E. M. W.

pretends to be the Word of God, to keep somewhat scrupulously close to the text, by which means the language may, in some places, seem to express the Arabic a little too literally to be elegant English: but this, I hope, has not happened often; and I flatter myself that the style I have made use of will not only give a more genuine idea of the original than if I had taken more liberty (which would have been much more for my ease), but will soon become familiar; for we must not expect to read a version of so extraordinary a book with the same ease and pleasure as a modern composition.

In the Notes my view has been briefly to explain the text, and especially the difficult and obscure passages, from the most approved commentators, and that generally in their own words, for whose opinions or expressions, where liable to censure, I am not answerable; my province being only fairly to represent their expositions, and the little I have added of my own, or from European writers, being easily discernible. Where I met with any circumstance which I imagined might be curious or entertaining, I have not failed to produce it.

The Preliminary Discourse will acquaint the reader with the most material particulars proper to be known previously to the entering on the Qurán itself, and which could not so conveniently have been thrown into the Notes. And I have taken care, both in the Preliminary Discourse and the Notes, constantly to quote my authorities and the writers to whom I have been beholden; but to none have I been more so than to the learned Dr. Pocock, whose *Specimen Historiæ Arabum* is the most useful and accurate work that has been hitherto published concerning the antiquities of that nation, and ought to be read by every curious inquirer into them.

As I have had no opportunity of consulting public libraries, the manuscripts of which I have made use throughout the whole work have been such as I had in my own study, except only the Commentary of Al Baidháwi

and the Gospel of St. Barnabas. The first belongs to the library of the Dutch Church in Austin Friars, and for the use of it I have been chiefly indebted to the Rev. Dr. Bolten, one of the ministers of that church: the other was very obligingly lent me by the Rev. Dr. Holme, Rector of Hedley in Hampshire; and I take this opportunity of returning both those gentlemen my thanks for their favours. The merit of Al Baidhāwī's commentary will appear from the frequent quotations I have made thence; but of the Gospel of St. Barnabas (which I had not seen when the little I have said of it in the Preliminary Discourse,¹ and the extract I had borrowed from M. de la Monnoye and M. Toland,² were printed off), I must beg leave to give some further account.

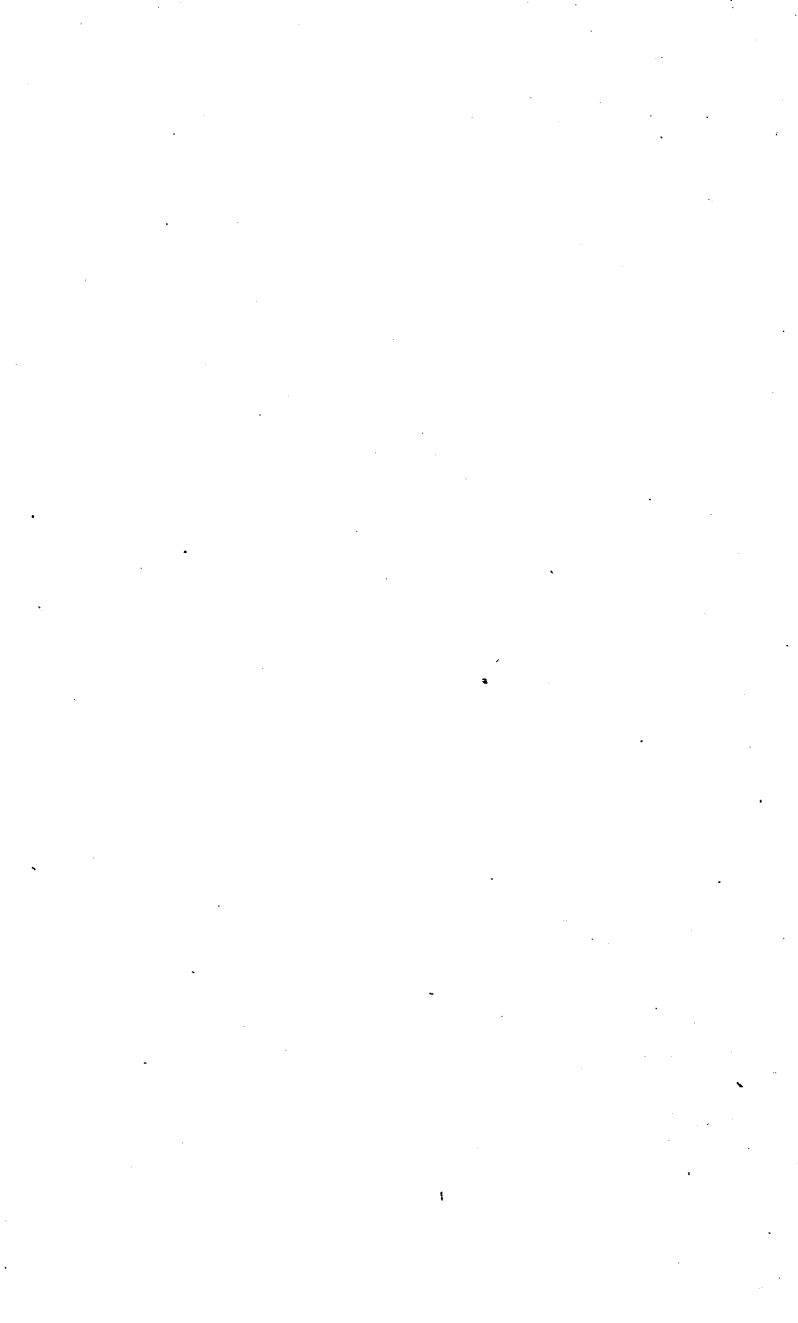
The book is a moderate quarto, in Spanish, written in a very legible hand, but a little damaged towards the latter end. It contains two hundred and twenty-two chapters of unequal length, and four hundred and twenty pages; and is said, in the front, to be translated from the Italian by an Arragonian Muslim named Mustafa de Aranda. There is a preface prefixed to it, wherein the discoverer of the original MS., who was a Christian monk, called Fra Marino, tells us that having accidentally met with a writing of Irenæus (among others), wherein he speaks against St. Paul, alleging, for his authority, the Gospel of St. Barnabas, he became exceeding desirous to find this Gospel; and that God, of his mercy, having made him very intimate with Pope Sixtus V., one day, as they were together in that Pope's library, his Holiness fell asleep, and he, to employ himself, reaching down a book to read, the first he laid his hand on proved to be the very Gospel he wanted: overjoyed at the discovery, he scrupled not to hide his prize in his sleeve, and on the Pope's awaking, took leave of him, carrying with him that celestial treasure, by reading of which he became a convert to Muhammadism.

¹ Sec. iv. p. 123.

² In not. ad cap. 3.

This Gospel of Barnabas contains a complete history of Jesus Christ from his birth to his ascension; and most of the circumstances in the four real Gospels are to be found therein, but many of them turned, and some artfully enough, to favour the Muhammadan system. From the design of the whole, and the frequent interpolations of stories and passages wherein Muhammad is spoken of and foretold by name, as the messenger of God, and the great prophet who was to perfect the dispensation of Jesus, it appears to be a most barefaced forgery. One particular I observe therein induces me to believe it to have been dressed up by a renegade Christian, slightly instructed in his new religion, and not educated a Muhammadan (unless the fault be imputed to the Spanish, or perhaps the Italian translator, and not to the original compiler); I mean the giving to Muhammad the title of Messiah, and that not once or twice only, but in several places; whereas the title of the Messiah, or, as the Arabs write it, *al Masíh*, *i.e.*, Christ, is appropriated to Jesus in the Qurán, and is constantly applied by the Muhammadans to him, and never to their own prophet. The passages produced from the Italian MS. by M. de la Monnoye are to be seen in this Spanish version almost word for word.

But to return to the following work. Though I have freely censured the former translations of the Qurán, I would not therefore be suspected of a design to make my own pass as free from faults: I am very sensible it is not; and I make no doubt that the few who are able to discern them, and know the difficulty of the undertaking, will give me fair quarter. I likewise flatter myself that they, and all considerate persons, will excuse the delay which has happened in the publication of this work, when they are informed that it was carried on at leisure times only, and amidst the necessary avocations of a troublesome profession.



SALE'S PRELIMINARY DISCOURSE.

SECTION I.

OF THE ARABS BEFORE MUHAMMAD ; OR, AS THEY EXPRESS IT, IN
THE TIME OF IGNORANCE ; THEIR HISTORY,* RELIGION, LEARN-
ING, AND CUSTOMS.

THE Arabs, and the country they inhabit, which them-
selves call Jazírat al Arab, or the Peninsula of the The name
Arabia. Arabians, but we Arabia, were so named from Araba, a
small territory in the province of Taháma ;¹ to which
Yarab the son of Qahtán, the father of the ancient Arabs,
gave his name, and where, some ages after, dwelt Ismaíl
the son of Abraham by Hagar. The Christian writers for
several centuries speak of them under the appellation of
Saracens, the most certain derivation of which word is
from *shark, the east*, where the descendants of Joctan, the

* Whilst regarding this Preliminary Discourse as a most masterly,
and on the whole reliable, presentation of the peculiar doctrines,
rites, ceremonies, customs, and institutions of Islám, we recognise
the fact that more modern research has brought to light many things
concerning the history of the ancient Arabs which greatly modify
the statements made in the early paragraphs of this chapter. We
therefore refer the reader to the most valuable works of M. C. de
Perceval, *Hist. des Arabes*, a masterly digest of which may be found
in the Introduction to Muir's *Life of Mahomet*, chap. iii. ; also to the
works of Dr. Sprenger, *Biography of the Prophet*, &c. E. M. W.

¹ Pocock, Specim. Hist. Arab., p. 33.

Qahtán of the Arabs, are placed by Moses,¹ and in which quarter they dwelt in respect to the Jews.²

Limits of
Arabia.

The name of Arabia (used in a more extensive sense) sometimes comprehends all that large tract of land bounded by the river Euphrates, the Persian Gulf, the Sindian, Indian, and Red Seas, and part of the Mediterranean: above two-thirds of which country, that is, Arabia properly so called, the Arabs have possessed almost from the Flood; and have made themselves masters of the rest, either by settlements or continual incursions; for which reason the Turks and Persians at this day call the whole Arabistán, or the country of the Arabs.

But the limits of Arabia, in its more usual and proper sense, are much narrower, as reaching no farther northward than the Isthmus, which runs from Aila to the head of the Persian Gulf, and the borders of the territory of Kúfa; which tract of land the Greeks nearly comprehended under the name of Arabia the Happy. The Eastern geographers make Arabia Petræa to belong partly to Egypt, and partly to Shám or Syria, and the Desert Arabia they call the Deserts of Syria.³

Proper Arabia is by the Oriental writers generally divided into five provinces,⁴ viz., Yaman, Hijáz, Taháma, Najd, and Yamáma; to which some add Bahrain, as a sixth, but this province the more exact make part of Irák;⁵ others reduce them all to two, Yaman and Hijáz, the last including the three other provinces of Taháma, Najd, and Yamáma.

The pro-
vince of
Yaman.

The province of Yaman, so called either from its situation to the right hand, or south of the temple of Makkah, or else from the happiness and verdure of its soil, extends itself along the Indian Ocean from Aden to Cape Rasalgat; part of the Red Sea bounds it on the west and south sides,

¹ Gen. x. 30.

² See Pocock, Specim., 33, 34.

³ Golius ad Alfragan, 78, 79.

⁴ Strabo says Arabia Felix was

in his time divided into five kingdoms, l. 16, p. 1129.

⁵ Gol. ad Alfragan, 79.

and the province of Hijáz on the north.¹ It is subdivided into several lesser provinces, as Hadramaut, Shihr, Omán, Najrán, &c., of which Shihr alone produces the frankincense.² The metropolis of Yaman is Sanaa, a very ancient city, in former times called Ozal,* and much celebrated for its delightful situation; but the prince at present resides about five leagues northward from thence, at a place no less pleasant, called Hisn al Mawáhib, or the Castle of Delights.³

This country has been famous from all antiquity for the happiness of its climate, its fertility and riches,⁴ which induced Alexander the Great, after his return from his Indian expedition, to form a design of conquering it, and fixing there his royal seat; but his death, which happened soon after, prevented the execution of this project.⁵ Yet, in reality, great part of the riches which the ancients imagined were the produce of Arabia, came really from the Indies and the coasts of Africa; for the Egyptians, who had engrossed that trade, which was then carried on by way of the Red Sea, to themselves, industriously concealed the truth of the matter, and kept their ports shut to prevent foreigners penetrating into those countries, or receiving any information thence; and this precaution of theirs on the one side, and the deserts, unpassable to strangers, on the other, were the reason why Arabia was so little known to the Greeks and Romans. The delightfulness and plenty of Yaman are owing to its mountains; for all that part which lies along the Red Sea is a dry, barren desert, in some places ten or twelve leagues over, but in return bounded by those mountains, which being

So-called
Arabian
produce
brought
from India.

* "Or this was the name of its builder; see *Kamoos*" (Lane).

E. M. W.

¹ La Roque, *Voyage de l'Arab.* Heur., 121.

² Gol. ad Alfragan, 79, 87.

³ *Voyage de l'Arab.* Heur., 232.

⁴ Vide Dionys. *Perieges.*, v. 927, &c.

⁵ Strabo, l. 16, p. 1132; Arrian, 161.

Produce of
Yaman.

well watered, enjoy an almost continual spring, and, besides coffee, the peculiar produce of this country, yield great plenty and variety of fruits, and in particular excellent corn, grapes, and spices. There are no rivers of note in this country, for the streams which at certain times of the year descend from the mountains, seldom reach the sea, being for the most part drunk up and lost in the burning sands of that coast.¹

The soil of the other provinces is much more barren than that of Yaman; the greater part of their territories being covered with dry sands, or rising into rocks, interspersed here and there with some fruitful spots, which receive their greatest advantages from their water and palm-trees.

The Hijáz—
its bounda-
ries.

The province of Hijáz, so named because it divides Najd from Taháma, is bounded on the south by Yaman and Taháma, on the west by the Red Sea, on the north by the deserts of Syria, and on the east by the province of Najd.² This province is famous for its two chief cities, Makkah and Madína, one of which is celebrated for its temple, and for having given birth to Muhammad; and the other for being the place of his residence for the last ten years of his life, and of his interment.

Makkah
described.

Makkah, sometimes also called Bakkah, which words are synonymous, and signify a place of great concourse, is certainly one of the most ancient cities of the world: it is by some³ thought to be the Mesa of the Scripture,⁴ a name not unknown to the Arabians, and supposed to be taken from one of Ismaél's sons.⁵ It is seated in a stony and barren valley, surrounded on all sides with mountains.⁶ The length of Makkah from south to north is about two miles, and its breadth from the foot of the mountain

¹ Voyage de l'Arab. Heur., 121, 123, 153.

² Vide Gol. ad Alfrag., 98; Abulfeda, Descr. Arab., p. 5.

³ R. Saadias in version. Arab. Pentat. Sefer Juchasin., 135 b.

⁴ Gen. x. 30.

⁵ Gol. ad Alfrag., 82; see Gen. xxv. 15.

⁶ Gol., ib. 198. See Pitts' Account of the Religion and Manners of the Muhammadans, p. 96.

Ajyad, to the top of another called Koaikaán, about a mile.¹ In the midst of this space stands the city, built of stone cut from the neighbouring mountains.² There being no springs at Makkah,³ at least none but what are bitter and unfit to drink,⁴ except only the well Zamzam, the water of which, though far the best, yet cannot be drank of any continuance, being brackish,* and causing eruptions in those who drink plentifully of it,⁵ the inhabitants are obliged to use rain-water, which they catch in cisterns.⁶ But this not being sufficient, several attempts were made to bring water thither from other places by aqueducts; and particularly about Muhammad's time, Zubair, one of the principal men of the tribe of Quraish, endeavoured, at a great expense, to supply the city with water from Mount Arafat, but without success; yet this was effected not many years ago, being begun at the charge of a wife of Sulaimán the Turkish emperor.⁷ But long before this another aqueduct had been made from a spring at a considerable distance, which was, after several years' labour, finished by the Khalífah al Muktaḍir.⁸

The soil about Makkah is so very barren as to produce no fruits but what are common in the deserts, though the prince or Sharíf has a garden well planted at his castle

* Lane adds the following note:—"Sale here adds 'being brackish,' but Burckhardt says the water of the Zemzem 'is heavy to the taste, and sometimes in its colour resembles milk; but,' he adds, 'it is perfectly sweet, and differs very much from that of the brackish wells dispersed over the town. When first drawn up, it is slightly tepid, resembling in this respect many other fountains of the Hejaz.'—*Travels in Arabia*, p. 144. I have also drunk the water of Zemzem brought in a china bottle to Cairo, and found it perfectly sweet."

E. M. W.

¹ Sharif al Edrisi apud Poc. Spec., p. 122.

² Ibid.

³ Gol. ad Alfragan, 99.

⁴ Sharif al Edrisi, ubi supra, 124.

⁵ Ibid. and Pitts, ubi supra, p. 107.

⁶ Gol. ad Alfragan, 99.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Sharif al Edrisi, ubi supra.

of Marbaa, about three miles westward from the city, where he usually resides. Having therefore no corn or grain of their own growth, they are obliged to fetch it from other places;¹ and Hásham, Muhammad's great-grandfather, then prince of his tribe, the more effectually to supply them with provisions, appointed two caravans to set out yearly for that purpose, the one in summer, and the other in winter:² these caravans of purveyors are mentioned in the Qurán. The provisions brought by them were distributed also twice a year, viz., in the month of Rajab, and at the arrival of the pilgrims. They are supplied with dates in great plenty from the adjacent country, and with grapes from Táyif, about sixty miles * distant, very few growing at Makkah. The inhabitants of this city are generally very rich, being considerable gainers by the prodigious concourse of people of almost all nations at the yearly pilgrimage, at which time there is a great fair or mart for all kinds of merchandise. They have also great numbers of cattle, and particularly of camels: however, the poorer sort cannot but live very indifferently in a place where almost every necessary of life must be purchased with money. Notwithstanding this great sterility near Makkah, yet you are no sooner out of its territory than you meet on all sides with plenty of good springs and streams of running water, with a great many gardens and cultivated lands.³

The temple of Makkah, and the reputed holiness of this territory, will be treated of in a more proper place.

Madína, which till Muhammad's retreat thither was called Yathrab, is a walled city about half as big as Makkah,⁴ built in a plain, salt in many places, yet tolerably fruitful, particularly in dates, but more especially near

How the
people of
Makkah
subsist.

Madína or
Yathrab.

* Burckhardt says seventy-two miles. *Travels in Arabia*, p. 69.

E. M. W.

¹ Sharíf al Edrísí, ubi supra.
Poc. Spec., p. 51.

³ Sharíf al Edrísí, ubi supra, 125.

⁴ Id., *Vulgò Geogr. Nubiensis*, 5.

the mountains, two of which, Ohod on the north, and Air on the south, are about two leagues distant. Here lies Muhammad interred¹ in a magnificent building, covered with a cupola, and adjoining to the east side of the great temple, which is built in the midst of the city.²

The province of Taháma was so named from the vehement heat of its sandy soil, and is also called Gaur from its low situation; it is bounded on the west by the Red Sea, and on the other sides by Hijáz and Yaman, extending almost from Makkah to Aden.³

The provinces of Taháma, Najd, and Yamáma founded.

The province of Najd, which word signifies a rising country, lies between those of Yamáma, Yaman, and Hijáz, and is bounded on the east by Irák.⁴

The province of Yamáma, also called Arúd from its oblique situation, in respect of Yaman, is surrounded by the provinces of Najd, Taháma, Bahrain, Omán, Shihr, Hadramaut, and Sabá. The chief city is Yamáma, which gives name to the province: it was anciently called Jaw, and is particularly famous for being the residence of Muhammad's competitor, the false prophet Musailama.⁵

The Arabians, the inhabitants of this spacious country,

¹ Though the notion of Muhammad's being buried at Makkah has been so long exploded, yet several modern writers, whether through ignorance or negligence I will not determine, have fallen into it. I shall here take notice only of two; one is Dr. Smith, who having lived some time in Turkey, seems to be inexcusable: that gentleman in his *Epistles De Moribus ac Institutis Turcarum*, no less than thrice mentions the Muhammadans visiting the tomb of their prophet at Makkah, and once his being born at Madína—the reverse of which is true (see *Epist. 1*, p. 22, *Epist. 2*, pp. 63, 64). The other is the publisher of the last edition of Sir J. Mandeville's *Travels*, who on his author's saying very truly (p. 50) that the said tomb was at Methone, *i.e.*, Madína, undertakes to correct the name of the

town, which is something corrupted, by putting at the bottom of the page, Makkah. The Abbot de Vertot, in his *History of the Order of Malta* (vol. i. p. 410, ed. 8vo), seems also to have confounded these two cities together, though he had before mentioned Muhammad's sepulchre at Madína. However, he is certainly mistaken, when he says that one point of the religion, both of the Christians and Muhammadans, was to visit, at least once in their lives, the tomb of the author of their respective faith. Whatever may be the opinion of some Christians, I am well assured the Muhammadans think themselves under no manner of obligation in that respect.

² Gol. ad Alfragan, 97; Abulfeda, *Descr. Arab.*, p. 40.

³ Gol., ubi supra, 95.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 94. ⁵ *Ibid.*, 95.

Two classes
of Arabians.

which they have possessed from the most remote antiquity, are distinguished by their own writers into two classes, viz., the old lost Arabians, and the present.

The former were very numerous, and divided into several tribes, which are now all destroyed, or else lost and swallowed up among the other tribes, nor are any certain memoirs or records extant concerning them;¹ though the memory of some very remarkable events and the catastrophe of some tribes have been preserved by tradition, and since confirmed by the authority of the Qurán.

✓ The ancient
Arabians.

The most famous tribes amongst these ancient Arabians were Ád, Thamúd, Tasm, Jadís, the former Jorham, and Amalek.

The Ádites.

The tribe of Ád were descended from Ád, the son of Aws,² the son of Aram,³ the son of Sem, the son of Noah,* who, after the confusion of tongues, settled in al Ahqáf, or the winding sands in the province of Hadramaut, where his posterity greatly multiplied. Their first king was Shadád the son of Ád, of whom the Eastern writers deliver many fabulous things, particularly that he finished the magnificent city his father had begun, wherein he built a fine palace, adorned with delicious gardens, to embellish which he spared neither cost nor labour, proposing thereby to create in his subjects a superstitious veneration of himself as a god.⁴ This garden or paradise was called the garden of Iram, and is mentioned in the Qurán,⁵ and often alluded to by the Oriental writers. The city, they tell us, is still standing in the deserts of Aden, being preserved

The garden
of Iram.

* This genealogy is given on the authority of Muslim tradition, or rather of Muslim *adaptation* of Jewish tradition to gratify Arab pride. As to its utter worthlessness, see note on p. 24. E. M. W.

¹ Albufarag, p. 159.

² Or Uz. Gen. x. 22, 23.

³ Vide Qurán, c. 89, v. 6. Some make Ád the son of Amalek, the

son of Ham; but the other is the received opinion. See D'Herbel., 51.

⁴ Vide Eund., 498.

⁵ Cap. 89.

by Providence as a monument of divine justice, though it be invisible, unless very rarely, when God permits it to be seen, a favour one Colabah pretended to have received in the reign of the Khalifah Muáwiyah, who sending for him to know the truth of the matter, Colabah related his whole adventure: that as he was seeking a camel he had lost, he found himself on a sudden at the gates of this city, and entering it, saw not one inhabitant, at which, being terrified, he stayed no longer than to take with him some fine stones which he showed the Khalifah.¹*

The descendants of Ád in process of time falling from the worship of the true God into idolatry, God sent the prophet Húd (who is generally agreed to be Heber²†) to preach to and reclaim them. But they refusing to acknowledge his mission, or to obey him, God sent a hot and suffocating wind, which blew seven nights and eight days together, and entering at their nostrils passed through their bodies,³ and destroyed them all, a very few only excepted, who had believed in Húd and retired with him to another place.⁴ That prophet afterwards returned into Hadramaut, and was buried near Hasiq, where there is a small town now standing called Qabr Húd, or the sepulchre of Húd. Before the Ádites were thus severely punished, God, to humble them and incline them to hearken to the preaching of his prophet, afflicted them with a drought for four years, so that all their cattle

Destruction
of the
Ádites.

* For a full account of his adventure, see Lane's translation of the *Thousand and One Nights*.

E. M. W.

† I can find no authority for this "general belief," excepting that of Muslim conjecture. The guesses of D'Herbelot and Bochart seem to be inspired by Muslim tradition, which has been shown to be for the most part, so far as genealogy is concerned, a forgery. Muir suggests that Húd may have been a Jewish emissary or Christian evangelist. *Life of Mohamet*, Introd., p. 139.

E. M. W.

¹ D'Herbel., 51.

to have been a great prophet. Seder

² The Jews acknowledge Heber Olam., p. 2.

³ Al Baidhawí.

⁴ Poc. Spec., p. 35, &c.

The latter
Adites.

perished, and themselves were very near it; upon which they sent Luqmán (different from one of the same name who lived in David's time) with sixty others to Makkah to beg rain, which they not obtaining, Luqmán with some of his company stayed at Makkah, and thereby escaped destruction, giving rise to a tribe called the latter Ád, who were afterward changed into monkeys.¹

Some commentators on the Qurán² tell us these old Ádites were of prodigious stature, the largest being 100 cubits high, and the least 60; which extraordinary size they pretend to prove by the testimony of the Qurán.³

✓ The tribe of
Thamúd.

The tribe of Thamúd were the posterity of Thamúd the son of Jathar⁴ the son of Aram, who falling into idolatry, the prophet Sálíh was sent to bring them back to the worship of the true GOD. This prophet lived between the time of Húd and of Abraham, and therefore cannot be the same with the patriarch Sálíh, as M. d'Herbelot imagines.⁵ The learned Bochart with more probability takes him to be Phaleg.⁶ A small number of the people of Thamúd hearkened to the remonstrances of Sálíh, but the rest requiring, as a proof of his mission, that he should cause a she-camel big with young to come out of a rock in their presence, he accordingly obtained it of GOD, and the camel was immediately delivered of a young one ready weaned; but they, instead of believing, cut the hamstrings of the camel and killed her; at which act of impiety GOD, being highly displeased, three days after struck them dead in their houses by an earthquake and a terrible noise from heaven, which, some⁷ say, was the voice of Gabriel the archangel crying aloud, "Die, all of you." Sálíh, with those who were reformed by him, were saved from this destruction; the prophet going into Palestine, and from thence to Makkah,⁸ where he ended his days.

Destruction
of the Tha-
múrites.

¹ Poc. Spec., p. 36.

² Jakáluddin et Zamakhshari.

³ Qurán, c. 7, v. 70.

⁴ Or Gether, vide Gen. x. 23.

⁵ D'Herbel., Bibl. Orient., 740.

⁶ Bochart, Georg. Sac.

⁷ See D'Herbel., 366.

⁸ Ibn Shohnah.

This tribe first dwelt in Yaman,¹ but being expelled thence by Himyár the son of Sába, they settled in the territory of Hajr in the province of Hijáz, where their habitations cut out of the rocks, mentioned in the Qurán,² are still to be seen, and also the crack of the rock whence the camel issued, which, as an eyewitness³ hath declared, is sixty cubits wide. These houses of the Thamúdites being of the ordinary proportion, are used as an argument to convince those of a mistake who make this people to have been of a gigantic stature.⁴

Rock-cut
houses of
the Thamú-
dites.

The tragical destructions of these two potent tribes are often insisted on in the Qurán as instances of God's judgment on obstinate unbelievers.

The tribe of Tasm were the posterity of Lúd the son of Sem, and Jadís of the descendants of Jathar.⁵ These two tribes dwelt promiscuously together under the government of Tasm, till a certain tyrant made a law that no maid of the tribe of Jadís should marry unless first deflowered by him;⁶ which the Jadísians not enduring, formed a conspiracy, and inviting the king and chiefs of Tasm to an entertainment, privately hid their swords in the sand, and in the midst of their mirth fell on them and slew them all, and extirpated the greatest part of that tribe; however, the few who escaped obtaining aid of the king of Yaman, then (as is said) Dhu Habshán Ibn Aqrán,⁷ assaulted the Jadís and utterly destroyed them, there being scarce any mention made from that time of either of these tribes.⁸

The tribe of
Tasm.

The former tribe of Jorham (whose ancestor some pretend was one of the eight persons saved in the ark with Noah, according to a Muhammadan tradition⁹) was con-

The Jor-
hamites.

¹ Poc. Spec., p. 57.

² Qurán, c. 15, v. 82.

³ Abu Musa al Ashari.

⁴ Vide Poc. Spec., p. 37.

⁵ Abulfeda.

⁶ A like custom is said to have been in some manors in England, and also in Scotland, where it was

called "culliage," or "cullage," having been established by K. Ewen, and abolished by Malcolm III. See Bayle's Dict. Art. Sixte IV. Rem. H.

⁷ Poc. Spec., p. 60.

⁸ Ibid., p. 37, &c.

⁹ Ibid., p. 38.

temporary with Ád, and utterly perished.¹ The tribe of Amalek were descended from Amalek the son of Eliphaz the son of Esau,² though some of the Oriental authors say Amalek was the son of Ham the son of Noah,³ and others the son of Azd the son of Sem.⁴ The posterity of this person rendered themselves very powerful,⁵ and before the time of Joseph conquered the Lower Egypt under their king Walíd, the first who took the name of Pharaoh, as the Eastern writers tell us;⁶ seeming by these Amalekites to mean the same people which the Egyptian histories call Phœnician shepherds.⁷ But after they had possessed the throne of Egypt for some descents, they were expelled by the natives, and at length totally destroyed by the Israelites.⁸

✓ The Amalekites conquer Lower Egypt.

The present Arabians, according to their own historians, are sprung from two stocks, Qahtán,* the same with Joctan the son of Eber,⁹ and Adnán, descended in a direct line from Ismaél the son of Abraham and Hagar; the posterity of the former they call al Arab al Áriba,¹⁰ *i.e.*, the genuine or pure Arabs, and those of the latter al Arab al Mustáriba, *i.e.*, naturalised or insititious Arabs, though

✓ Origin of the present Arabs.

* Muir, in his *Life of Mahomet* (Introd., p. cl.), proves conclusively that this identification of the Arab Qahtán with the Joctan of Scripture is an extravagant fiction, and shows that the age of Qahtán must be fixed at a period somewhere between 800 and 500 B.C. He says: "The identification (alluded to above) is one of those extravagant fictions which the followers of Islám, in their zeal to accommodate Arab legend to Jewish scripture, has made in defiance of the most violent improbability, and the grossest anachronisms."

E. M. W.

¹ Ibn Shohnah.

² Gen. xxxvi. 12.

³ Vide D'Herbelot, p. 110.

⁴ Ibn Shohnah.

⁵ Vide Numb. xxiv. 20.

⁶ Mirát Cainát.

⁷ Vide Joseph. cont. Apion., l. i.

⁸ Vide Exod. xvii. 18, &c.; 1

Sam. xv. 2, &c.; *ibid.*, xxvii. 8, 9;

1 Chron. iv. 43.

⁹ R. Saad. in vers. Arab. Pentat. Gen. x. 25. Some writers make Qahtán a descendant of Ismaél, but against the current of Oriental historians. See Poc. Spec., p. 39.

¹⁰ An expression something like that of St. Paul, who calls himself "an Hebrew of the Hebrews" (Phil. iii. 5).

some reckon the ancient lost tribes to have been the only pure Arabians, and therefore call the posterity of Qahtán also Mutáriba, which word likewise signifies insidious Arabs, though in a nearer degree than Mustáriba, the descendants of Ismaél being the more distant graff.

The posterity of Ismaél have no claim to be admitted as pure Arabs, their ancestor being by origin and language an Hebrew; but having made an alliance with the Jorhamites, by marrying a daughter of Mudád, and accustomed himself to their manner of living and language, his descendants became blended with them into one nation. The uncertainty of the descents between Ismaél and Adnán is the reason why they seldom trace their genealogies higher than the latter, whom they acknowledge as father of their tribes, the descents from him downwards being pretty certain and uncontroverted.¹*

Their posterity have no claim to be pure Arabs.

The genealogy of these tribes being of great use to illustrate the Arabian history, I have taken the pains to

* On this subject we give the following extract from Muir's *Life of Mahomet*, vol. i. p. cvii. :—

“The first peopling of Arabia is a subject on which we may in vain look for any light from the traditions of Arabia itself. Tradition, indeed, gives us the genealogies of the Himyár kings and the links of the great Coreishite line of descent. But the latter do not ascend much beyond the Christian era, and the former only five or six centuries further; the earlier names of the Himyár dynasty were probably derived from bare inscriptions; and of the Coreish we have hardly anything but a naked ancestral tree, till within two or three centuries of Mahomet.

“Beyond these periods Mahometan tradition is entirely worthless. It is not original, but taken at second hand from the Jews, Mahomet having claimed to be of the seed of Ishmael. The Jewish Rabbins who were gained over to his cause endeavoured to confirm the claim from the genealogies of the Old Testament and of Rabbinical traditions.” Muir's Introduction to his *Life of Mahomet* is the standard work, in the English language, on all that pertains to early Arabian history.

E. M. W.

¹ Poc. Spec., p. 40.

form a genealogical table from their most approved authors, to which I refer the curious.

The
Cushites.

Besides these tribes of Arabs mentioned by their own authors, who were all descended from the race of Sem, others of them were the posterity of Ham by his son Cush, which name is in Scripture constantly given to the Arabs and their country, though our version renders it Ethiopia; but, strictly speaking, the Cushites did not inhabit Arabia properly so called, but the banks of the Euphrates and the Persian Gulf, whither they came from Chuzestán or Susiana, the original settlement of their father.¹ They might probably mix themselves in process of time with the Arabs of the other race, but the Eastern writers take little or no notice of them.

The Arabians were for some centuries under the government of the descendants of Qahtán; Yárab, one of his sons, founding the kingdom of Yaman, and Jorham, another of them, that of Hijáz.

The Himyár
princes of
Yaman.

The province of Yaman, or the better part of it, particularly the provinces of Saba and Hadramaut, was governed by princes of the tribe of Himyár, though at length the kingdom was translated to the descendants of Qahlán, his brother, who yet retained the title of King of Himyár, and had all of them the general title of Tubba, which signifies successor, and was affected to this race of princes as that of Cæsar was to the Roman emperors, and Khakfah to the successors of Muhammad. There were several lesser princes who reigned in other parts of Yaman, and were mostly, if not altogether, subject to the king of Himyár, whom they called the great king, but of these history has recorded nothing remarkable or that may be depended upon.²

The inunda-
tion of
Aram.

The first great calamity that befell the tribes settled in Yaman was the inundation of Aram, which happened soon after the time of Alexander the Great, and is famous in

¹ Vide Hyde, *Hist. Rel. vet. Pers.*, p. 37, &c.

² *Poc. Spec.*, pp. 65, 66.

the Arabian history.* No less than eight tribes were forced to abandon their dwellings upon this occasion, some of which gave rise to the two kingdoms of Ghassán and Hira. And this was probably the time of the migration of those tribes or colonies which were led into Mesopotamia by three chiefs, Baqr, Mudar, and Rabía, from whom the three provinces of that country are still named Diyár Baqr, Diyár Mudar, and Diyár Rabía.¹ Abd-as-Shams, surnamed Saba, having built the city from him called Saba, and afterwards Márib, made a vast mound, or dam,² to serve as a basin or reservoir to receive the water which came down from the mountains, not only for the use of the inhabitants, and watering their lands, but also to keep the country they had subjected in greater awe by being masters of the water. This building stood like a mountain above their city, and was by them esteemed so strong that they were in no apprehension of its ever failing. The water rose to the height of almost twenty fathoms, and was kept in on every side by a work so solid, that many of the inhabitants had their houses built upon it. Every family had a certain portion of this water, distributed by aqueducts. But at length GOD, being highly displeased at their great pride and insolence, and resolving to humble and disperse them,† sent a mighty flood, which broke down the mound by night while the inhabitants were asleep, and carried away the whole city, with the neighbouring towns and people.³

* This event did not occur till about the beginning of the second century of the Christian era. See Muir's *Life of Mahomet*, vol. i., Introd., p. clvii., and authorities cited there. E. M. W.

† This immigration was probably due chiefly to "the drying up of the Yemen commerce, and stoppage of the carrying trade," owing to the Romans having opened up commercial intercourse between India and Egypt by way of the Red Sea. Muir's Introd., *Life of Mahomet*, p. cxxxvii. E. M. W.

¹ Vide Gol. ad Alfrag., p. 232.

² Poc. Spec., p. 57.

³ Geogr. Nubiens., p. 52.

✓ Ethiopian
conquest of
Yaman.

The tribes which remained in Yaman after this terrible devastation still continued under the obedience of the former princes, till about seventy years before Muhammad, when the king of Ethiopia sent over forces to assist the Christians of Yaman against the cruel persecution of their king, Dhu Nuwás, a bigoted Jew, whom they drove to that extremity that he forced his horse into the sea, and so lost his life and crown,¹ after which the country was governed by four Ethiopian princes successively, till Salif, the son of Dhu Yazan, of the tribe of Himyár, obtaining succours from Khusrú Anushirwán, king of Persia, which had been denied him by the emperor Heraclius, recovered the throne and drove out the Ethiopians, but was himself slain by some of them who were left behind. The Persians appointed the succeeding princes till Yaman fell into the hands of Muhammad, to whom Bázan, or rather Bádhán, the last of them, submitted, and embraced this new religion.²

◁ Persian
supremacy
established.

This kingdom of the Himyárites is said to have lasted 2020 years,³ or, as others say, above 3000,⁴ the length of the reign of each prince being very uncertain.

The king-
dom of
Ghassán
founded.

It has been already observed that two kingdoms were founded by those who left their country on occasion of the inundation of Aram: they were both out of the proper limits of Arabia. One of them was the kingdom of Ghassán. The founders of this kingdom were of the tribe of Azd, who, settling in Syria Damascena near a water called Ghassán, thence took their name, and drove out the Dajaamian Arabs of the tribe of Sálíh, who before possessed the country;⁵ where they maintained their kingdom 400 years, as others say 600, or, as Abulfeda more exactly computes, 616. Five of these princes were named Hárith, which the Greeks write Aretas: and one

¹ See Prideaux's *Life of Mahomet*, p. 61.

² *Poc. Spec.*, pp. 63, 64.

³ Abulfeda.

⁴ Al Jannábi and Ahmed Ibn Yusef.

⁵ *Poc. Spec.*, p. 76.

of them it was whose governor ordered the gates of Damascus to be watched to take St. Paul.¹ This tribe were Christians,* their last king being Jabalah the son of al Ayham, who, on the Arabs' successes in Syria professed Muhammadism under the Khalífah Omar; but receiving a disgust from him, returned to his former faith, and retired to Constantinople.²

The other kingdom was that of Hira, which was founded by Malik, of the descendants of Qahlán³ in Chaldea or Irák; but after three descents the throne came by marriage to the Lakhmians, called also the Mundárs (the general name of those princes), who preserved their dominion, notwithstanding some small interruption by the Persians, till the Khalifat of Abu Baqr, when al Mundár al Maghrúr, the last of them, lost his life and crown by the arms of Khálid Ibn al Walíd. This kingdom lasted 622 years eight months.⁴ Its princes were under the protection of the kings of Persia, whose lieutenants they were over the Arabs of Irák, as the kings of Ghassán were for the Roman emperors over those of Syria.⁵

Jorham the son of Qahtán reigned in Hijáz, where his posterity kept the throne till the time of Ismaíl; but on his marrying the daughter of Mudád, by whom he had twelve sons, Qidár, one of them, had the crown resigned to him by his uncles the Jorhamites,⁶ though others say the descendants of Ismaíl expelled that tribe, who retiring to Johainah, were, after various fortune, at last all destroyed by an inundation.⁷

The kingdom of Hira

Jorhamites of the Hijáz.

They are expelled and finally destroyed.

* This was true only of the last kings of the tribe, the conversion having probably taken place through political influence about the middle of the fourth century of our era. Muir's *Introd., Life of Mahomet*, p. clxxxv.

E. M. W.

¹ 2 Cor. xi. 32; Acts ix. 24.

² Vide Ockley's *History of the Saracens*, vol. i. p. 174.

³ Poc. Spec., p. 66.

⁴ Ibid., p. 74.

⁵ Ibid. and Procop. in Pers. apud Photium., p. 71, &c.

⁶ Poc. Spec., p. 45.

⁷ Ibid., p. 79.

Of the kings of Himyár, Hira, Ghassán, and Jorham, Dr. Pocock has given us catalogues tolerably exact, to which I refer the curious.¹

The Phylarchic government of the Hijáz.

After the expulsion of the Jorhamites, the government of Hijáz seems not to have continued for many centuries in the hands of one prince, but to have been divided among the heads of tribes, almost in the same manner as the Arabs of the desert are governed at this day. At Makkah an aristocracy prevailed, where the chief management of affairs till the time of Muhammad was in the tribe of Quraish, especially after they had gotten the custody of the Kaabah from the tribe of Khuzáah.²

Besides the kingdoms which have been taken notice of, there were some other tribes which in latter times had princes of their own, and formed states of lesser note, particularly the tribe of Kinda;³ but as I am not writing a just history of the Arabs, and an account of them would be of no great use to my present purpose, I shall waive any further mention of them.

The government of Arabia after the time of Muhammad.

After the time of Muhammad, Arabia was for about three centuries under the Khalífahs his successors. But in the year 325 of the Hijra, great part of that country was in the hands of the Karmatians,⁴ a new sect who had committed great outrages and disorders even in Makkah, and to whom the Khalífahs were obliged to pay tribute, that the pilgrimage thither might be performed: of this sect I may have occasion to speak in another place. Afterwards Yaman was governed by the house of Thabátiba, descended from Ali, the son-in-law of Muhammad, whose sovereignty in Arabia some place so high as the time of Charlemagne. However, it was the posterity of Ali, or pretenders to be such, who reigned in Yaman and Egypt so early as the tenth century. The present reigning family in Yaman is probably that of Ayúb, a branch of which reigned there in

¹ Poc. Spec., p. 55 seq.

² Vide *ibid.*, p. 41, and Prideaux's Life of Mahomet, p. 2.

³ Vide Poc. Spec., p. 79, &c.

⁴ Vide Elmacin. in Vita al Rádi.

the thirteenth century, and took the title of Khalífah and Imám, which they still retain.¹ * They are not possessed of the whole province of Yaman,² there being several other independent kingdoms there, particularly that of Fartakh. The crown of Yaman descends not regularly from father to son, but the prince of the blood royal who is most in favour with the great ones, or has the strongest interest, generally succeeds.³

The governors of Makkah and Madína, who have always been of the race of Muhammad, also threw off their subjection to the Khalífahs, since which time four principal families, all descended from Hassan the son of Ali, have reigned there under the title of Sharíf, which signifies *noble*, as they reckon themselves to be on account of their descent. These are Banu Qádir, Banu Músa Thani, Banu Hásham, and Banu Kitáda;⁴ which last family now is, or lately was, in the throne of Makkah, where they have reigned above 500 years.† The reigning family at Madína

The governors of Makkah and Madína independent.

* There is no one family now ruling over the whole of Yaman. At present the Turks have at least nominal dominion in the northern part to about 17° 30' north latitude. In Southern Yaman there is no paramount sovereign, the Záidí family having been deposed from the throne of Sanáa some years ago. The Sultán of Gáara, in Lower Jafá, who is recognised as a sort of hierarch in those regions, exercises considerable authority under the title of *Affí*. He is said to pronounce judgment by fire ordeals. His principal rival is the Sultán of Maár, in the district of Abián, but he has thus far been able to maintain his position as the most respected judge in Southern Yaman. In addition to these there is the so-called six-finger dynasty (said to have twelve fingers and twelve toes) of the Osmáni rulers in the region near Aden, who are subsidised by the English. These are also rivals of the Affí.

E. M. W.

† The present Grand Sharíf of Makkah is Abdal Muttalib, who was deposed in 1858 by the Sultán of Turkey, and kept at Constantinople as a state prisoner for more than twenty years. His successor in office was assassinated at Jidda in 1880 by a fanatic, because, as

¹ Voyage de l'Arab. Heur., p. 255.

² Ibid., pp. 153, 273.

³ Ibid., p. 254.

⁴ Ibid., p. 143.

are the Banu Hášham, who also reigned at Makkah before those of Kitáda.¹

The rulers of
Yaman inde-
pendent.

The kings of Yaman, as well as the princes of Makkah and Madína, are absolutely independent² and not at all subject to the Turk, as some late authors have imagined.³ * These princes often making cruel wars among themselves, gave an opportunity to Selim I. and his son Sulaimán, to make themselves masters of the coasts of Arabia on the Red Sea, and of part of Yaman, by means of a fleet built at Sues: but their successors have not been able to maintain their conquests; for, except the port of Jidda, where

is believed by some, he refused to recognise the Sultán of Turkey as the Khalifah (caliph or vicegerent of Muhammad). Strange to say, the Sultán reinstated the exiled Grand Sharíf. He is said to be a mortal enemy of the English. Yet he does not appear to be popular in Arabia, as an unsuccessful attempt was made on his life soon after his arrival at Makkah.

E. M. W.

* The defeat of the Wahábis by Ibrahím Pásha in 1818 brought a considerable portion of Arabia, comprising about two hundred thousand square miles, under Turkish suzerainty. The rule of the Turk, however, is for the most part merely nominal, and this becomes more so each year as the power of the Ottoman empire decreases. So far, however, as recognised, it extends over almost the whole of Hijáz, with Makkah, Madína, and Jidda, under semi-independent rulers, the northern part of Yaman, and about half of Ahra (with Palgrave's Hofhoof) on the east coast. Madína is subject to the Grand Sharíf of Makkah.

A German traveller (Von Moltzau) tells us that Arabia, especially South-Western Arabia, is honeycombed by numerous sects, notably by that of the "Hidden Imám." The Wahábis too are stirring again, and the powerful chief of Northern Hijáz, with his hordes of Bedouíns, is quite ready to throw off the Ottoman yoke, light as it is. It therefore appears that while the Turk possesses considerably more authority in Arabia than he formerly did, according to our author, there is every reason to believe it to be for the most part nominal, and that even this tenure is likely to be of short duration. (I am indebted for most of the information in this note and the two preceding to the research of the Rev. P. M. Zenker, C.M.S., Agra.)

E. M. W.

¹ Voyage de l'Arab. Heur., p. 145.

² Ibid., pp. 143, 148.

³ Vide D'Herbel., Bibl. Orient., p. 477.

they have a Pasha whose authority is very small, they possess nothing considerable in Arabia.¹*

Thus have the Arabs preserved their liberty, of which Arabian
liberty pre-
served in all
ages. few nations can produce so ancient monuments, with very little interruption, from the very Deluge; for though very great armies have been sent against them, all attempts to subdue them were unsuccessful. The Assyrian or Median empires never got footing among them.² The Persian monarchs, though they were their friends, and so far respected by them as to have an annual present of frankincense,³ yet could never make them tributary;⁴ and were so far from being their masters, that Cambyses, on his expedition against Egypt, was obliged to ask their leave to pass through their territories;⁵ and when Alexander had subdued that mighty empire, yet the Arabians had so little apprehension of him, that they alone, of all the neighbouring nations, sent no ambassadors to him, either first or last; which, with a desire of possessing so rich a country, made him form a design against it, and had he not died before he could put it in execution,⁶ this people might possibly have convinced him that he was not invincible: and I do not find that any of his successors, either in Asia or Egypt, ever made any attempt against them.⁷ The Romans never conquered any part of Arabia properly so called; the most they did was to make some tribes in Syria tributary to them, as Pompey did one commanded by Sampsicramus or Shams'alkerám, who reigned at Hems or Emesa;⁸ but none of the Romans, or any other nations that we know of, ever penetrated so far into Arabia as Ælius Gallus under Augustus Cæsar;⁹ yet he was so far from subduing it, as some authors pretend,¹⁰ that he

* See note above.

¹ Voy. de l'Arab. Heur., p. 148.

² Diodor. Sic., l. 2, p. 131.

³ Herodot., l. 3, c. 97.

⁴ Idem ib. c. 91. Diodor., ubi sup.

⁵ Herodot., l. 3, c. 8 and 98.

⁶ Strabo, l. 16, pp. 1076, 1132.

⁷ Vide Diodor. Sic., ubi supra.

⁸ Strabo, l. 16, p. 1092.

⁹ Dion Cassius, l. 53, p. m. 516.

¹⁰ Huet, Hist. du Commerce et de la Navigation des Anciens, c. 50.

was soon obliged to return without effecting anything considerable, having lost the best part of his army by sickness and other accidents.¹ This ill success probably discouraged the Romans from attacking them any more; for Trajan, notwithstanding the flatteries of the historians and orators of his time, and the medals struck by him, did not subdue the Arabs; the province of Arabia, which it is said he added to the Roman empire, scarce reaching farther than Arabia Petrea, or the very skirts of the country. And we are told by one author,² that this prince, marching against the Agarens who had revolted, met with such a reception that he was obliged to return without doing anything.

✓ The religion
of the Arabs
before Mu-
hammad.

The religion of the Arabs before Muhammad, which they call the state of ignorance, in opposition to the knowledge of God's true worship revealed to them by their prophet, was chiefly gross idolatry; the Sabian religion having almost overrun the whole nation, though there were also great numbers of Christians, Jews, and Magians among them.

The Sabian
religion de-
scribed.

✓ I shall not here transcribe what Dr. Prideaux³ has written of the original of the Sabian religion; but instead thereof insert a brief account of the tenets and worship of that sect. They do not only believe one God, but produce many strong arguments for his unity, though they also pay an adoration to the stars, or the angels and intelligences which they suppose reside in them, and govern the world under the Supreme Deity. They endeavour to perfect themselves in the four intellectual virtues, and believe the souls of wicked men will be punished for nine thousand ages, but will afterwards be received to mercy. They are obliged to pray three times⁴ a day; the first, half an hour or less before sunrise, ordering it so that they may, just as the sun rises, finish eight adorations, each containing three prostrations:⁵ the second prayer they

¹ See the whole expedition described at large by Strabo, l. 16, p. 1126, &c.

² Xiphilin., epit.

³ Connect. of the Hist. of the Old and New Test., p. 1, bk. 3.

⁴ Some say seven. See D'Hérbelot, p. 726, and Hyde, De Rel. Vet. Pers., p. 128.

⁵ Others say they use no incurvations or prostrations at all; vide Hyde, *ibid.*

end at noon, when the sun begins to decline, in saying which they perform five such adorations as the former: and the same they do the third time, ending just as the sun sets. They fast three times a year, the first time thirty days, the next nine days, and the last seven. They offer many sacrifices, but eat no part of them, burning them all. They abstain from beans, garlic, and some other pulse and vegetables.¹ As to the Sabian Qibla, or part to which they turn their faces in praying, authors greatly differ; one will have it to be the north,² another the south, a third Makkah, and a fourth the star to which they pay their devotions:³ and perhaps there may be some variety in their practice in this respect. They go on pilgrimage to a place near the city of Harran in Mesopotamia, where great numbers of them dwell, and they have also a great respect for the temple of Makkah, and the pyramids of Egypt;⁴ fancying these last to be the sepulchres of Seth, and of Enoch and Sabi his two sons, whom they look on as the first propagators of their religion; at these structures they sacrifice a cock and a black calf, and offer up incense.⁵ Besides the Book of Psalms, the only true Scripture they read, they have other books which they esteem equally sacred, particularly one in the Chaldean tongue which they call the Book of Seth, and which is full of moral discourses. This sect say they took the name of Sabian from the above-mentioned Sabi, though it seems rather to be derived from **ܫܒܐ**, *Saba*,⁶ or the *host of heaven*, which they worship.⁷ Travellers commonly call them Christians of St. John the Baptist, whose disciples also they pretend to be, using a kind of baptism, which is the greatest mark they bear of Christianity. This is one of the religions, the practice of which Muhammad tolerated (on

¹ Abulfarag, Hist. Dynast., p. 281, &c.

² Idem ibid.

³ Hyde, ubi supra, p. 124, &c.

⁴ D'Herbelot, ubi supra.

⁵ See Greaves' Pyramidog., pp. 6, 7.

⁶ Vide Poc. Spec., p. 138.

⁷ Thábit Ibn Kurrah, a famous

astronomer, and himself a Sabian, wrote a treatise in Syriac concerning the doctrines, rites, and ceremonies of this sect; from which, if it could be recovered, we might expect much better information than any taken from the Arabian writers; vide Abulfarag, ubi supra.

paying tribute), and the professors of it are often included in that expression of the Qurán, "those to whom the Scriptures have been given," or literally, *the people of the book*.*

✓ Arab idolatry and star-worship.

The idolatry of the Arabs then, as Sabians, chiefly consisted in worshipping the fixed stars and planets, and the angels and their images, which they honoured as inferior deities, and whose intercession they begged, as their mediators with GOD. For the Arabs acknowledged one supreme GOD, the Creator and LORD of the universe, whom they called Allah Taála, the most high GOD; and their other deities, who were subordinate to him, they called simply al Ilahát, *i.e.*, the goddesses; which words the Grecians not understanding, and it being their constant custom to resolve the religion of every other nation into their own, and find out gods of theirs to match the others', they pretend that the Arabs worshipped only two deities, Orotalt and Alilat, as those names are corruptly written, whom they will have to be the same with Bacchus and Urania; pitching on the former as one of the greatest of their own gods, and educated in Arabia, and on the other because of the veneration shown by the Arabs to the stars.¹

They acknowledged one supreme God.

Evolution of Idolatry to Monotheism

That they acknowledged one supreme GOD, appears, to omit other proof, from their usual form of addressing themselves to him, which was this, "I dedicate myself to thy service, O GOD! Thou hast no companion, except thy companion of whom thou art absolute master, and of whatever is his."² So that they supposed the idols not to be *sui juris*, though they offered sacrifices and other offerings to them, as well as to GOD, who was also often put off with the least portion, as Muhammad upbraids them. Thus when they planted fruit-trees or sowed a field, they divided it by a line into two parts, setting one apart for

* For a better account of these Sabians, see note on chap. ii. v. 61.

E. M. W.

¹ Vide Herodot., l. 3, c. 8; Arrian, pp. 161, 162; and Strabo, l. 16.

² Al Shahristáni.

their idols, and the other for GOD; if any of the fruits happened to fall from the idol's part into GOD's, they made restitution; but if from GOD's part into the idol's, they made no restitution. So when they watered the idol's grounds, if the water broke over the channels made for that purpose, and ran on GOD's part, they dammed it up again; but if the contrary, they let it run on, saying, they wanted what was GOD's, but he wanted nothing.¹ In the same manner, if the offering designed for GOD happened to be better than that designed for the idol, they made an exchange, but not otherwise.²

It was from this gross idolatry, or the worship of inferior deities, or companions of GOD, as the Arabs continue to call them, that Muhammad reclaimed his countrymen, establishing the sole worship of the true GOD among them; so that how much soever the Muhammadans are to blame in other points, they are far from being idolaters,* as some ignorant writers have pretended.

Muhammad
restored
primitive
mono-
theism.

The worship of the stars the Arabs might easily be led into, from their observing the changes of weather to happen at the rising and setting of certain of them,³ which after a long course of experience induced them to ascribe a divine power to those stars, and to think themselves indebted to them for their rains, a very great benefit and refreshment to their parched country: this superstition the Qurán particularly takes notice of.⁴

Origin of
star-
worship.

* So far as the Qurán and the religion of Muhammad are concerned, a charge of idolatry would be a sign of ignorance. But when we take into account the reverence of Muslims for the Black Stone at Makkah, their worship of Walis or saints, and notably of Hasan and Husain, the charge is just. However, when this inconsistency of Muslims is made to appear as an argument against Islám, it is as absurd as the attempt of Muslims to establish the charge of idolatry against Christians by pointing to Roman Catholic image-worship.

E. M. W.

¹ Nodhm al dorr.

² Al Baidháwi.

³ Vide post.

⁴ Vide Poc. Spec., p. 163.

The temple
of Bait
Ghumdán at
Sanaa.

The ancient Arabians and Indians, between which two nations was a great conformity of religions, had seven celebrated temples, dedicated to the seven planets; one of which in particular, called Bait Ghumdán, was built in Sanaa, the metropolis of Yaman, by Dahaq, to the honour of al Zuharah or the planet Venus, and was demolished by the Khalífah Othman;¹ by whose murder was fulfilled the prophetic inscription set, as is reported, over this temple, viz., "Ghumdán, he who destroyeth thee shall be slain."² The temple of Makkah is also said to have been consecrated to Zuhál, or Saturn.³

Different
stars wor-
shipped by
different
tribes.

Though these deities were generally revered by the whole nation, yet each tribe chose some one as the more peculiar object of their worship.

Thus as to the stars and planets, the tribe of Himyár chiefly worshipped the sun; Misam,⁴ al Dabarán, or the Bull's-eye; Lakhm and Jodám, al Múshtari, or Jupiter; Tay, Suhail, or Canopus; Qais, Sirius, or the Dog-star; and Asad, Atárid, or Mercury.⁵ Among the worshippers of Sirius, one Abu Qabsha was very famous; some will have him to be the same with Waháb, Muhammad's grandfather by the mother, but others say he was of the tribe of Khuzáah. This man used his utmost endeavours to persuade the Quraish to leave their images and worship this star; for which reason Muhammad, who endeavoured also to make them leave their images, was by them nicknamed the son of Abu Qabsha.⁶ The worship of this star is particularly hinted at in the Qurán.⁷

Angels or
gods wor-
shipped as
intercessors.

Of the angels or intelligences which they worshipped, the Qurán⁸ makes mention only of three, which were worshipped under female names;⁹ al Lat, al Uzza, and Mínáh. These were by them called goddesses, and the daughters

¹ Shahrístáni.

² Al Jannábi.

⁵ Abulfarag, p. 160.

³ Shahrístáni.

⁶ Poc. Spec., p. 132.

⁴ This name seems to be corrupted, there being no such among the Arab tribes. Poc. Spec., p. 130.

⁷ Cap. 53, v. 1.

⁸ *Ibid.*, vs. 19-28.

⁹ *Ibid.*

of GOD; an appellation they gave not only to the angels, but also to their images, which they either believed to be inspired with life by GOD, or else to become the tabernacles of the angels, and to be animated by them; and they gave them divine worship, because they imagined they interceded for them with GOD.

Al Lát was the idol of the tribe of Thakíf who dwelt at Tayif, and had a temple consecrated to her in a place called Nakhla. This idol al Mughairah destroyed by Muhammad's order, who sent him and Abu Sofíán on that commission in the ninth year of the Hijra.¹ The inhabitants of Tayif, especially the women, bitterly lamented the loss of this their deity, which they were so fond of, that they begged of Muhammad, as a condition of peace, that it might not be destroyed for three years, and not obtaining that, asked only a month's respite; but he absolutely denied it.² There are several derivations of this word, which the curious may learn from Dr. Pocock;³ it seems most probably to be derived from the same root with *Allah*, to which it may be a feminine, and will then signify *the goddess*.

Al Uzza, as some affirm, was the idol of the tribes of Quraish and Kinánah,⁴ and part of the tribe of Salim;⁵ others⁶ tell us it was a tree called the Egyptian thorn, or acacia, worshipped by the tribe of Ghatfán, first consecrated by one Dhálim, who built a chapel over it, called Boss, so contrived as to give a sound when any person entered. Khálid Ibn Walíd being sent by Muhammad in the eighth year of the Hijra to destroy this idol, demolished the chapel, and cutting down this tree or image, burnt it: he also slew the priestess, who ran out with her hair dishevelled, and her hands on her head as a suppliant. Yet

¹ Dr. Prideaux mentions this expedition, but names only Abu Sofíán, and mistaking the name of the idol for an appellative, supposes he went only to disarm the Tayifians of their weapons and instruments of war. See his *Life of Mahomet*, p. 98.

² Abulfeda, *Vit. Muham.*, p. 127.

³ Poc. Spec., p. 90.

⁴ Al Jauhari, *apud eund.*, p. 91.

⁵ Al Shah, *ib.* ⁶ Al Firauz, *ib.*

the author who relates this, in another place says, the chapel was pulled down, and Dhálim himself killed by one Zuhair, because he consecrated this chapel with design to draw the pilgrims thither from Makkah, and lessen the reputation of the Kaabah. The name of this deity is derived from the root *azza*, and signifies *the most mighty*.

Mináh was the object of worship of the tribes of Hudhail and Khuzáah,¹ who dwelt between Makkah and Madína, and, as some say,² of the tribes of Aws, Khazraj, and Thakíf also. This idol was a large stone,³ demolished by one Saad, in the eighth year of the Hijra, a year so fatal to the idols of Arabia. The name seems derived from *mana*, to flow, from the flowing of the blood of the victims sacrificed to the deity; whence the valley of Mína,⁴ near Makkah, had also its name, where the pilgrims at this day slay their sacrifices.⁵

✓ The idol
Mináh.

Before we proceed to the other idols, let us take notice of five more, which with the former three are all the Qurán mentions by name, and they are Wadd, Sawá, Yaghúth, Yáúq, and Nasr. These are said to have been antediluvian idols, which Noah preached against, and were afterwards taken by the Arabs for gods, having been men of great merit and piety in their time, whose statues they revered at first with a civil honour only, which in process of time became heightened to a divine worship.⁶

✓ Idols Wadd,
Sawá,
Yaghúth,
Yáúq, and
Nasr.

✓ Wadd was supposed to be the heaven, and was worshipped under the form of a man by the tribe of Qalb in Daumat al Jandal.⁷

✓ Sawá was adored under the shape of a woman by the tribe of Hamadan, or, as others⁸ write, of Hudhail in Rohat. This idol lying under water for some time after the Deluge, was at length, it is said, discovered by the devil, and was worshipped by those of Hudhail, who instituted pilgrimages to it.⁹

¹ Al Jauhari.

² Al Shahrístání, Abulfeda, &c.

³ Al Baidháwi, al Zamakhshari.

⁴ Poc. Spec., p. 91, &c.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Qurán, c. 71, v. 22; Comment.

Persic.; vide Hyde, De Rel. Vet. Pers., p. 133.

⁷ Al Jauhari, al Shahrístání.

⁸ Idem, al Firauzábádi, and Sa-fu'ddín.

⁹ Al Firauzáb.

Yaghúth was an idol in the shape of a lion, and was the deity of the tribe of Madhaj and others who dwelt in Yaman.¹ Its name seems to be derived from *ghatha*, which signifies *to help*.

Yäúq was worshipped by the tribe of Murád, or, according to others, by that of Hamadan,² under the figure of a horse. It is said he was a man of great piety, and his death much regretted; whereupon the devil appeared to his friends in a human form, and undertaking to represent him to the life, persuaded them, by way of comfort, to place his effigies in their temples, that they might have it in view when at their devotions. This was done, and seven others of extraordinary merit had the same honours shown them, till at length their posterity made idols of them in earnest.³ The name Yäúq probably comes from the verb *āqa*, *to prevent or avert*.⁴

Nasr was a deity adored by the tribe of Himyár, or at Dhu'l Khalaah in their territories, under the image of an eagle, which the name signifies.

There are, or were, two statues at Bamiyan, a city of Cabul in the Indies, fifty cubits high, which some writers suppose to be the same with Yaghúth and Yäúq, or else with Mínáh and al Lát; and they also speak of a third standing near the others, but something less, in the shape of an old woman, called Nasram or Nasr. These statues were hollow within, for the secret giving of oracles;⁵ but they seem to have been different from the Arabian idols. There was also an idol at Súmenat in the Indies, called Lát or al Lát,* whose statue was fifty fathoms high, of a

* *Somnáth* is the name of the idol, and is applied to the god Mahadev. This idol may have been called *Lát* or *al Lát* by the Muslim plunderer, Mahmúd, and his followers, but that it was ever so called by the Hindus is a mistake.

E. M. W.

¹ Shahristáni.

² Al Jauhari.

³ Al Firauzáb.

⁴ Poc. Spec., p. 94.

⁵ See Hyde, *De Rel. Vet. Pers.*, p.

single stone, and placed in the midst of a temple supported by fifty-six pillars of massy gold: this idol Mahmúd Ibn Sabaqtaghín, who conquered that part of India, broke to pieces with his own hands.¹

The worship
of Hobal
and other
idols of the
Kaabah.

Besides the idols we have mentioned, the Arabs also worshipped great numbers of others, which would take up too much time to have distinct accounts given of them; and not being named in the Qurán, are not so much to our present purpose: for besides that every housekeeper had his household god or gods, which he last took leave of and first saluted at his going abroad and returning home,² there were no less than 360 idols,³ equalling in number the days of their year, in and about the Kaabah of Makkah; the chief of whom was Hobal,⁴ brought from Belka in Syria into Arabia by Amru Ibn Luhai, pretending it would procure them rain when they wanted it.⁵ It was the statue of a man, made of agate, which having by some accident lost a hand, the Quraish repaired it with one of gold: he held in his hand seven arrows without heads or feathers, such as the Arabs use in divination.⁶ This idol is supposed to have been the same with the image of Abraham,⁷ found and destroyed by Muhammad in the Kaabah, on his entering it, in the eighth year of the Hijra, when he took Makkah,⁸ and surrounded with a great number of angels and prophets, as inferior deities; among whom, as some say, was Ismaíl, with divining arrows in his hand also.⁹

The idols
Asáf and
Naíliah of
Safá and
Marwa.

Asáf and Naíliah, the former the image of a man, the latter of a woman, were also two idols brought with Hobal from Syria, and placed the one on Mount Safá, and the other on Mount Marwa.* They tell us Asáf was the son

* Safá and Marwa "are two slightly elevated spots adjacent to the Temple of Mekkeh."—*Lane's Kurán*, p. 33. E. M. W.

¹ D'Herbelot, *Bibl. Orient.*, p.

⁵ *Poc. Spec.*, p. 95.

⁵¹².

⁶ *Safiu'ddín*.

² *Al Mustatraf*.

⁷ *Poc. Spec.*, p. 97.

³ *Al Jannáb*.

⁸ *Abulfeda*.

⁴ *Abulfed.*, *Shahrist.*, &c.

⁹ *Ibn al Ashir.*, *al Jannáb.*, &c.

of Amru, and Naílāh the daughter of Sahál, both of the tribe of Jorham, who committing whoredom together in the Kaabah, were by GOD converted into stone,¹ and afterwards worshipped by the Quraish, and so much revered by them, that though this superstition was condemned by Muhammad, yet he was forced to allow them to visit those mountains as monuments of divine justice.²

I shall mention but one idol more of this nation, and that was a lump of dough worshipped by the tribe of Hanífa, who used it with more respect than the Papists do theirs, presuming not to eat it till they were compelled to it by famine.³

The dough-worship of the tribe of Hanífa.

Several of their idols, as Mínáh in particular, were no more than large rude stones, the worship of which the posterity of Ismaíl first introduced; for as they multiplied, and the territory of Makkah grew too strait for them, great numbers were obliged to seek new abodes; and on such migrations it was usual for them to take with them some of the stones of that reputed holy land, and set them up in the places where they fixed; and these stones they at first only compassed out of devotion, as they had accustomed to do the Kaabah. But this at last ended in rank idolatry, the Ismaílites forgetting the religion left them by their father so far as to pay divine worship to any fine stone they met with.⁴

Origin of stone-worship.

Some of the pagan Arabs believed neither a creation past, nor a resurrection to come, attributing the origin of things to nature, and their dissolution to age. Others believed both, among whom were those who, when they died, had their camel tied by their sepulchre, and so left, without meat or drink, to perish, and accompany them to the other world, lest they should be obliged, at the resurrection, to go on foot, which was reckoned very scandalous.⁵

Arab belief in a future life.

¹ Poc. Spec., p. 98.

⁴ Al Mustatraf, al Jannábi.

✓ ² Qurán, c. 2, v. 159.

⁵ Abulfarag, p. 160.

³ Al Mustatraf, al Jauhari.

Some believed a metempsychosis, and that of the blood near the dead person's brain was formed a bird named *Hámah*, which once in a hundred years visited the sepulchre; though others say this bird was animated by the soul of him that is unjustly slain, and continually cries, *Isqúni, Isqúni, i.e.,* "give me to drink"—meaning of the murderer's blood—till his death be revenged, and then it flies away. This was forbidden by the Qurán to be believed.¹

I might here mention several superstitious rites and customs of the ancient Arabs, some of which were abolished and others retained by Muhammad; but I apprehend it will be more convenient to take notice of them hereafter occasionally, as the negative or positive precepts of the Qurán, forbidding or allowing such practices, shall be considered.

Let us now turn our view from the idolatrous Arabs, to those among them who had embraced more rational religions.

✓ The Magian religion adopted by some tribes.

The Persians had, by their vicinity and frequent intercourse with the Arabians, introduced the Magian religion among some of their tribes, particularly that of Tamím,² a long time before Muhammad, who was so far from being unacquainted with that religion, that he borrowed many of his own institutions from it, as will be observed in the progress of this work. I refer those who are desirous to have some notion of Magism to Dr Hyde's curious account of it,³ a succinct abridgment of which may be read with much pleasure in another learned performance.⁴

✓ Judaism introduced as a result of Roman persecution.

The Jews, who fled in great numbers into Arabia from the fearful destruction of their country by the Romans, made proselytes of several tribes, those of Kinánah, al Háarith Ibn Kaabah, and Kindah⁵ in particular, and in

¹ Vide Poc. Spec., p. 135.

² Al Mustatraf.

✓ ³ In his Hist. Relig. Vet. Pers.

⁴ Dr. Prideaux's Connect. of the

Hist. of the Old and New Test., part i. book 4.

⁵ Al Mustatraf.

time became very powerful, and possessed of several towns and fortresses there. But the Jewish religion was not unknown to the Arabs, at least above a century before. Abu Qaríb Asad, taken notice of in the Qurán,¹ who was king of Yaman, about 700 years before Muhammad,* is said to have introduced Judaism among the idolatrous Himyárites. Some of his successors also embraced the same religion, one of whom, Yusaf, surnamed Dhu Nuwás,² was remarkable for his zeal and terrible persecution of all who would not turn Jews, putting them to death by various tortures, the most common of which was throwing them into a glowing pit of fire, whence he had the opprobrious appellation of the Lord of the Pit. This persecution is also mentioned in the Qurán.³

Christianity had likewise made a very great progress among this nation before Muhammad. Whether St. Paul preached in any part of Arabia, properly so called,⁴ is uncertain; but the persecutions and disorders which happened in the Eastern Church soon after the beginning of the third century, obliged great numbers of Christians to seek for shelter in that country of liberty, who, being for the most part of the Jacobite communion, that sect generally prevailed among the Arabs.⁵ The principal tribes that embraced Christianity were Himyár, Ghassán, Rabíá, Taghlab, Bahrá, Tunúkh,⁶ part of the tribes of Tay and Kudáa, the inhabitants of Najrán, and the Arabs of Hira.⁷ As to the two last, it may be observed that those of Najrán became Christians in the time of Dhu Nuwás,⁸ and very probably,

Christianity
in Arabia.

* Here is another instance of the error into which the writers of last century were led by Muslim authors. This Abú Qaríb Asad flourished about the beginning of the third century of our era, and hence about four hundred years before Muhammad. See *Introd. Muir's Life of Muhomet*, vol. i. p. clvi.

E. M. W.

¹ Chap. 50.

² See before, p. 28, and Baronii, *Annal.* ad sec. vi.

³ Chap. 85, vv. 4, 5.

⁴ See Galat. i. 17.

⁵ Abulfarag, p. 149.

⁶ Al Mustatraf.

⁷ Vide Poc. Spec., p. 137.

⁸ Al Jannábi, apud Poc. Spec., p.

if the story be true, were some of those who were converted on the following occasion, which happened about that time, or not long before. The Jews of Himyár challenged some neighbouring Christians to a public disputation, which was held *sub dio* for three days before the king and his nobility and all the people, the disputants being Gregentius, bishop of Tephra (which I take to be Dhafár) for the Christians, and Herbanus for the Jews. On the third day, Herbanus, to end the dispute, demanded that Jesus of Nazareth, if he were really living and in heaven, and could hear the prayers of his worshippers, should appear from heaven in their sight, and they would then believe in him; the Jews crying out with one voice, "Show us your Christ, alas! and we will become Christians." Whereupon, after a terrible storm of thunder and lightning, Jesus Christ appeared in the air, surrounded with rays of glory, walking on a purple cloud, having a sword in his hand, and an inestimable diadem on his head, and spake these words over the heads of the assembly, "Behold I appear to you in your sight, I, who was crucified by your fathers." After which the cloud received him from their sight. The Christians cried out, "*Kyrie eleeson*," i.e., "Lord, have mercy upon us;" but the Jews were stricken blind, and recovered not till they were all baptized.¹*

The Christians at Hira received a great accession by several tribes, who fled thither for refuge from the persecution of Dhu Nuwás. Al Numán, surnamed Abu Kabús, king of Hira, who was slain a few months before Muhammad's birth, professed himself a Christian on the following occasion. This prince, in a drunken fit, ordered

* We can but wonder at the apparent credulity which could admit a story like this as anything more than a fabrication. The whole account of the persecution of Christians by Dhu Nuwás shows that Christianity had been introduced before his time. E. M. W.

¹ Vide Gregentii disput. cum Herbano Judæo.

two of his intimate companions, who overcome with liquor had fallen asleep, to be buried alive. When he came to himself, he was extremely concerned at what he had done, and to expiate his crime, not only raised a monument to the memory of his friends, but set apart two days, one of which he called the unfortunate, and the other the fortunate day; making it a perpetual rule to himself, that whoever met him on the former day should be slain, and his blood sprinkled on the monument, but he that met him on the other day should be dismissed in safety, with magnificent gifts. On one of those unfortunate days there came before him accidentally an Arab of the tribe of Tay, who had once entertained this king when fatigued with hunting and separated from his attendants. The king, who could neither discharge him, contrary to the order of the day, nor put him to death, against the laws of hospitality, which the Arabians religiously observe, proposed, as an expedient, to give the unhappy man a year's respite, and to send him home with rich gifts for the support of his family, on condition that he found a surety for his returning at the year's end to suffer death. One of the prince's court, out of compassion, offered himself as his surety, and the Arab was discharged. When the last day of the term came, and no news of the Arab, the king, not at all displeased to save his host's life, ordered the surety to prepare himself to die. Those who were by represented to the king that the day was not yet expired, and therefore he ought to have patience till the evening; but in the middle of their discourse the Arab appeared. The king, admiring the man's generosity, in offering himself to certain death, which he might have avoided by letting his surety suffer, asked him what his motive was for so doing? to which he answered, that he had been taught to act in that manner by the religion he professed; and al Numán, king of Hira, converted to Christianity. Whereupon the king desiring to have the doctrines of Christianity explained to him, was baptized,

he and his subjects; and not only pardoned the man and his surety, but abolished his barbarous custom.¹ This prince, however, was not the first king of Hira who embraced Christianity; al Mundár, his grandfather, having also professed the same faith, and built large churches in his capital.²

The extent
of the Chris-
tian Church
in Arabia.

Since Christianity had made so great a progress in Arabia, we may consequently suppose they had bishops in several parts, for the more orderly governing of the churches. A bishop of Dhafár has been already named, and we are told that Najrán was also a bishop's see.³ The Jacobites (of which sect we have observed the Arabs generally were) had two bishops of the Arabs subject to their Mafrián,* or metropolitan of the East; one was called the bishop of the Arabs absolutely, whose seat was for the most part at Akula, which some others make the same with Kúfa,⁴ others a different town near Baghdád.⁵ The other had the title of bishop of the Scenite Arabs, of the tribe of Thaalab in Hira, or Hirta, as the Syrians call it, whose seat was in that city. The Nestorians had but one bishop, who presided over both these dioceses of Hira and Akula, and was immediately subject to their patriarch.⁶

Free
thought
and Zendi-
cism among
the Quraish.

These were the principal religions which obtained among the ancient Arabs; but as freedom of thought was the natural consequence of their political liberty and independence, some of them fell into other different opinions. The Quraish, in particular, were infected with Zendicism,⁷ an error supposed to have very near affinity with that of the Sadducees among the Jews, and, perhaps, not greatly

* Lane says "the Copts call their metropolitan *Matran*."—*Kurán*, p. 39, note. E. M. W.

¹ Al Maidáni and Ahmad Ibn Yusaf, apud Poc. Spec., p. 72

² Abulfeda, apud eund., p. 74.

³ Safi'uddin, apud Poc. Spec., p.

137.

⁴ Abulfarag in Chron. Syriac, MS.

⁵ Abulfeda in Descr. Iracæ.

⁶ Vide Assemani, Bibl. Orient., tom. 2, in Dissert. de Monophysitis, and p. 245.

⁷ Al Mustatraf, apud Poc. Spec., p. 136.

different from Deism ; for there were several of that tribe, even before the time of Muhammad, who worshipped one God and were free from idolatry,¹ and yet embraced none of the other religions of the country.

The Arabians before Muhammad were, as they yet are, divided into two sorts—those who dwell in cities and towns, and those who dwell in tents. The former lived by tillage, the cultivation of palm-trees, breeding and feeding of cattle, and the exercise of all sorts of trades,² particularly merchandising,³ wherein they were very eminent, even in the time of Jacob. The tribe of Quraish were much addicted to commerce, and Muhammad, in his younger years, was brought up to the same business ; it being customary for the Arabians to exercise the same trade that their parents did.⁴ The Arabs who dwelt in tents employed themselves in pasturage, and sometimes in pillaging of passengers ; they lived chiefly on the milk and flesh of camels ; they often changed their habitations, as the convenience of water and of pasture for their cattle invited them, staying in a place no longer than that lasted, and then removing in search of other.⁵ They generally wintered in Irák and the confines of Syria. This way of life is what the greater part of Ismaël's posterity have used, as more agreeable to the temper and way of life of their father ; and is so well described by a late author,⁶ that I cannot do better than refer the reader to his account of them.

Two classes
of Arabs
previous to
Muhammad.

The Arabic language is undoubtedly one of the most ancient in the world, and arose soon after, if not at, the confusion of Babel. There were several dialects of it, very different from each other : the most remarkable were that spoken by the tribes of Himyâr and the other genuine Arabs,

The dialects
of the Arabic
language.

¹ Vide Reland, *De Relig. Moham.*, p. 270 ; and Millium *de Moham-medismo ante Moham.*, p. 311.

² These seem to be the same whom M. La Roque calls Moors. *Voy. dans la Palestine*, p. 110.

³ See Prideaux's *Life of Mahomet*, p. 6.

⁴ Strabo, l. 16, p. 1129.

⁵ Idem *ibid.*, p. 1084.

⁶ La Roque, *Voy. dans la Palestine*, p. 109, &c.

and that of the Quraish. The Himyáritia seems to have approached nearer to the purity of the Syriac than the dialect of any other tribe; for the Arabs acknowledge their father Yarab to have been the first whose tongue deviated from the Syriac (which was his mother tongue, and is almost generally acknowledged by the Asiatics to be the most ancient) to the Arabic. The dialect of the Quraish is usually termed the pure Arabic, or, as the Qurán, which is written in this dialect, calls it, the perspicuous and clear Arabic; perhaps, says Dr. Pocock, because Ismaél, their father, brought the Arabic he had learned of the Jorhamites nearer to the original Hebrew. But the politeness and elegance of the dialect of the Quraish is rather to be attributed to their having the custody of the Kaabah, and dwelling in Makkah, the centre of Arabia, as well more remote from intercourse with foreigners, who might corrupt their language, as frequented by the Arabs from the country all around, not only on a religious account, but also for the composing of their differences, from whose discourse and verses they took whatever words or phrases they judged more pure and elegant; by which means the beauties of the whole tongue became transfused into this dialect. The Arabians are full of the commendations of their language, and not altogether without reason; for it claims the preference of most others in many respects, as being very harmonious and expressive, and withal so copious, that they say no man without inspiration can be perfect master of it in its utmost extent; and yet they tell us, at the same time, that the greatest part of it has been lost; which will not be thought strange if we consider how late the art of writing was practised among them. For though it was known to Job,¹ their countryman, and also to the Himyárites (who used a perplexed character called al Musnad, wherein the letters were not distinctly separate, and which was neither publicly taught, nor suffered to be used

The art of
writing in
Arabia.

¹ Job xix. 23, 24.

without permission first obtained), many centuries before Muhammad, as appears from some ancient monuments, said to be remaining in their character; yet the other Arabs, and those of Makkah in particular, were, for many ages, perfectly ignorant of it, unless such of them as were Jews or Christians.¹ Murámir Ibn Murra of Anbár, a city of Irák, who lived not many years before Muhammad, was the inventor of the Arabic character, which Bashar the Kindian is said to have learned from those of Anbár, and to have introduced at Makkah but a little while before the institution of Muhammadism. These letters of Murámir were different from the Himyáritic; and though they were very rude, being either the same with or very much like the Cufic,² which character is still found in inscriptions and some ancient books, yet they were those which the Arabs used for many years, the Qurán itself being at first written therein; for the beautiful character they now use was first formed from the Cufic by Ibn Muklah, Wazír (or Visir) to the Khalífahs al Muktadir, al Qáhir, and al Rádi, who lived about three hundred years after Muhammad, and was brought to great perfection by Ali Ibn Bawáb,³ who flourished in the following century, and whose name is yet famous among them on that account; yet, it is said, the person who completed it, and reduced it to its present form, was Yaqút al Mustásami, secretary to al Mustásam, the last of the Khalífahs of the family of Abbás, for which reason he was surnamed al Khattái, or the Scribe.

The accomplishments the Arabs valued themselves chiefly on were: 1. Eloquence, and a perfect skill in their own tongue; 2. Expertness in the use of arms and horse-

Arab accomplishments and learning.

¹ See Prideaux's *Life of Mahomet*, pp. 29, 30.

² A specimen of the Cufic character may be seen in Sir J. Chardin's *Travels*, vol. iii. p. 119.

³ Ibn Khaliqán. Yet others attribute the honour of the invention

of this character to Ibn Muklah's brother, Abdallah al Hassan, and the perfecting of it to Ibn Amíd al Kátib, after it had been reduced to near the present form by Abd'alhamíd. Vide D'Herbel, *Bibl. Orient.*, pp. 590, 108, and 194.

manship; and .3. Hospitality.¹ The first they exercised themselves in by composing of orations and poems. Their orations were of two sorts, metrical or prosaic, the one being compared to pearls strung, and the other to loose ones. They endeavoured to excel in both, and whoever was able, in an assembly, to persuade the people to a great enterprise or dissuade them from a dangerous one, or gave them other wholesome advice, was honoured with the title of Khatîb, or orator, which is now given to the Muhammadan preachers. They pursued a method very different from that of the Greek and Roman orators; their sentences being like loose gems, without connection, so that this sort of composition struck the audience chiefly by the fulness of the periods, the elegance of the expression, and the acuteness of the proverbial sayings; and so persuaded were they of their excelling in this way, that they would not allow any nation to understand the art of speaking in public except themselves and the Persians, which last were reckoned much inferior in that respect to the Arabians.² Poetry was in so great esteem among them, that it was a great accomplishment, and a proof of ingenious extraction, to be able to express one's self in verse with ease and elegance on any extraordinary occurrence; and even in their common discourse they made frequent applications to celebrated passages of their famous poets. In their poems were preserved the distinction of descents, the rights of tribes, the memory of great actions, and the propriety of their language; for which reasons an excellent poet reflected an honour on his tribe, so that as soon as any one began to be admired for his performances of this kind in a tribe, the other tribes sent publicly to congratulate them on the occasion, and themselves made entertainments, at which the women assisted, dressed in their nuptial ornaments, singing to the sound of timbrels the happiness of their tribe, who had

Style of
prose and
poetry.

Honour
bestowed
on poets.

¹ Poc. Orat. ante Carmen Tograi, p. 10.

² Poc. Spec., p. 161.

now one to protect their honour, to preserve their genealogies and the purity of their language, and to transmit their actions to posterity;¹ for this was all performed by their poems, to which they were solely obliged for their knowledge and instructions, moral and economical, and to which they had recourse, as to an oracle, in all doubts and differences.² No wonder, then, that a public congratulation was made on this account, which honour they yet were so far from making cheap, that they never did it but on one of these three occasions, which were reckoned great points of felicity, viz., on the birth of a boy, the rise of a poet, and the fall of a foal of generous breed. To keep up an emulation among their poets, the tribes had, once a year, a general assembly at Okátz,³ a place famous on this account, and where they kept a weekly mart or fair, which was held on our Sunday.⁴ This annual meeting lasted a whole month, during which time they employed themselves, not only in trading, but in repeating their poetical compositions, contending and vieing with each other for the prize; whence the place, it is said, took its name.⁵ The poems that were judged to excel were laid up in their kings' treasuries, as were the seven celebrated poems, thence called al Muallaqát, rather than from their being hung up on the Kaabah, which honour they also had by public order, being written on Egyptian silk and in letters of gold; for which reason they had also the name of al Mudháhabát, or the golden verses.⁶

Poetic contests at the fair of Okátz.

The fair and assembly at Okátz were suppressed by Muhammad, in whose time, and for some years after, poetry seems to have been in some degree neglected by the Arabs, who were then employed in their conquests; which being completed, and themselves at peace, not only

This fair suppressed by Muhammad.

¹ Ibn Rashik, apud Poc. Spec., p. 160.

⁴ Geogr. Nub., p. 51.

² Poc. Orat. præfix. Carm. Tograi, ubi supra.

⁵ Poc. Spec., p. 159.

⁶ Ibid., and p. 381. Et in calce Notar. in Carmen Tograi, p. 233.

³ Idem, Spec., p. 159.

this study was revived,¹ but almost all sorts of learning were encouraged and greatly improved by them. This interruption, however, occasioned the loss of most of their ancient pieces of poetry, which were then chiefly preserved by memory; the use of writing being rare among them in their time of ignorance.² Though the Arabs were so early acquainted with poetry, they did not at first use to write poems of a just length, but only expressed themselves in verse occasionally; nor was their prosody digested into rules, till some time after Muhammad;³ for this was done, as it is said, by al Khakíl Ahmad al Farábídi, who lived in the reign of the Khalífah Hárún al Rashíd.⁴

Arab eque-
strian and
military
training.

The exercise of arms and horsemanship they were in a manner obliged to practise and encourage, by reason of the independence of their tribes, whose frequent jarrings made wars almost continual; and they chiefly ended their disputes in field battles, it being a usual saying among them that God had bestowed four peculiar things on the Arabs—that their turbans should be to them instead of diadems, their tents instead of walls and houses, their swords instead of entrenchments, and their poems instead of written laws.⁵

Their hospi-
tality and
liberality.

Hospitality was so habitual to them, and so much esteemed, that the examples of this kind among them exceed whatever can be produced from other nations. Hátim, of the tribe of Tay,⁶ and Hasan, of that of Fizárah,⁷ were particularly famous on this account; and the con-

¹ Jaláluddín al Soyú., apud Poc. Spec., p. 159, &c.

² Ibid., p. 160.

³ Ibid., 161. Al Safadi confirms this by a story of a grammarian named Abu Jaafar, who sitting by the Mikyas or Nilometer in Egypt, in a year when the Nile did not rise to its usual height, so that a famine was apprehended, and dividing a piece of poetry into its parts or feet, to examine them by the rules of art,

some who passed by not understanding him, imagined he was uttering a charm to hinder the rise of the river, and pushed him into the water, where he lost his life.

⁴ Vide Clericum de Prosod. Arab., p. 2.

⁵ Pocock, in calce Notar. ad Carmen Tograi.

⁶ Vide Gentii Notas in Gulistan Sheikh Sadi, p. 486, &c.

⁷ Poc. Spec., p. 48.

trary vice was so much in contempt, that a certain poet upbraids the inhabitants of Wasat, as with the greatest reproach, that none of their men had the heart to give nor their women to deny.¹

Nor were the Arabs less propense to liberality after the coming of Muhammad than their ancestors had been. I could produce many remarkable instances of this commendable quality among them,² but shall content myself with the following. Three men were disputing in the court of the Kaabah which was the most liberal person among the Arabs. One gave the preference to Abdallah, the son of Jaafar, the uncle of Muhammad; another to Qais Ibn Saad Ibn Obádah; and the third gave it to Arábah, of the tribe of Aws. After much debate, one that was present, to end the dispute, proposed that each of them should go to his friend and ask his assistance, that they might see what every one gave, and form a judgment accordingly. This was agreed to; and Abdallah's friend, going to him, found him with his foot in the stirrup, just mounting his camel for a journey, and thus accosted him: "Son of the apostle of God, I am travelling and in necessity." Upon which Abdallah alighted, and bade him take the camel with all that was upon her, but desired him not to part with a sword which happened to be fixed to the saddle, because it had belonged to Ali, the son of Abutálib. So he took the camel, and found on her some vests of silk and 4000 pieces of gold; but the thing of greatest value was the sword. The second went to Qais Ibn Saad, whose servant told him that his master was asleep, and desired to know his business. The friend answered that he came to ask Qais's assistance, being in want on the road. Whereupon the servant said that he had rather supply his necessity than wake his master, and gave him a purse of 7000 pieces of gold, assuring him that it was all the money then in

¹ Ibn al Hubairah, apud Poc. in Not. ad Carmen Tograi, p. 107.

² Several may be found in D'Herbelot's Bibl. Orient., particularly in the articles of Hasan the son of Ali, Maan Fadhál, and Ibn Yahya.

the house. He also directed him to go to those who had the charge of the camels, with a certain token, and take a camel and a slave and return home with them. When Qais awoke, and his servant informed him of what he had done, he gave him his freedom, and asked him why he did not call him, "For," says he, "I would have given him more." The third man went to Arábah, and met him coming out of his house in order to go to prayers, and leaning on two slaves, because his eyesight failed him. The friend no sooner made known his case, but Arábah let go the slaves, and clapping his hands together, loudly lamented his misfortune in having no money, but desired him to take the two slaves, which the man refused to do, till Arábah protested that if he would not accept of them he gave them their liberty, and leaving the slaves, groped his way along by the wall. On the return of the adventurers, judgment was unanimous, and with great justice, given by all who were present, that Arábah was the most generous of the three.

Nor were these the only good qualities of the Arabs; they are commended by the ancients for being most exact to their words¹ and respectful to their kindred.² And they have always been celebrated for their quickness of apprehension and penetration, and the vivacity of their wit, especially those of the desert.³

As the Arabs have their excellences, so have they, like other nations, their defects and vices. Their own writers acknowledge that they have a natural disposition to war, bloodshed, cruelty,* and rapine, being so much addicted

* On the authority of Lane I give the following from Burckhardt's *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahhabys*, vol. i. p. 185:—"The Turk is cruel, the Arab of a more kind temper; he pities and supports the wretched, and never forgets the generosity shown to him even by an enemy. Not accustomed to the sanguinary scenes that harden and

¹ Herodot., l. 3, c. 8.

² Strabo, l. 16, p. 1129.

³ Vide D'Herbel., *Bibl. Orient.*, p. 121.

to bear malice that they scarce ever forget an old grudge ; which vindictive temper some physicians say is occasioned by their frequently feeding on camels' flesh * (the ordinary diet of the Arabs of the desert, who are therefore observed to be most inclined to these vices), that creature being most malicious and tenacious of anger,¹ which account suggests a good reason for a distinction of meats.

The frequent robberies committed by these people on merchants and travellers have rendered the name of an Arab almost infamous in Europe ; this they are sensible of, and endeavour to excuse themselves by alleging the hard usage of their father Ismaël, who, being turned out of doors by Abraham, had the open plains and deserts given him by God for his patrimony, with permission to take whatever he could find there ; and on this account they think they may, with a safe conscience, indemnify themselves as well as they can, not only on the posterity of Isaac, but also on everybody else, always supposing a sort of kindred between themselves and those they plunder. And in relating their adventures of this kind, they think it sufficient to change the expression, and instead of " I robbed a man of such or such a thing," to say " I gained it." ² We must not, however, imagine that they are the less honest for this among themselves, or towards those

Strange
apology for
plundering
propensity.

corrupt an Osmanly's heart, the Bedouin learns at an early period of life to abstain and to suffer, and to know from experience the healing power of pity and consolation."—*Kurân*, p. 48, note. E. M. W.

* This, again, according to Burckhardt, is a mistake, for he says that the slaughter of a camel rarely happens. (See his *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahhabys*, vol. i. p. 63 ; Lane's *Kurân*, p. 48.) But the testimony of tradition to the fact that the Quraish, during their expedition against Muhammad which resulted in the battle of Badr, slaughtered nine camels daily, would seem to indicate that, whatever modern custom may be, the Arabs of Muhammad's time indulged very freely in camels' flesh. E. M. W.

¹ Vide Poc. Spec., p. 87 ; Bochart, Hierozoic., l. 2, c. 1.

² Voyage dans la Palest., p. 220, &c.

whom they receive as friends ; on the contrary, the strictest probity is observed in their camp, where everything is open and nothing ever known to be stolen.*¹

The sciences
in Arabia
previous to
Muhammad.

The sciences the Arabians chiefly cultivated before Muhammadism were three—that of their genealogies and history, such a knowledge of the stars as to foretell the changes of weather, and the interpretation of dreams.² They used to value themselves excessively on account of the nobility of their families, and so many disputes happened on that occasion, that it is no wonder if they took great pains in settling their descents. What knowledge they had of the stars was gathered from long experience, and not from any regular study or astronomical rules.³ The Arabians, as the Indians also did, chiefly applied themselves to observe the fixed stars, contrary to other nations, whose observations were almost confined to the

* That this statement is incorrect is evident from the following remarks in Burckhardt's *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahhabys*, vol. i. pp. 157, 158 :—"The Arabs may be styled a nation of robbers, whose principal occupation is plunder, the constant subject of their thoughts. But we must not attach to this practice the same notions of criminality that we entertain respecting highwaymen, housebreakers, and thieves in Europe. The Arabian robber considers his profession as honourable, and the term *haramy* (robber) is one of the most flattering titles that could be conferred on a youthful hero. The Arab robs his enemies, his friends, and his neighbours, provided that they are not actually in his own tent, where their property is sacred. To rob in the camp or among friendly tribes is not reckoned creditable to a man, yet no stain remains upon him for such an action, which, in fact, is of daily occurrence. But the Arab chiefly prides himself on robbing his enemies, and on bringing away by stealth what he could not have taken by open force. The Bedouins have reduced robbery in all its branches to a complete and regular system, which offers many interesting details."

For these details the reader is referred to the excellent work from which the above is quoted, Lane's *Kurán*, note to p. 49. E. M. W.

¹ Voyage dans la Palest., p. 213, &c.

² Al Shahristáni, apud Poc. Orat., ubi sup., p. 9, and Spec., p. 164.

³ Abulfarag, p. 161.

planets, and they foretold their effects from their influences, not their nature; and hence, as has been said, arose the difference of the idolatry of the Greeks and Chaldeans, who chiefly worshipped the planets, and that of the Indians, who worshipped the fixed stars. The stars or asterisms they most usually foretold the weather by were those they called Anwá, or the houses of the moon. These are twenty-eight in number, and divide the zodiac into as many parts, through one of which the moon passes every night;¹ as some of them set in the morning, others rise opposite to them, which happens every thirteenth night; and from their rising and setting, the Arabs, by long experience, observed what changes happened in the air, and at length, as has been said, came to ascribe divine power to them; saying that their rain was from such or such a star; which expression Muhammad condemned, and absolutely forbade them to use it in the old sense, unless they meant no more by it than that God had so ordered the seasons, that when the moon was in such or such a mansion or house, or at the rising or setting of such and such a star, it should rain or be windy, hot or cold.²

The old Arabians, therefore, seem to have made no further progress in astronomy, which science they afterwards cultivated with so much success and applause,*

* R. Bosworth Smith, in his *Lectures on Muhammad and Muhammadanism*, p. 216, makes the following statement on this subject:—

“During the dark period of European history, the Arabs for five hundred years held up the torch of learning to humanity. It was the Arabs who then ‘called the Muses from their ancient seats;’ who collected and translated the writings of the Greek masters; who understood the geometry of Apollonius, and wielded the weapons found in the logical armoury of Aristotle. It was the Arabs who developed the sciences of agriculture and astronomy, and created those of algebra and chemistry; who adorned their cities with

¹ Vide Hyde in not. ad *Tabulas stellar fixar.* Ulugh Beigh, p. 5.

² Vide Poc. Spec., p. 163, &c.

than to observe the influence of the stars on the weather and to give them names; and this it was obvious for them to do, by reason of their pastoral way of life, lying night and day in the open plains. The names they imposed on the stars generally alluded to cattle and flocks, and they were so nice in distinguishing them, that no language has so many names of stars and asterisms as the Arabic; for though they have since borrowed the names of several constellations from the Greeks, yet the far greater part are of their own growth, and much more ancient, particularly those of the more conspicuous stars, dispersed in several constellations, and those of the lesser constellations which are contained within the greater, and were not observed or named by the Greeks.¹

Thus have I given the most succinct account I have been able of the state of the ancient Arabians before Muhammad, or, to use their expression, in the time of ignorance. I shall now proceed briefly to consider the state of religion in the East, and of the two great empires which divided that part of the world between them at the time of Muhammad's setting up for a prophet, and what were the conducive circumstances and accidents that favoured his success.

colleges and libraries, as well as with mosques and palaces; who supplied Europe with a school of philosophers from Cordova, and a school of physicians from Salerno."

This expresses the opinion of a numerous class of modern writers on Islám. But, whilst according to the Arabs all praise for what they did towards the preservation and advancement of learning during the dark ages, we cannot see that astronomy, as a science, owes much to Arab genius. As in regard to philosophical learning and medical science, so in regard to astronomy, it may be fairly said that the Muslims did not improve on their Greek masters. They never succeeded in elevating it out of the region of astrology.

On this question, see Arnold's *Islám and Christianity*, pp. 233-236.

E. M. W.

¹ Vide Hyde, ubi sup., p. 4.

SECTION II.

OF THE STATE OF CHRISTIANITY, PARTICULARLY OF THE EASTERN CHURCHES, AND OF JUDAISM, AT THE TIME OF MUHAMMAD'S APPEARANCE; AND OF THE METHODS TAKEN BY HIM FOR THE ESTABLISHING HIS RELIGION, AND THE CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH CONCURRED THERETO.

If we look into the ecclesiastical historians even from the third century, we shall find the Christian world to have then had a very different aspect from what some authors have represented; and so far from being endued with active graces, zeal, and devotion, and established within itself with purity of doctrine, union, and firm profession of the faith,¹ that on the contrary, what by the ambition of the clergy, and what by drawing the abtrusest niceties into controversy, and dividing and subdividing about them into endless schisms and contentions, they had so destroyed that peace, love, and charity from among them which the Gospel was given to promote, and instead thereof continually provoked each other to that malice, rancour, and every evil work, that they had lost the whole substance of their religion, while they thus eagerly contended for their own imaginations concerning it, and in a manner quite drove Christianity out of the world by those very controversies in which they disputed with each other about it.² In these dark ages it was that most of those superstitions and corruptions we now justly abhor

The decline
of true reli-
gion in the
Church.

¹ Ricaut's State of the Ottoman Empire, p. 187.

² Prideaux's Preface to his Life of Mahomet.

in the Church of Rome were not only broached but established, which gave great advantages to the propagation of Muhammadism. The worship of saints and images, in particular, was then arrived at such a scandalous pitch that it even surpassed whatever is now practised among the Romanists.¹

Controversies in the Eastern Churches, and corruption of the clergy.

After the Nicene Council, the Eastern Church was engaged in perpetual controversies, and torn to pieces by the disputes of the Arians, Sabellians, Nestorians, and Eutychians, the heresies of the two last of which have been shown to have consisted more in the words and form of expression than in the doctrines themselves,² and were rather the pretences than real motives of those frequent councils to and from which the contentious prelates were continually riding post, that they might bring everything to their own will and pleasure.³ And to support themselves by dependants and bribery, the clergy in any credit at court undertook the protection of some officer in the army, under the colour of which justice was publicly sold and all corruption encouraged.

In the Western Church Damasus and Ursicinus carried their contests at Rome for the episcopal seat so high, that they came to open violence and murder, which Viventius, the governor, not being able to suppress, he retired into the country, and left them to themselves, till Damasus prevailed. It is said that on this occasion, in the church of Sicininus, there were no less than one hundred and thirty-seven found killed in one day. And no wonder they were so fond of these seats, when they became by that means enriched by the presents of matrons, and went abroad in their chariots and sedans in great state, feasting sumptuously even beyond the luxury of princes, quite

¹ Vide *La Vie de Mahommed*, par Boulainvilliers, p. 219, &c.

² Vide Simon, *Hist. Crit. de la Créance*, &c., des Nations du Levant.

³ Ammian. Marcellin., l. 21. Vide etiam Euseb., *Hist. Eccles.*, l. 8, c. 1. Sozom., l. 1, c. 14, &c. Hilar. et Sulpic. Sever. in *Hist. Sacr.*, p. 112, &c.

contrary to the way of living of the country prelates, who alone seemed to have some temperance and modesty left.¹

These dissensions were greatly owing to the emperors, and particularly to Constantius, who, confounding the pure and simple Christian religion with anile superstitions, and perplexing it with intricate questions, instead of reconciling different opinions, excited many disputes, which he fomented as they proceeded with infinite alterations.² This grew worse in the time of Justinian, who, not to be behind the bishops of the fifth and sixth centuries in zeal, thought it no crime to condemn to death a man of a different persuasion from his own.³

Evil influence of Roman emperors in the Church.

This corruption of doctrine and morals in the princes and clergy was necessarily followed by a general depravity of the people;⁴ those of all conditions making it their sole business to get money by any means, and then to squander it away when they had got it in luxury and debauchery.⁵

But, to be more particular as to the nation we are now writing of, Arabia was of old famous for heresies,⁶ which might be in some measure attributed to the liberty and independency of the tribes. Some of the Christians of that nation believed the soul died with the body, and was to be raised again with it at the last day:⁷ these Origen is said to have convinced.⁸ Among the Arabs it was that the heresies of Ebion, Beryllus, and the Nazaræans,⁹ and also that of the Collyridians, were broached, or at least propagated; the latter introduced the Virgin Mary for God, or worshipped her as such, offering her a sort of twisted cake called *collyris*, whence the sect had its name.¹⁰

Arabia famous for heresy.

¹ Ammian. Marcellin., lib. 27.

² Idem, l. 21.

³ Procop. in Anecd., p. 60.

⁴ See an instance of the wickedness of the Christian army, even when they were under the terror of the Saracens, in Ockley's Hist. of the Sarac., vol. i. p. 239.

⁵ Vide Boulainvil, Viede Mahom., ubi sup.

⁶ Vide Sozomen., Hist. Eccles., l. 1, c. 16, 17. Sulpic. Sever., ubi supra.

⁷ Euseb., Hist. Eccles.; l. 6, c. 33.

⁸ Idem ibid., c. 37.

⁹ Epiphan. de Hæres., l. 2; Hær. 40.

¹⁰ Idem ibid., l. 3; Hæres., 75, 79.

✓ Mariolatry
and the doc-
trine of the
Trinity.

This notion of the divinity of the Virgin Mary was also believed by some at the Council of Nice, who said there were two gods besides the Father, viz., Christ and the Virgin Mary, and were thence named Mariamites.¹ Others imagined her to be exempt from humanity and deified, which goes but little beyond the Popish superstition in calling her the complement of the Trinity, as if it were imperfect without her. This foolish imagination is justly condemned in the Qurán² as idolatrous, and gave a handle to Muhammad to attack the Trinity itself.*

Arabia re-
fuge for
heretics.

Other sects there were of many denominations within the borders of Arabia, which took refuge there from the proscriptions of the imperial edicts, several of whose notions Muhammad incorporated with his religion, as may be observed hereafter.

✓ The power
of the Jews
in Arabia,
and Muham-
mad's treat-
ment of
them.

Though the Jews were an inconsiderable and despised people in other parts of the world, yet in Arabia, whither many of them fled from the destruction of Jerusalem, they grew very powerful, several tribes and princes embracing their religion; which made Muhammad at first show great regard to them, adopting many of their opinions, doctrines, and customs, thereby to draw them, if possible, into his interest. But that people, agreeably to their wonted obstinacy, were so far from being his proselytes, that they were some of the bitterest enemies he had, waging continual war with him, so that their reduction cost him infinite trouble and danger, and at last his life. This aversion of theirs created at length as great a one in him to them, so that he used them, for the latter part of his life, much worse than he did the Christians, and frequently exclaims against them in his Qurán. His followers to this day observe the same difference between them and

* A careful study of the Qurán will show that this is *the only conception* of a Trinity which found a place in Muhammad's mind.

E. M. W.

¹ Elmacin. Eutych.

² Cap. 5, v. 77.

the Christians, treating the former as the most abject and contemptible people on earth.

It has been observed by a great politician,¹ that it is impossible a person should make himself a prince and found a state without opportunities. If the distracted state of religion favoured the designs of Muhammad on that side, the weakness of the Roman and Persian monarchies might flatter him with no less hopes in any attempt on those once formidable empires, either of which, had they been in their full vigour, must have crushed Muhammadism in its birth; whereas nothing nourished it more than the success the Arabians met with in their enterprises against those powers, which success they failed not to attribute to their new religion and the divine assistance thereof.

Islám succeeds as a religion through political weakness of Rome and Persia.

The Roman empire declined apace after Constantine, whose successors were for the generality remarkable for their ill qualities, especially cowardice and cruelty. By Muhammad's time, the western half of the empire was overrun by the Goths, and the eastern so reduced by the Huns on the one side and the Persians on the other, that it was not in a capacity of stemming the violence of a powerful invasion. The Emperor Maurice paid tribute to the Khagán or king of the Huns; and after Phocas had murdered his master, such lamentable havoc there was among the soldiers, that when Heraclius came, not above seven years after, to muster the army, there were only two soldiers left alive of all those who had borne arms when Phocas first usurped the empire. And though Heraclius was a prince of admirable courage and conduct, and had done what possibly could be done to restore the discipline of the army, and had had great success against the Persians, so as to drive them not only out of his own dominions, but even out of part of their own; yet still the very vitals of the empire seemed to be mortally wounded,

Decline of the Roman empire.

¹ Machiavelli, *Princ.*, c. 6, p. 19.

that there could no time have happened more fatal to the empire or more favourable to the enterprises of the Arabs, who seem to have been raised up on purpose by God to be a scourge to the Christian Church for not living answerably to that most holy religion which they had received.¹

The general luxury and degeneracy of manners into which the Græcians were sunk also contributed not a little to the enervating their forces, which were still further drained by those two great destroyers, monachism and persecution.

✓ The communism of Mazdak. The Persians had also been in a declining condition for some time before Muhammad, occasioned chiefly by their intestine broils and dissensions, great part of which arose from the devilish doctrines of Manes and Mazdak. The opinions of the former are tolerably well known: the latter lived in the reign of Khusrú Kobád, and pretended himself a prophet sent from God to preach a community of women and possessions, since all men were brothers and descended from the same common parents. This he imagined would put an end to all feuds and quarrels among men, which generally arose on account of one of the two. Kobád himself embraced the opinions of this impostor, to whom he gave leave, according to his new doctrine, to lie with the queen his wife; which permission Anushirwán, his son, with much difficulty prevailed on Mazdak not to make use of. These sects had certainly been the immediate ruin of the Persian empire, had not Anushirwán, as soon as he succeeded his father, put Mazdak to death with all his followers, and the Manicheans also, restoring the ancient Magian religion.²

In the reign of this prince, deservedly surnamed the Just, Muhammad was born. He was the last king of Persia who deserved the throne, which after him was

¹ Ockley's Hist. of the Saracens, vol. i. p. 19, &c.

² Vide Poc. Spec., p. 70.

almost perpetually contended for, till subverted by the Arabs. His son Hormuz lost the love of his subjects by his excessive cruelty: having had his eyes put out by his wife's brothers, he was obliged to resign the crown to his son Khusrú Parváz, who at the instigation of Bahrám Chubín had rebelled against him, and was afterwards strangled. Parváz was soon obliged to quit the throne to Bahrám, but obtaining succours of the Greek emperor Maurice, he recovered the crown; yet towards the latter end of a long reign he grew so tyrannical and hateful to his subjects, that they held private correspondence with the Arabs, and he was at length deposed, imprisoned, and slain by his son Shirúyah.¹ After Parváz no less than six princes possessed the throne in less than six years. These domestic broils effectually brought ruin upon the Persians; for though they did rather by the weakness of the Greeks than their own force ravage Syria and sack Jerusalem and Damascus under Khusrú Parváz, and, while the Arabs were divided and independent, had some power in the province of Yaman, where they set up the four last kings before Muhammad; yet, when attacked by the Greeks under Heraclius, they not only lost their new conquests, but part of their own dominions; and no sooner were the Arabs united by Muhammadism, than they beat them in every battle, and in a few years totally subdued them.

Decline of
the Persian
empire.

As these empires were weak and declining, so Arabia, at Muhammad's setting up, was strong and flourishing; having been peopled at the expense of the Grecian empire, whence the violent proceedings of the domineering sects forced many to seek refuge in a free country, as Arabia then was, where they who could not enjoy tranquillity and their conscience at home found a secure retreat. The Arabians were not only a populous nation, but unacquainted with the luxury and delicacies of the Greeks and Persians, and inured to hardships of all sorts, living

The political
power of
Arabia con-
solidated
under Mu-
hammad.

¹ Vide Teixeira, *Relaciones de los Reyes de Persia*, p. 195, &c.

in a most parsimonious manner, seldom eating any flesh, drinking no wine, and sitting on the ground. Their political government was also such as favoured the designs of Muhammad; for the division and independency of their tribes were so necessary to the first propagation of his religion and the foundation of his power, that it would have been scarce possible for him to have effected either had the Arabs been united in one society. But when they had embraced his religion, the consequent union of their tribes was no less necessary and conducive to their future conquests and grandeur.

This posture of public affairs in the Eastern world, both as to its religious and political state, it is more than probable Muhammad was well acquainted with, he having had sufficient opportunities of informing himself in those particulars in his travels as a merchant in his younger years; and though it is not to be supposed his views at first were so extensive as afterwards, when they were enlarged by his good fortune, yet he might reasonably promise himself success in his first attempts from thence. As he was a man of extraordinary parts and address, he knew how to make the best of every incident, and turn what might seem dangerous to another to his own advantage.

Muham-
mad's birth,
nurture,
marriage,
and fortune.

Muhammad came into the world under some disadvantages, which he soon surmounted. His father, Abdallah, was a younger son¹ of Abd al Mutallib, and dying very young and in his father's lifetime, left his widow and infant son in very mean circumstances, his whole substance consisting but of five camels and one Ethiopian she-slave.² Abd al Mutallib was therefore obliged to take care of his grandchild Muhammad, which he not only did during his

¹ He was not his eldest son, as Dr. Prideaux tells us, whose reflections built on that foundation must necessarily fail (see his *Life of Mahomet*, p. 9); nor yet his youngest son, as

M. de Boulainvilliers (*Vie de Mahommed*, p. 182, &c.) supposes; for Hamza and al Abbās were both younger than Abdallah.

² Abulfeda, *Vit. Moham.*, p. 2.

life, but at his death enjoined his eldest son, Abu Tálib, who was brother to Abdallah by the same mother, to provide for him for the future; which he very affectionately did, and instructed him in the business of a merchant, which he followed; and to that end he took him with him into Syria when he was but thirteen, and afterward recommended him to Khadíjah, a noble and rich widow, for her factor, in whose service he behaved himself so well, that by making him her husband she soon raised him to an equality with the richest in Makkah.

After he began by this advantageous match to live at his ease it was that he formed a scheme of establishing a new religion, or, as he expressed it, of replanting the only true and ancient one, professed by Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, and all the prophets,¹ by destroying the gross idolatry into which the generality of his countrymen had fallen, and weeding out the corruptions and superstitions which the latter Jews and Christians had, as he thought, introduced into their religion, and reducing it to its original purity, which consisted chiefly in the worship of one only God.

He forms the design of reforming the religion of his countrymen.

Whether this was the effect of enthusiasm, or only a design to raise himself to the supreme government of his country, I will not pretend to determine. The latter is the general opinion of Christian writers, who agree that ambition and the desire of satisfying his sensuality were the motives of his undertaking. It may be so, yet his first views, perhaps, were not so interested. His original design of bringing the pagan Arabs to the knowledge of the true God was certainly noble, and highly to be commended; for I cannot possibly subscribe to the assertion of a late learned writer,² that he made that nation exchange their idolatry for another religion altogether as bad. Muhammad was no doubt fully satisfied in his conscience of the truth of his grand point, the unity of God, which was what

Opinions as to probable motives of Muhammad.

¹ See Qurán, c. 2—9, 62

² Prideaux's Life of Mahomet, p. 76.

he chiefly attended to ; all his other doctrines and institutions being rather accidental and unavoidable than premeditated and designed. Since, then, Muhammad was certainly himself persuaded of his grand article of faith, which, in his opinion, was violated by all the rest of the world, not only by the idolaters, but by the Christians, as well those who rightly worshipped Jesus as GOD, as those who superstitiously adored the Virgin Mary, saints, and images ; and also by the Jews, who are accused in the Qurán of taking Ezra for the son of GOD ;¹ it is easy to conceive that he might think it a meritorious work to rescue the world from such ignorance and superstition ; and by degrees, with the help of a warm imagination, which an Arab seldom wants,² to suppose himself destined by Providence for the effecting that great reformation. And this fancy of his might take still deeper root in his mind during the solitude he thereupon affected, usually retiring for a month in the year to a cave in Mount Hira, near Makkah. One thing which may be probably urged against the enthusiasm of this prophet of the Arabs is the wise conduct and great prudence he all along showed in pursuing his design, which seem inconsistent with the wild notions of a hot-brained religionist. But though all enthusiasts or madmen do not behave with the same gravity and circumspection that he did, yet he will not be the first instance, by several, of a person who has been out of the way only *quoad hoc*, and in all other respects acted with the greatest decency and precaution.*

The terrible destruction of the Eastern Churches, once so glorious and flourishing, by the sudden spreading of Muhammadism, and the great successes of its professors against the Christians, necessarily inspire a horror of that

* For a most able and satisfactory exposition of the character of Muhammad, we refer the reader to Muir's *Life of Mahomet*, vol. iv. chap. xxxvii. E. M. W.

¹ Qurán, c. 10. v. 37.

² See Casaub. of Enthusiasm, p. 148.

His hold on
the doctrine
of the unity
of God.

Probably a
mono-
maniac on
the subject
of religion.

religion in those to whom it has been so fatal; and no wonder if they endeavour to set the character of its founder and its doctrines in the most infamous light. But the damage done by Muhammad to Christianity seems to have been rather owing to his ignorance than malice; for his great misfortune was his not having a competent knowledge of the real and pure doctrines of the Christian religion, which was in his time so abominably corrupted, that it is not surprising if he went too far, and resolved to abolish what he might think incapable of reformation.

He was ignorant of the pure doctrines of the Christian religion.

It is scarce to be doubted but that Muhammad had a violent desire of being reckoned an extraordinary person, which he could attain to by no means more effectually than by pretending to be a messenger sent from God to inform mankind of his will. This might be at first his utmost ambition; and had his fellow-citizens treated him less injuriously, and not obliged him by their persecutions to seek refuge elsewhere, and to take up arms against them in his own defence, he had perhaps continued a private person, and contented himself with the veneration and respect due to his prophetic office; but being once got at the head of a little army, and encouraged by success, it is no wonder if he raised his thoughts to attempt what had never before entered into his imagination.

His natural ambition is inflamed by success.

That Muhammad was, as the Arabs are by complexion,¹ a great lover of women, we are assured by his own confession; and he is constantly upbraided with it by the controversial writers, who fail not to urge the number of women with whom he had to do, as a demonstrative argument of his sensuality, which they think sufficiently proves him to have been a wicked man, and consequently an impostor. But it must be considered that polygamy, though it be forbidden by the Christian religion, was in Muhammad's time frequently practised in

His sensuality and doctrine of polygamy in accordance with the morality of his time. ✓

¹ Ammian Marcell., l. 14, c. 4.

Arabia and other parts of the East, and was not counted an immorality, nor was a man worse esteemed on that account; for which reason Muhammad permitted the plurality of wives, with certain limitations, among his own followers, who argue for the lawfulness of it from several reasons, and particularly from the examples of persons allowed on all hands to have been good men, some of whom have been honoured with the divine correspondence. The several laws relating to marriages and divorces, and the peculiar privileges granted to Muhammad in his Qurán, were almost all taken by him from the Jewish decisions, as will appear hereafter; and therefore he might think those institutions the more just and reasonable, as he found them practised or approved by the professors of a religion which was confessedly of divine original.

A tolerable morality was necessary to the success of his enterprise.

But whatever were his motives, Muhammad had certainly the personal qualifications which were necessary to accomplish his undertaking. The Muhammadan authors are excessive in their commendations of him, and speak much of his religious and moral virtues; as his piety, veracity, justice, liberality, clemency, humility, and abstinence. His charity in particular, they say, was so conspicuous, that he had seldom any money in his house, keeping no more for his own use than was just sufficient to maintain his family; and he frequently spared even some part of his own provisions to supply the necessities of the poor; so that before the year's end he had generally little or nothing left.¹ "God," says al Bokhári, "offered him the keys of the treasures of the earth, but he would not accept them." Though the eulogies of these writers are justly to be suspected of partiality, yet thus much, I think, may be inferred from thence, that for an Arab who had been educated in Paganism, and had but a very imperfect knowledge of his duty, he was a man of at least

¹ Vide Abulfeda Vit. Moham., p. 144, &c.

tolerable morals, and not such a monster of wickedness as he is usually represented. And indeed it is scarce possible to conceive that a wretch of so profligate a character should ever have succeeded in an enterprise of this nature; a little hypocrisy and saving of appearances, at least, must have been absolutely necessary; and the sincerity of his intentions is what I pretend not to inquire into.

He had indisputably a very piercing and sagacious wit, and was thoroughly versed in all the arts of insinuation.¹ The Eastern historians describe him to have been a man of an excellent judgment and a happy memory; and these natural parts were improved by a great experience and knowledge of men, and the observations he had made in his travels. They say he was a person of few words, of an equal, cheerful temper, pleasant and familiar in conversation, of inoffensive behaviour towards his friends, and of great condescension towards his inferiors.² To all which were joined a comely agreeable person and a polite address; accomplishments of no small service in preventing those in his favour whom he attempted to persuade.

As to acquired learning, it is confessed he had none at all; having had no other education than what was customary in his tribe, who neglected, and perhaps despised, what we call literature, esteeming no language in comparison with their own, their skill in which they gained by use and not by books, and contenting themselves with improving their private experience by committing to memory such passages of their poets as they judged might be of use to them in life. This defect was so far from being prejudicial or putting a stop to his design, that he made the greatest use of it; insisting that the writings which he produced as revelations from GOD could not possibly be a forgery of his own, because it was not

His intellectual gifts and suavity of manner.

His ignorance of letters and the use he made of it

¹ Vide Prid. Life of Mahomet, p. 105.

² Vide Abulfeda, ubi supra.

Trident

conceivable that a person who could neither write nor read should be able to compose a book of such excellent doctrine and in so elegant a style, and thereby obviating an objection that might have carried a great deal of weight.¹ And for this reason his followers, instead of being ashamed of their master's ignorance, glory in it, as an evident proof of his divine mission, and scruple not to call him (as he is indeed called in the Qurán itself ²) the "illiterate prophet."

His scheme
for the inau-
guration of
his religion.

The scheme of religion which Muhammad framed, and the design and artful contrivance of those written revelations (as he pretended them to be) which compose his Qurán, shall be the subject of the following sections: I shall therefore in the remainder of this relate, as briefly as possible, the steps he took towards the effecting of his enterprise, and the accidents which concurred to his success therein.

He begins
with the
conversion
of his own
household.

Before he made any attempt abroad, he rightly judged that it was necessary for him to begin by the conversion of his own household. Having therefore retired with his family, as he had done several times before, to the above-mentioned cave in Mount Hira, he there opened the secret of his mission to his wife Khadíjah, and acquainted her that the Angel Gabriel had just before appeared to him, and told him that he was appointed the apostle of God: he also repeated to her a passage³ which he pretended had been revealed to him by the ministry of the angel, with those other circumstances of his first appearance which are related by the Muhammadan writers. Khadíjah received the news with great joy,⁴ swearing by him in whose hands her soul was that she trusted he would be the prophet of his nation, and immediately communicated what she had heard to her cousin, Waraqa Ibn

¹ See Qurán, c. 29, v. 47. Prid. Life of Mahomet, p. 28, &c.

² Chap. 7.

³ This passage is generally agreed to be the first five verses of the 96th chapter.

⁴ I do not remember to have read in any Eastern author that Khadíjah ever rejected her husband's pretences as delusions, or suspected him of any imposture. Yet see Prideaux's Life of Mahomet, p. 11, &c.

Naufal, who, being a Christian, could write in the Hebrew character, and was tolerably well versed in the Scriptures;¹ and he as readily came into her opinion, assuring her that the same angel who had formerly appeared unto Moses was now sent to Muhammad.² This first overture the prophet made in the month of Ramadhán, in the fortieth year of his age, which is therefore usually called the year of his mission.

Encouraged by so good a beginning, he resolved to proceed, and try for some time what he could do by private persuasion, not daring to hazard the whole affair by exposing it too suddenly to the public. He soon made proselytes of those under his own roof, viz., his wife Khadíjah, his servant Zaid Ibn Háarith (to whom he gave his freedom³ on that occasion, which afterwards became a rule to his followers *), and his cousin and pupil Ali, the son of Abu Tálib, though then very young; but this last, making no account of the other two, used to style himself the "first of believers." The next person Muhammad applied to was Abdallah Ibn Abi Kuháfa, surnamed Abu Baqr, a man of great authority among the Quraish, and one whose interest he well knew would be of great service to him, as it soon appeared; for Abu Baqr being gained over, prevailed also on Othmán Ibn Affán, Abd al Rahmán Ibn Awf, Saad Ibn Abi Wakkás, Al Zubair

Secret manoeuvring.

Gains other converts from his own tribe.

* Lane calls attention to the fact that "the conversion of a person after he has been made a slave does not entitle him to, and seldom obtains for him, his freedom." The "followers" of Muhammad referred to in the text probably designates only those who were his contemporaries. Certainly the "rule" is not observed by the holders of slaves, black and white, in Turkey, Egypt, and other regions under Muslim government.

E. M. W.

¹ Vide Poc. Spec., p. 157.

² Vide Abulfeda, Vit. Moham., p. 16, where the learned translator has mistaken the meaning of this passage.

³ For he was his purchased slave, as Abulfeda expressly tells us, and not his cousin-german, as M. de Boulainvilliers asserts (Vie de Mah., p. 273).

At the end of three years he openly proclaims his doctrine.

Ibn al Awám, and Talha Ibn Obaidullah, all principal men in Makkah, to follow his example. These men were the six chief companions, who, with a few more, were converted in the space of three years, at the end of which Muhammad, having, as he hoped, a sufficient interest to support him, made his mission no longer a secret, but gave out that God had commanded him to admonish his near relations ;¹ and in order to do it with more convenience and prospect of success, he directed Ali to prepare an entertainment, and invite the sons and descendants of Abd al Mutallib, intending then to open his mind to them. This was done, and about forty of them came ; but Abu Lahab, one of his uncles, making the company break up before Muhammad had an opportunity of speaking, obliged him to give them a second invitation the next day ; and when they were come, he made them the following speech : “ I know no man in all Arabia who can offer his kindred a more excellent thing than I now do you. I offer you happiness both in this life and in that which is to come. God Almighty hath commanded me to call you unto him ; who therefore among you will be assisting to me herein, and become my brother and my vicegerent ? ” All of them hesitating and declining the matter, Ali at length rose up and declared that he would be his assistant, and vehemently threatened * those who should oppose him. Muhammad upon this embraced Ali with great demonstrations of affection, and desired all who were present to hearken to and obey him as his deputy, at which the

His relatives reject his prophetic claims.

* The statement that Ali “vehemently threatened those who should oppose” Muhammad is a mistake, which, says Lane (*Kurán*, p. 62), “originated with Gagnier, who, in his edition of Abu-l-Fida’s *Life of Mohammed*, has given the original words of this speech with several errors, and thus rendered them—‘Egomet ita faciam ; ego ipse dentes illio excutiam, aculos eruam, ventrem dissecabo, crura mutilabo, &c.’ (p. 19).”

E. M. W.

✓¹ Qurán, c. 74. See the notes thereon.

company broke out into great laughter, telling Abu Tálíb that he must now pay obedience to his son.

This repulse, however, was so far from discouraging Muhammad, that he began to preach in public to the people, who heard him with some patience, till he came to upbraid them with the idolatry, obstinacy, and perverseness of themselves and their fathers, which so highly provoked them that they declared themselves his enemies, and would soon have procured his ruin had he not been protected by Abu Tálíb. The chief of the Quraish warmly solicited this person to desert his nephew, making frequent remonstrances against the innovations he was attempting, which proving ineffectual, they at length threatened him with an open rupture if he did not prevail on Muhammad to desist. At this Abu Tálíb was so far moved that he earnestly dissuaded his nephew from pursuing the affair any further, representing the great danger he and his friends must otherwise run. But Muhammad was not to be intimidated, telling his uncle plainly "that if they set the sun against him on his right hand and the moon on his left, he would not leave his enterprise;" and Abu Tálíb, seeing him so firmly resolved to proceed, used no further arguments, but promised to stand by him against all his enemies.¹

Opposition
aroused by
his preach-
ing.

He is pro-
tected by
Abu Tálíb.

The Quraish, finding they could prevail neither by fair words nor menaces, tried what they could do by force and ill-treatment, using Muhammad's followers so very injuriously that it was not safe for them to continue at Makkah any longer: whereupon Muhammad gave leave to such of them as had not friends to protect them to seek for refuge elsewhere. And accordingly, in the fifth year of the prophet's mission, sixteen of them, four of whom were women, fled into Ethiopia; and among them Othmán Ibn Affán and his wife Rakiah, Muhammad's daughter. This was the first flight; but afterwards several others followed

First emi-
gration to
Abyssinia.

¹ Abulfeda, ubi supra.

them, retiring one after another, to the number of eighty-three men and eighteen women, besides children.¹ These refugees were kindly received by the Najáshi,² or king of Ethiopia, who refused to deliver them up to those whom the Quraish sent to demand them, and, as the Arab writers unanimously attest, even professed the Muhammadan religion.

Conversion
of Hamza
and Omar.

In the sixth year of his mission³ Muhammad had the pleasure of seeing his party strengthened by the conversion of his uncle Hamza, a man of great valour and merit, and of Omar Ibn al Khattáb, a person highly esteemed, and once a violent opposer of the prophet. As persecution generally advances rather than obstructs the spreading of a religion, Islám made so great a progress among the Arab tribes, that the Quraish, to suppress it effectually, if possible, in the seventh year of Muhammad's mission,⁴ made a solemn league or covenant against the Hášimites and the family of al Mutallib, engaging themselves to contract no marriages with any of them, and to have no communication with them; and to give it the greater sanction, reduced it into writing, and laid it up in the Kaabah. Upon this the tribe became divided into two factions, and the family of Hášim all repaired to Abu Tálib, as their head, except only Abd al Uzza, surnamed Abu Lahab, who, out of his inveterate hatred to his nephew and his doctrine, went over to the opposite party, whose chief was Abu Sofían Ibn Harb, of the family of Ommeya.

Social ostracism of the
Hášimites.

The league
against
the Hášim-
ites
broken.

The families continued thus at variance for three years; but in the tenth year of his mission, Muhammad told his uncle Abu Tálib that God had manifestly showed his disapprobation of the league which the Quraish had made against them, by sending a worm to eat out every word of the

¹ Idem, Ibn Shohnah.

² Dr. Prideaux seems to take this word for a proper name, but it is only the title the Arabs give to

every king of this country. See his *Life of Mahomet*, p. 55.

³ Ibn Shohnah,

⁴ Al Jannábi.

instrument except the name of God. Of this accident Muhammad had probably some private notice; for Abu Tálíb went immediately to the Quraish and acquainted them with it; offering, if it proved false, to deliver his nephew up to them; but in case it were true, he insisted that they ought to lay aside their animosity, and annul the league they had made against the Háshimites. To this they acquiesced, and going to inspect the writing, to their great astonishment found it to be as Abu Tálíb had said; and the league was thereupon declared void.

In the same year Abu Tálíb died, at the age of above fourscore; and it is the general opinion that he died an infidel, though others say that when he was at the point of death he embraced Muhammadism, and produce some passages out of his poetical compositions to confirm their assertion. About a month, or, as some write, three days after the death of this great benefactor and patron, Muhammad had the additional mortification to lose his wife Khadíjah, who had so generously made his fortune. For which reason this year is called the year of mourning.¹

Death of
Abu Tálíb
and Khadí-
jah.

On the death of these two persons the Quraish began to be more troublesome than ever to their prophet, and especially some who had formerly been his intimate friends; insomuch that he found himself obliged to seek for shelter elsewhere, and first pitched upon Tayif, about sixty miles east from Makkah, for the place of his retreat. Thither therefore he went, accompanied by his servant Zaid, and applied himself to two of the chief of the tribe of Thakif, who were the inhabitants of that place; but they received them very coldly. However, he stayed there a month; and some of the more considerate and better sort of men treated him with a little respect; but the slaves and inferior people at length rose against him, and bringing him to the wall of the city, obliged him to depart

Renewed
persecution.

Seeks refuge
in Tayif and
is rejected.

¹ Abulfeda, p. 28. Ibn Shohnah.

and return to Makkah, where he put himself under the protection of al Mutám Ibn Adi.¹

Makes converts of six men of Makkah.

This repulse greatly discouraged his followers : however, Muhammad was not wanting to himself, but boldly continued to preach to the public assemblies at the pilgrimage, and gained several proselytes, and among them six of the inhabitants of Yathrab of the Jewish tribe of Khazraj, who on their return home failed not to speak much in commendation of their new religion, and exhorted their fellow-citizens to embrace the same.

Night journey from Makkah to Jerusalem and heaven.

In the twelfth year of his mission it was that Muhammad gave out that he had made his night journey from Makkah to Jerusalem and thence to heaven,² so much spoken of by all that write of him. Dr. Prideaux³ thinks he invented it either to answer the expectations of those who demanded some miracle as a proof of his mission, or else, by pretending to have conversed with God, to establish the authority of whatever he should think fit to leave behind by way of oral tradition, and make his sayings to serve the same purpose as the oral law of the Jews. But I do not find that Muhammad himself ever expected so great a regard should be paid to his sayings as his followers have since done ; and seeing he all along disclaimed any power of performing miracles, it seems rather to have been a fetch of policy to raise his reputation, by pretending to have actually conversed with God in heaven, as Moses had heretofore done in the mount, and to have received several institutions immediately from him, whereas before he contented himself with persuading that he had all by the ministry of Gabriel.

This device raises his credit.

However, this story seemed so absurd and incredible, that several of his followers left him upon it, and it had probably ruined the whole design, had not Abu Baqr vouched for his veracity, and declared that if Muhammad

¹ Ibn Shohnah.

² See the notes on the 17th chapter of the Qurán.

³ Life of Mahomet, pp. 41, 51, &c.

affirmed it to be true, he verily believed the whole. This happy incident not only retrieved the prophet's credit, but increased it to such a degree, that he was secure of being able to make his disciples swallow whatever he pleased to impose on them for the future. And I am apt to think this fiction, notwithstanding its extravagance, was one of the most artful contrivances Muhammad ever put in practice, and what chiefly contributed to the raising of his reputation to that great height to which it afterwards arrived.

In this year, called by the Muhammadans the accepted year, twelve men of Yathrab or Madína, of whom ten were of the tribe of Khazraj, and the other two of that of Aws, came to Makkah, and took an oath of fidelity to Muhammad at al Aqabah, a hill on the north of that city. This oath was called the women's oath, not that any women were present at this time, but because a man was not thereby obliged to take up arms in defence of Muhammad or his religion; it being the same oath that was afterwards exacted of the women, the form of which we have in the Qurán,¹ and is to this effect, viz.: "That they should renounce all idolatry; that they should not steal, nor commit fornication, nor kill their children (as the pagan Arabs used to do when they apprehended they should not be able to maintain them²), nor forge calumnies; and that they should obey the prophet in all things that were reasonable." When they had solemnly engaged to do all this, Muhammad sent one of his disciples, named Musáb Ibn Omair, home with them, to instruct them more fully in the grounds and ceremonies of his new religion.

Musáb, being arrived at Madína, by the assistance of those who had been formerly converted, gained several proselytes, particularly Osaïd Ibn Hudaira, a chief man of the city, and Saad Ibn Muádh, prince of the tribe of Aws; Muhammadism spreading so fast, that there was

The first
pledge of
Aqabah.

Missionary
success at
Madína.

✓ ¹ Cap. 60, v. 12.

² Vide Qurán, c. 6, v. 151

scarce a house wherein there were not some who had embraced it.

The second
pledge of
Aqabah.

The next year, being the thirteenth of Muhammad's mission, Musáb returned to Makkah, accompanied by seventy-three men and two women of Madína, who had professed Islám, besides some others who were as yet unbelievers. On their arrival, they immediately sent to Muhammad, and offered him their assistance, of which he was now in great need, for his adversaries were by this time grown so powerful in Makkah, that he could not stay there much longer without imminent danger. Wherefore he accepted their proposal, and met them one night, by appointment, at al Aqabah above mentioned, attended by his uncle al Abbás, who, though he was not then a believer, wished his nephew well, and made a speech to those of Madína, wherein he told them, that as Muhammad was obliged to quit his native city and seek an asylum elsewhere, and they had offered him their protection, they would do well not to deceive him; and that if they were not firmly resolved to defend and not betray him, they had better declare their minds, and let him provide for his safety in some other manner. Upon their protesting their sincerity, Muhammad swore to be faithful to them, on condition that they should protect him against all insults as heartily as they would their own wives and families. They then asked him what recompense they were to expect if they should happen to be killed in his quarrel; he answered, Paradise. Whereupon they pledged their faith to him, and so returned home,¹ after Muhammad had chosen twelve out of their number, who were to have the same authority among them as the twelve apostles of Christ had among his disciples.²

Hitherto Muhammad had propagated his religion by fair means, so that the whole success of his enterprise, before his flight to Madína, must be attributed to per-

Islam thus
far propa-
gated by
persuasion.

¹ Abulfeda, Vit. Moham., p. 40, &c.

² Ibn Ishák.

suasion only, and not to compulsion. For before this second oath of fealty or inauguration at al Aqabah he had no permission to use any force at all; and in several places of the Qurán, which he pretended were revealed during his stay at Makkah, he declares his business was only to preach and admonish; that he had no authority to compel any person to embrace his religion; and that whether people believed or not was none of his concern, but belonged solely unto God. And he was so far from allowing his followers to use force, that he exhorted them to bear patiently those injuries which were offered them on account of their faith; and when persecuted himself, chose rather to quit the place of his birth and retire to Madína, than to make any resistance. But this great passiveness and moderation seems entirely owing to his want of power, and the great superiority of his opposers for the first twelve years of his mission; for no sooner was he enabled, by the assistance of those of Madína, to make head against his enemies, than he gave out that God had allowed him and his followers to defend themselves against the infidels; and at length, as his forces increased, he pretended to have the divine leave even to attack them, and to destroy idolatry, and set up the true faith by the sword; finding by experience that his designs would otherwise proceed very slowly, if they were not utterly overthrown, and knowing, on the other hand, that innovators, when they depend solely on their own strength, and can compel, seldom run any risk; from whence the politician observes it follows, that all the armed prophets have succeeded, and the unarmed ones have failed.* Moses, Cyrus, The-

Muham-
mad's
moderation
owing to his
helpless-
ness.

* No sentiment could be further from the truth than this. Jesus and Buddha have more followers than any other "prophets" to-day. Even Islám has not depended on the sword for all its successes, *e.g.*, the conversion of multitudes of Tartars, Hindus, Africans, &c. Judaism was never a religion of the sword, and Christianity has ever prospered amidst the fires of persecution, and in spite of the sword. But see next paragraph.

seus, and Romulus would not have been able to establish the observance of their institutions for any length of time had they not been armed.¹ The first passage of the Qurán which gave Muhammad the permission of defending himself by arms is said to have been that in the twenty-second chapter; after which a great number to the same purpose were revealed. XXII-3

He author-
ises the en-
forcement
of his doc-
trines by
the sword.

That Muhammad had a right to take up arms for his own defence against his unjust persecutors may perhaps be allowed; but whether he ought afterwards to have made use of that means for the establishing of his religion is a question I will not here determine. How far the secular power may or ought to interpose in affairs of this nature, mankind are not agreed. The method of converting by the sword gives no very favourable idea of the faith which is so propagated, and is disallowed by everybody in those of another religion, though the same persons are willing to admit of it for the advancement of their own, supposing that though a false religion ought not to be established by authority, yet a true one may; and accordingly force is almost as constantly employed in these cases by those who have the power in their hands, as it is constantly complained of by those who suffer the violence. It is certainly one of the most convincing proofs that Muhammadism was no other than a human invention that it owed its progress and establishment almost entirely to the sword; and it is one of the strongest demonstrations of the divine original of Christianity that it prevailed against all the force and powers of the world by the mere dint of its own truth, after having stood the assaults of all manner of persecutions, as well as other oppositions, for 300 years together, and at length made the Roman emperors themselves submit thereto;² after which time, indeed, this proof seems to fail, Christianity

The sword
declares
Islám to be
of human
origin.

Christianity
compared
with it.

¹ Machiavelli, *Princ.*, c. 6.

² See Prideaux's Letter to the Deists, p. 220, &c.

being then established and Paganism abolished by public authority, which has had great influence in the propagation of the one and destruction of the other ever since.¹ But to return.

Muhammad having provided for the security of his companions as well as his own by the league offensive and defensive which he had now concluded with those of Madína, directed them to repair thither, which they accordingly did; but himself with Abu Baqr and Ali stayed behind, having not yet received the divine permission, as he pretended, to leave Makkah. The Quraish, fearing the consequence of this new alliance, began to think it absolutely necessary to prevent Muhammad's escape to Madína, and having held a council thereon, after several milder expedients had been rejected, they came to a resolution that he should be killed; and agreed that a man should be chosen out of every tribe for the execution of this design, and that each man should have a blow at him with his sword, that the guilt of his blood might fall equally on all the tribes, to whose united power the Háshimites were much inferior, and therefore durst not attempt to revenge their kinsman's death.*

Emigration
of Muslims
to Madína.

Consequent
excitement
among the
Quraish.

They con-
spire against
Muhammad.

* A deputation was sent at this time to Muhammad, but its object was not to assassinate him. This has been satisfactorily established by Muir in his *Life of Mahomet*, vol. ii. chap. vi. p. 251. He says, "What was the decision as to their future course of action (*i.e.*, of the Coreish), what the object even of the present deputation, it is impossible, amid the hostile and marvellous tales of tradition, to conclude. There is little reason to believe that it was assassination, although the traditionists assert that this was determined upon at the instigation of Abu Jahl, supported by the devil, who, in the person of an old man from Najd, shrouded in a mantle, joined the council. Mahomet himself, speaking in the Corân of the designs of his enemies, refers to them in these indecisive terms—'*And call to mind when the unbelievers plotted against thee, that they might detain thee, or slay thee, or expel thee; yea, they plotted, but God plotted likewise, and*

¹ See Bayle's Dict. Hist., Art. Mahomet, Rem. O.

This conspiracy was scarce formed when by some means or other it came to Muhammad's knowledge, and he gave out that it was revealed to him by the Angel Gabriel, who had now ordered him to retire to Madína. Whereupon, to amuse his enemies, he directed Ali to lie down in his place and wrap himself up in his green cloak, which he did, and Muhammad escaped miraculously, as they pretend,¹ to Abu Baqr's house, unperceived by the conspirators, who had already assembled at the prophet's door. They in the meantime, looking through the crevice and seeing Ali, whom they took to be Muhammad himself, asleep, continued watching there till morning, when Ali arose, and they found themselves deceived.

Muhammad
escapes to
Madína.

From Abu Baqr's house Muhammad and he went to a cave in Mount Thúr, to the south-east* of Makkah, accompanied only by Amar Ibn Fuháirah, Abu Baqr's servant, and Abdallah Ibn Oraikat, an idolater, whom they had hired for a guide. In this cave they lay hid three days to avoid the search of their enemies, which they very narrowly escaped, and not without the assistance of more miracles than one; for some say that the Quraish were struck with blindness, so that they could not find the cave; others, that after Muhammad and his companions were got in, two pigeons laid their eggs at the entrance, and a spider covered the mouth of the cave with

God is the best of plotters' (Sura viii. ver. 30). Assuredly had assassination been the sentence, and its immediate execution (as pretended by tradition) ordered by the council, Mahomet would have indicated the fact in clearer language than these alternative expressions. A resolution so fatal would unquestionably have been dwelt on at length, both in the Coran and traditions, and produced as a justification (for such, indeed, it would have been) of all subsequent hostilities."

E. M. W.

* Burckhardt says "south" (*Travels in Arabia*, p. 176). So Lane in *Kurán*, p. 74.

E. M. W.

¹ See the notes to chap. 8 and 36.

her web,¹ which made them look no further.² * Abu Baqr, seeing the prophet in such imminent danger, became very sorrowful, whereupon Muhammad comforted him with these words, recorded in the Qurán:³ "Be not grieved, for GOD is with us." Their enemies being retired, they left the cave and set out for Madína by a by-road, and having fortunately, or, as the Muhammadans tell us, miraculously, escaped some who were sent to pursue them, arrived safely at that city, whither Ali followed them in three days, after he had settled some affairs at Makkah.⁴ †

The first thing Muhammad did after his arrival at Madína was to build a temple for his religious worship, and a house for himself, which he did on a parcel of ground which had before served to put camels in, or, as others tell us, for a burying-ground, and belonged to Sahal and Sohail the sons of Amru, who were orphans.⁵ This action Dr. Prideaux exclaims against, representing it as a flagrant instance of injustice, for that, says he, he violently

He builds a mosque at Madína.

* "The verses in Sura viii. 30, about God *plotting* so as to deceive the Meccans, and in Sura ix. 40, about God *assisting* the two refugees in the cave, have probably given rise to these tales." Muir's *Life of Mahomet*, vol. ii. p. 257, note.

E. M. W.

† "It is the general opinion of our chronologers that the first day of the Muslim era of 'the Flight' (or, more properly, 'the Emigration') was Friday the 16th of July A.D. 622. . . . This era does not commence from the day on which the prophet departed from Mekkeh (as is supposed by most of our authors who have mentioned this subject), but from the first day of the moon or month of Moharram preceding that event. . . . The flight itself . . . commenced on the 22d of September."—Lane in "*Kurán*," p. 75.

E. M. W.

¹ It is observable that the Jews have a like tradition concerning David, when he fled from Saul into the cave; and the Targum paraphrases these words of the second verse of Psalm lvii., which was composed on occasion of that deliverance: "I will pray before the Most High God that performeth all things for me, in this manner; I will pray

before the Most High God, who called a spider to weave a web for my sake in the mouth of the cave."

² Al Baidhawí in Qurán, c. 9. Vide D'Herbelot, *Bibl. Orient.*, p. 445.

³ Cap. 9, v. 40. ✓

⁴ Abulfeda, *Vit. Moh.*, p. 50, &c. Ebn Shohnah.

⁵ Abulfeda, *ib.* pp. 52, 53.

dispossessed these poor orphans, the sons of an inferior artificer (whom the author he quotes¹ calls a carpenter) of this ground, and so founded the first fabric of his worship with the like wickedness as he did his religion.² But to say nothing of the improbability that Muhammad should act in so impolitic a manner at his first-coming, the Muhammadan writers set this affair in a quite different light; one tells us that he treated with the lads about the price of the ground, but they desired he would accept it as a present;³ however, as historians of good credit assure us, he actually bought it,⁴ and the money was paid by Abu Baqr.⁵ Besides, had Muhammad accepted it as a present, the orphans were in circumstances sufficient to have afforded it; for they were of a very good family, of the tribe of Najjâr, one of the most illustrious among the Arabs, and not the sons of a carpenter, as Dr. Prideaux's author writes, who took the word Najjâr, which signifies a *carpenter*, for an appellative, whereas it is a proper name.⁶

Makes predatory raids on the caravans of the Quraish.

Muhammad being securely settled at Madína, and able not only to defend himself against the insults of his enemies, but to attack them, began to send out small parties to make reprisals on the Quraish; the first party consisting of no more than nine men, who intercepted and plundered a caravan belonging to that tribe, and in the action took two prisoners. But what established his affairs very much, and was the foundation on which he built all his succeeding greatness, was the gaining of the battle of Badr, which was fought in the second year of the Hijra, and is so famous in the Muhammadan history.⁷ As my design is not to write the life of Muhammad, but only to describe the manner in which he carried on his enterprise, I shall not enter into any detail of his subsequent

¹ Disputatio Christiani contra Saracen., cap. 4.

² Prideaux's Life of Mahomet, p. 58.

³ Al Bokhâri in Sonna.

⁴ Al Jannâbi.

⁵ Ahmad Ibn Yusaf.

⁶ Vide Gagnier, not. in Abulfed. de Vit. Moh., pp. 52, 53.

⁷ See the notes on the Qurân, chap. 3, v. 13.

battles and expeditions, which amounted to a considerable number. Some reckon no less than twenty-seven expeditions wherein Muhammad was personally present, in nine of which he gave battle, besides several other expeditions in which he was not present;¹ some of them, however, will be necessarily taken notice of in explaining several passages of the Qurán. His forces he maintained partly by the contributions of his followers for this purpose, which he called by the name of *Zakdt* or *alms*, and the paying of which he very artfully made one main article of his religion; and partly by ordering a fifth part of the plunder to be brought into the public treasury for that purpose, in which matter he likewise pretended to act by the divine direction.

In a few years, by the success of his arms (notwithstanding he sometimes came off by the worst), he considerably raised his credit and power. In the sixth year of the Hijra he set out with 1400 men to visit the temple of Makkah, not with any intent of committing hostilities, but in a peaceable manner. However, when he came to al Hudaibiya, which is situate partly within and partly without the sacred territory, the Quraish sent to let him know that they would not permit him to enter Makkah, unless he forced his way; whereupon he called his troops about him, and they all took a solemn oath of fealty or homage to him, and he resolved to attack the city; but those of Makkah sending Arau Ibn Masúd, prince of the tribe of Thakif, as their ambassador to desire peace, a truce was concluded between them for ten years, by which any person was allowed to enter into league either with Muhammad or with the Quraish, as he thought fit.

It may not be improper, to show the inconceivable veneration and respect the Muhammadans by this time had for their prophet, to mention the account which the above-mentioned ambassador gave the Quraish, at his

He goes to Makkah, but is not allowed to enter.

The ten years' truce

Muslim veneration of their prophet.

¹ Vide Abulfeda, Vit. Moh., p. 158.

return, of their behaviour. He said he had been at the courts both of the Roman emperor and of the king of Persia, and never saw any prince so highly respected by his subjects as Muhammad was by his companions; for whenever he made the ablution, in order to say his prayers, they ran and caught the water that he had used; and whenever he spit, they immediately licked it up, and gathered up every hair that fell from him with great superstition.¹*

He sends
letters
inviting
foreign
princes to
embrace
Islam.

In the seventh year of the Hijra, Muhammad began to think of propagating his religion beyond the bounds of Arabia, and sent messengers to the neighbouring princes with letters to invite them to Muhammadism. Nor was this project without some success. Khusrú Parvîz, then king of Persia, received his letter with great disdain, and tore it in a passion, sending away the messenger very abruptly, which when Muhammad heard, he said, "God shall tear his kingdom." And soon after a messenger came to Muhammad from Badhán, king of Yaman, who was a dependent on the Persians,² to acquaint him that he had received orders to send him to Khusrú. Muhammad put off his answer till the next morning, and then told the messenger it had been revealed to him that night that Khusrú was slain by his son Shirúyih, adding that he was well assured his new religion and empire should rise to as great a height as that of Khusrú, and therefore bid him advise his master to embrace Muhammadism. The messenger being returned, Badhán in a few days received a letter from Shirúyih informing him of his father's death, and ordering him to give the prophet no further disturb-

* These statements are manifest fabrications of a later period. Muir says, "There is no reason to believe that there was any such abject worship of Mahomet during his lifetime."—*Life of Mahomet*, vol. iv. p. 30.

E. M. W.

¹ Abulfeda, Vit. Moh., p. 85.

² See before, p. 28.

ance; whereupon Badhán and the Persians with him turned Muhammadans.¹*

The emperor Heraclius, as the Arabian historians assure us, received Muhammad's letter with great respect, laying it on his pillow, and dismissed the bearer honourably. And some pretend that he would have professed this new faith had he not been afraid of losing his crown.²†

Muhammad wrote to the same effect to the king of Ethiopia, though he had been converted before, according to the Arab writers; and to Mukaukas, governor of Egypt, who gave the messenger a very favourable reception, and sent several valuable presents to Muhammad, and among the rest two girls, one of which, named Mary,³ became a great favourite with him. He also sent letters of the like purport to several Arab princes, particularly one to al Hárith Ibn Abi Shamir,⁴ king of Ghassán, who returning for answer that he would go to Muhammad himself, the prophet said, "May his kingdom perish;" another to Haudha Ibn Ali, king of Yamáma, who was a Christian, and having some time before professed Islám, had lately returned to his former faith; this prince sent back a very rough answer, upon which Muhammad cursing him, he died soon after; and a third to al Mundár Ibn

Mukaukas' presents to Muhammad

* This whole story of the conversion of Badhán, with all its miraculous surroundings, is a clear fabrication. The only element of truth allowable is that Badhán, taking advantage of a revolution in Persia, threw off his allegiance to that power, and, finding Muhammad the leader of a powerful and growing faction in Arabia, was glad to gain his support by signifying his allegiance to him.

E. M. W.

† This absurd pretension of the traditionists is described in full in Muir's *Life of Mahomet*, vol. iv. chap. 20.

E. M. W.

¹ Abulfeda, Vit. Moh., p. 92, &c.

² Al Jannábi.

³ It is, however, a different name from that of the Virgin Mary, which the Orientals always write Maryam

or Miriam, whereas this is written Máriya.

⁴ This prince is omitted in Dr. Pocock's list of the kings of Ghassán, Spec., p. 77.

Sáwa, king of Bahrain, who embraced Muhammadism, and all the Arabs of that country followed his example.¹*

Khálid and
Amru con-
verted.

The expedi-
tion to
Syria.

The eighth year of the Hijra was a very fortunate year to Muhammad. In the beginning of it Khálid Ibn al Walíd and Amru Ibn al As, both excellent soldiers, the first of whom afterwards conquered Syria and other countries, and the latter Egypt, became proselytes of Muhammadism. And soon after the prophet sent 3000 men against the Grecian forces to revenge the death of one of his ambassadors, who being sent to the governor of Bosra on the same errand as those who went to the above-mentioned princes, was slain by an Arab of the tribe of Ghassán at Múta, a town in the territory of Balká in Syria, about three days' journey eastward from Jerusalem, near which town they encountered. The Grecians being vastly superior in number (for, including the auxiliary Arabs, they had an army of 100,000 men), the Muhammadans were repulsed in the first attack, and lost successively three of their generals, viz., Zaid Ibn Hárith, Muhammad's freedman, Jaafar, the son of Abu Tálíb, and Abdallah Ibn Rawáha; but Khálid Ibn al Walíd, succeeding to the command, overthrew the Greeks with a great slaughter, and brought away abundance of rich spoil;²† on occasion of which action Muhammad gave him the

* For a full and reliable account of the matters treated in this paragraph, see Muir's *Life of Mahomet*, vol. iv. chap. 20, already referred to above.

E. M. W.

† "Some accounts pretend that Kháled rallied the army, and either turned the day against the Romans or made it a drawn battle. But besides that the brevity of all the accounts is proof enough of a reverse, the reception of the army on its return to Medina admits of only one conclusion, viz., a complete, ignominious, and unretrieved discomfiture."—*Muir's Life of Mahomet*, vol. iv. p. 100, note.

E. M. W.

¹ Abulfeda, ubi sup., p. 94, &c.

² Idem ib., pp. 99, 100, &c.

honourable title of Saif min suyúf Allah, One of the Swords of GOD.¹

In this year also Muhammad took the city of Makkah, the inhabitants whereof had broken the truce concluded on two years before. For the tribe of Baqr, who were confederates of the Quraish, attacking those of Khuzáah, who were allies of Muhammad, killed several of them, being supported in the action by a party of the Quraish themselves. The consequence of this violation was soon apprehended, and Abu Sufián himself made a journey to Madína on purpose to heal the breach and renew the truce,² but in vain, for Muhammad, glad of this opportunity, refused to see him; whereupon he applied to Abu Baqr and Ali, but they giving him no answer, he was obliged to return to Makkah as he came.

Muhammad immediately gave orders for preparations to be made, that he might surprise the people of Makkah while they were unprovided to receive him. In a little time he began his march thither, and by the time he came near the city his forces were increased to 10,000 men. Those of Makkah being not in a condition to defend themselves against so formidable an army, surrendered at discretion, and Abu Sufián saved his life by turning Muhammadan. About twenty-eight of the idolaters were killed by a party under the command of Khálid; but this happened contrary to Muhammad's orders, who, when he entered the town, pardoned all the Quraish on their submission, except only six men and four women, who were more obnoxious than ordinary (some of them having apostatised), and were solemnly proscribed by the prophet himself; but of these no more than three men and one woman were put to death, the rest obtaining pardon on

The truce
with the
people of
Makkah
broken.

Muhammad
captures
Makkah.

¹ Al Bokhári in Sonna.

² This circumstance is a plain proof that the Quraish had actually broken the truce, and that it was not a mere

pretence of Muhammad's, as Dr. Prideaux insinuates. Life of Mahomet, p. 94.

their embracing Muhammadism, and one of the women making her escape.¹

The remainder of this year Muhammad employed in destroying the idols in and round about Makkah, sending several of his generals on expeditions for that purpose, and to invite the Arabs to Islám: wherein it is no wonder if they now met with success.

Many tribes
converted.

The next year, being the ninth of the Hijra, the Muhammadans call "the year of embassies," for the Arabs had been hitherto expecting the issue of the war between Muhammad and the Quraish; but so soon as that tribe—the principal of the whole nation, and the genuine descendants of Ismaíl, whose prerogatives none offered to dispute—had submitted, they were satisfied that it was not in their power to oppose Muhammad, and therefore began to come in to him in great numbers, and to send embassies to make their submissions to him, both to Makkah, while he stayed there, and also to Madína, whither he returned this year.² Among the rest, five kings of the tribe of Himyár professed Muhammadism, and sent ambassadors to notify the same.³

Ali's expedi-
tion to
Yamán.

In the tenth year Ali was sent into Yaman to propagate the Muhammadan faith there, and as it is said, converted the whole tribe of Hamdán in one day.* Their example was quickly followed by all the inhabitants of that province, except only those of Najrán, who, being Christians, chose rather to pay tribute.⁴

Arabia
accepts
Islám.

Thus was Muhammadism established and idolatry rooted out, even in Muhammad's lifetime (for he died the next year), throughout all Arabia, except only Yamáma, where Musailama, who set up also for a pro-

* The arguments used to persuade the Yamanites were the swords of his Muslim followers.

E. M. W.

¹ Vide Abulfeda, ubi sup., c. 51, 52.

³ Abulfeda, ubi sup., p. 128.

² Vide Gagnier, not. ad Abulfeda,

⁴ Ibid., p. 129.

phet as Muhammad's competitor, had a great party, and was not reduced till the Khalifat of Abu Baqr. And the Arabs being then united in one faith and under one prince, found themselves in a condition of making those conquests which extended the Muhammadan faith over so great a part of the world.

SECTION III.

OF THE QURÁN ITSELF, THE PECULIARITIES OF THAT BOOK; THE MANNER OF ITS BEING WRITTEN AND PUBLISHED, AND THE GENERAL DESIGN OF IT.

Import of
the word
qaraa.

THE word Qurán, derived from the verb *qaraa*, to read, signifies properly in Arabic "the reading," or rather "that which ought to be read;" by which name the Muhammadans denote not only the entire book or volume of the Qurán, but also any particular chapter or section of it; just as the Jews call either the whole Scripture or any part of it by the name of Karâh or Mikra,¹ words of the same origin and import; which observation seems to overthrow the opinion of some learned Arabians, who would have the Qurán so named because it is a collection of the loose chapters or sheets which compose it—the verb *karaa* signifying also to gather or collect;² and may also, by the way, serve as an answer to those who object³ that the Qurán must be a book forged at once, and could not possibly be revealed by parcels at different times during the course of several years, as the Muhammadans affirm, because the Qurán is often mentioned and called by that name in the very book itself. It may not be amiss to observe, that the syllable *Al* in the word *Alqurán* is only the Arabic article, signifying *the*, and therefore ought to be omitted when the English article is prefixed.

¹ This name was at first given to the Pentateuch only, Nehem. viii. Vide Simon. Hist. Crit. du Vieux Test., l. I, c. 9.

² Vide Erpen. not. ad Hist. Joseph., p. 3.

³ Marraç. de Alcor., p. 41.

Besides this peculiar name, the Qurán is also honoured with several appellations common to other books of Scripture: as, *al Furqán*, from the verb *faraqa*, to divide or distinguish; not, as the Muhamáadan doctors say, because those books are divided into chapters or sections, or distinguish between good and evil, but in the same notion that the Jews use the word *Perek* or *Pirka*, from the same root, to denote a section or portion of Scripture.¹ It is also called *al Musháf*, the volume, and *al Kitáb*, the Book, by way of eminence, which answers to the Biblia of the Greeks; and *al Dhikr*, the admonition, which name is also given to the Pentateuch and Gospels.

Other names
applied to
the Qurán.

The Qurán is divided into 114 larger portions of very unequal length, which we call chapters, but the Arabians *Súwar*, in the singular *Súra*, a word rarely used on any other occasion, and properly signifying a row, order, or regular series, as a course of bricks in building or a rank of soldiers in an army; and is the same in use and import with the *Súra* or *Tora* of the Jews, who also call the fifty-three sections of the Pentateuch *Sedárim*, a word of the same signification.²

Divisions of
the Qurán.

These chapters are not in the manuscript copies distinguished by their numerical order, though for the reader's ease they are numbered in this edition, but by particular titles, which (except that of the first, which is the initial chapter, or introduction to the rest, and by the old Latin translator not numbered among the chapters) are taken sometimes from a particular matter treated of or person mentioned therein, but usually from the first word of note, exactly in the same manner as the Jews have named their *Sedárim*; though the words from which some chapters are denominated be very far distant, towards the middle, or perhaps the end of the chapter, which seems

Titles of the
chapters.

¹ Vide Gol. in append. ad Gram. Arab. Erpen., 175. A chapter or subdivision of the Massictoth of the Mishna is also called *Perek*. Maimon., Præf. in Seder Zeraim, p. 57.

² Vide Gol., ubi sup., 177. Each of the six grand divisions of the Mishna is also called *Seder*. Maimon., ubi sup., p. 55.

ridiculous. But the occasion of this seems to have been, that the verse or passage wherein such word occurs was, in point of time, revealed and committed to writing before the other verses of the same chapter which precede it in order; and the title being given to the chapter before it was completed or the passages reduced to their present order, the verse from whence such title was taken did not always happen to begin the chapter. Some chapters have two or more titles, occasioned by the difference of the copies.

Some of the chapters having been revealed at Makkah and others at Madína, the noting this difference makes a part of the title; but the reader will observe that several of the chapters are said to have been revealed partly at Makkah and partly at Madína; and as to others, it is yet a dispute among the commentators to which place of the two they belong.

The verses
of the
chapters.

Every chapter is subdivided into smaller portions, of very unequal length also, which we customarily call verses; but the Arabic word is *Ayát*, the same with the Hebrew *Ototh*, and signifies signs or wonders; such as are the secrets of GOD, his attributes, works, judgments, and ordinances, delivered in those verses; many of which have their particular titles also, imposed in the same manner as those of the chapters.

Notwithstanding this subdivision is common and well known, yet I have never yet seen any manuscript wherein the verses are actually numbered; though in some copies the number of verses in each chapter is set down after the title, which we have therefore added in the table of the chapters. And the Muhammadans seem to have some scruple in making an actual distinction in their copies, because the chief disagreement between their several editions of the Qurán consists in the division and number of the verses; and for this reason I have not taken upon me to make any such division.

* In this edition the verses are numbered according to the division of Shaikh Abdul Qádir of Delhi, so as to correspond with those of the Roman Urdú edition published at Lodiana, 1876. E. M. W.

Having mentioned the different editions of the Qurán, it may not be amiss here to acquaint the reader that there are seven principal editions, if I may so call them, or ancient copies of that book, two of which were published and used at Madína, a third at Makkah, a fourth at Kúfa, a fifth at Basra, a sixth in Syria, and a seventh called the common or vulgar edition. Of these editions, the first, of Madína, makes the whole number of the verses 6000; the second and fifth, 6214; the third, 6219; the fourth, 6236; the sixth, 6226; and the last, 6225. But they are all said to contain the same number of words, namely, 77,639,¹ and the same number of letters, viz., 323,015;² * for the Muhammadans have in this also imitated the Jews, that they have superstitiously numbered the very words and letters of their law; nay, they have taken the pains to compute (how exactly I know not) the number of times each particular letter of the alphabet is contained in the Qurán.³

The seven principal editions of the Qurán. ✓

Number of verses, words, &c. ✓

Besides these unequal divisions of chapter and verse, the Muhammadans have also divided their Qurán into sixty equal portions, which they call *Ahzáb*, in the singular *Hizb*, each subdivided into four equal parts; which is also an imitation of the Jews, who have an ancient division of their Mishna into sixty portions, called *Massicloth*; ⁴ but the Qurán is more usually divided into thirty sections only, named *Ajzá*, from the singular *Juz*, each of twice the length of the former, and in the like manner subdivided into four parts. These divisions are for the use of the readers of the Qurán in the royal temples, or in the

Other divisions of the Qurán.

* Hughes, in his introduction to the Roman Urdú Qurán, makes the number of verses to be 6616; of words, 77,934; and of letters, 323,671.

E. M. W.

¹ Or as others reckon them, 99,464. Reland., *De Rel. Moh.*, p. 25.

² Or according to another computation, 330,113. *Ibid.* Vide Gol., *ubi sup.*, p. 178. D'Herbelot, *Bibl. Orient.*, p. 87.

³ Vide Reland, *De Relig. Moh.*, p. 25.

⁴ Vide Gol., *ubi sup.*, p. 178. Maimon., *Præf. in Seder Zeraim*, p. 57.

adjoining chapels where the emperors and great men are interred. There are thirty of these readers belonging to every chapel, and each reads his section every day, so that the whole Qurán is read over once a day.¹ I have seen several copies divided in this manner, and bound up in as many volumes; and have thought it proper to mark these divisions in the margin of this translation by numeral letters.*

✓ The Bismillah.

Next after the title, at the head of every chapter, except only the ninth, is prefixed the following solemn form, by the Muhammadans called the Bismillah, "In the name of the most merciful GOD;" which form they constantly place at the beginning of all their books and writings in general, as a peculiar mark or distinguishing characteristic of their religion, it being counted a sort of impiety to omit it. The Jews for the same purpose make use of the form, "In the name of the LORD," or, "In the name of the great GOD;" and the Eastern Christians that of, "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." But I am apt to believe Muhammad really took this form, as he did many other things, from the Persian Magi, who used to begin their books in these words, *Bandm Yazdán bakhshaiishghar dáddár*; that is, "In the name of the most merciful, just GOD."²

This auspiciatory form, and also the titles of the chapters, are by the generality of the doctors and commentators believed to be of divine original, no less than the text itself; but the more moderate are of opinion they are only human additions, and not the very word of GOD.

✓ The letters A.L.M., &c.

There are twenty-nine chapters of the Qurán, which have this peculiarity, that they begin with certain letters

* In this edition these parts are called *sipáras*, from two Persian words: *si*, thirty, and *pára*, parts; and they are indicated as *first sipára*, *second sipára*, &c.

E. M. W.

¹ Vide Smith, De Moribus et Institut. Turcar., p. 58.

² Hyde, His. Rel. Vet. Pers., p. 14.

of the alphabet, some with a single one, others with more. These letters the Muhammadans believe to be the peculiar marks of the Qurán, and to conceal several profound mysteries, the certain understanding of which, the more intelligent confess, has not been communicated to any mortal, their prophet only excepted. Notwithstanding which, some will take the liberty of guessing at their meaning by that species of Cabbala called by the Jews Notarikon,¹ and suppose the letters to stand for as many words expressing the names and attributes of God, his works, ordinances, and decrees; and therefore these mysterious letters, as well as the verses themselves, seem in the Qurán to be called signs. Others explain the intent of these letters from their nature or organ, or else from their value in numbers, according to another species of the Jewish Cabbala called Gematria;² the uncertainty of which conjectures sufficiently appears from their disagreement. Thus, for example, five chapters, one of which is the second, begin with these letters, A.L.M., which some imagine to stand for *Allah latif majíd*, "GOD is gracious and to be glorified;" or, *Ana li minni*, "To me and from me," viz., belongs all perfection and proceeds all good; or else for *Ana Allah álam*, "I am the most wise GOD," taking the first letter to mark the beginning of the first word, the second the middle of the second word, and the third the last of the third word; or for "*Allah, Gabriel, Muhammad*," the author, revealer, and preacher of the Qurán. Others say that as the letter A belongs to the lower part of the throat, the first of the organs of speech; L to the palate, the middle organ; and M to the lips, which are the last organs; so these letters signify that GOD is the beginning, middle, and end, or ought to be praised in the beginning, middle, and end of all our words and actions: or, as the total value of those three letters in numbers is

¹ Vide Buxtorf, *Lexicon Rabbin.*

² Vide Ibid. See also Schickardi *Bechinat happerushim*, p. 62, &c.

seventy-one, they signify that in the space of so many years, the religion preached in the Qurán should be fully established. The conjecture of a learned Christian¹ is, at least, as certain as any of the former, who supposes those letters were set there by the amanuensis, for *Amar li Muhammad, i.e.*, "at the command of Muhammad," as the five letters prefixed to the nineteenth chapter seem to be there written by a Jewish scribe for *koh yaas, i.e.*, "Thus he commanded."*

The language of the Qurán.

The Qurán is universally allowed to be written with the utmost elegance and purity of language, in the dialect of the tribe of Quraish, the most noble and polite of all the Arabians, but with some mixture, though very rarely, of other dialects. It is confessedly the standard of the Arabic tongue, and as the more orthodox believe, and are taught by the book itself, inimitable by any human pen (though some sectaries have been of another opinion),² and therefore insisted on as a permanent miracle, greater than that of raising the dead,³ and alone sufficient to convince the world of its divine original.

Its elegance of style claimed to be miraculous.

And to this miracle did Muhammad himself chiefly appeal for the confirmation of his mission, publicly challenging the most eloquent men in Arabia, which was at that time stocked with thousands whose sole study and ambition it was to excel in elegance of style and composition,⁴ to produce even a single chapter that might be com-

* See Rodwell's *Koran*, p. 17, note. Rodwell conjectures that they may have been the initial letters or marks of the persons to whom the manuscripts of the respective Súras belonged from which Zaid compiled the present text.

E. M. W.

¹ Golius in Append. ad Gram. Erp., p. 182. ² See post.

³ Ahmed Abd'ahalim, apud Mar-racc. de Alc., p. 43.

⁴ A noble writer therefore mistakes the question when he says these Eastern religionists leave their sacred writ the sole standard of lite-

rate performance by extinguishing all true learning. For though they were destitute of what we call learning, yet they were far from being ignorant, or unable to compose elegantly in their own tongue. See Lord Shaftesbury's *Characteristics*, vol. iii. p. 235.

pared with it.¹* I will mention but one instance out of several, to show that this book was really admired for the beauty of its composure by those who must be allowed to have been competent judges. A poem of Lábíd Ibn Rábia, one of the greatest wits in Arabia in Muhammad's time, being fixed up on the gate of the temple of Makkah, an honour allowed to none but the most esteemed performances, none of the other poets durst offer anything of their own in competition with it. But the second chapter of the Qurán being fixed up by it soon after, Lábíd himself (then an idolater), on reading the first verses only, was struck with admiration, and immediately professed the religion taught thereby, declaring that such words could proceed from an inspired person only. This Lábíd was afterwards of great service to Muhammad in writing answers to the satires and invectives that were made on him and his religion by the infidels, and particularly by Amri al Qais,² prince of the tribe of Asad,³ and author of one of those seven famous poems called al Muallaqát.⁴†

The style of the Qurán is generally beautiful and fluent, especially where it imitates the prophetic manner and The style the composition.

* Arnold (*Islam and Christianity*, p. 324) has pointed out that, while the beauty of the Qurán was acknowledged by some of Muhammad's contemporaries, yet there is proof from the Qurán itself that this was rather the exception than the rule, *e.g.*, chap. viii. 31, also chap. xxi. 5. ✓

E. M. W.

† This Amri al Qais died in A.D. 540, on his return from Constantinople. See Muir's *Life of Mahomet*, vol. i. p. ccxxii. This was just thirty years before Muhammad was born!

I can find no authority for the statement that Lábíd, the satirist of the Baní Amír, rendered Muhammad any assistance of a poetic order. If a convert at all, he must have become such very shortly before Muhammad's death. See Muir's *Life of Mahomet*, vol. iv. p. 226.

E. M. W.

¹ Al Ghazáli, apud Poc. Spec., 191. See Qurán, c. 17, v. 90, and also c. 2, p. 3, v. 23, and c. 11, v. 14, &c.

² D'Herbel, Bibl. Orient., p. 512, &c.

³ Poc. Spec., p. 80.

⁴ See supra, p. 53.

Scripture phrases. It is concise and often obscure, adorned with bold figures after the Eastern taste, enlivened with florid and sententious expressions, and in many places, especially where the majesty and attributes of God are described, sublime and magnificent; of which the reader cannot but observe several instances, though he must not imagine the translation comes up to the original, notwithstanding my endeavours to do it justice.

Though it be written in prose, yet the sentences generally conclude in a long continued rhyme, for the sake of which the sense is often interrupted, and unnecessary repetitions too frequently made, which appear still more ridiculous in a translation, where the ornament, such as it is, for whose sake they were made, cannot be perceived. However, the Arabians are so mightily delighted with this jingling, that they employ it in their most elaborate compositions, which they also embellish with frequent passages of, and allusions to, the Qurán, so that it is next to impossible to understand them without being well versed in this book.

The influence of this style on Muhammad's hearers.

It is probable the harmony of expression which the Arabians find in the Qurán might contribute not a little to make them relish the doctrine therein taught, and give an efficacy to arguments which, had they been nakedly proposed without this rhetorical dress, might not have so easily prevailed. Very extraordinary effects are related of the power of words well chosen and artfully placed, which are no less powerful either to ravish or amaze than music itself; wherefore as much has been ascribed by the best orators to this part of rhetoric as to any other.¹ He must have a very bad ear who is not uncommonly moved with the very cadence of a well-turned sentence; and Muhammad seems not to have been ignorant of the enthusiastic operation of rhetoric on the minds of men; for which reason he has not only employed his utmost skill in these

¹ See Casaubon, of *Enthusiasm*, c. 4.

his pretended revelations, to preserve that dignity and sublimity of style which might seem not unworthy of the majesty of that Being whom he gave out to be the Author of them, and to imitate the prophetic manner of the Old Testament; but he has not neglected even the other arts of oratory, wherein he succeeded so well, and so strangely captivated the minds of his audience, that several of his opponents thought it the effect of witchcraft and enchantment, as he sometimes complains.¹

“The general design of the Qurán” (to use the words of a very learned person) “seems to be this: to unite the professors of the three different religions then followed in the populous country of Arabia, who for the most part lived promiscuously, and wandered without guides, the far greater number being idolaters, and the rest Jews and Christians, mostly of erroneous and heterodox belief, in the knowledge and worship of one eternal, invisible God, by whose power all things were made, and those which are not, may be, the supreme Governor, Judge, and absolute Lord of the creation; established under the sanction of certain laws, and the outward signs of certain ceremonies, partly of ancient and partly of novel institution, and enforced by setting before them rewards and punishments, both temporal and eternal; and to bring them all to the obedience of Muhammad, as the prophet and ambassador of God, who after the repeated admonitions, promises, and threats of former ages, was at last to establish and propagate God’s religion on earth by force of arms, and to be acknowledged chief pontiff in spiritual matters, as well as supreme prince in temporal.”²

The great doctrine, then, of the Qurán is the unity of God, to restore which point Muhammad pretended was the chief end of his mission; it being laid down by him as a fundamental truth that there never was nor ever can

Design of
the Qurán.

The doctrine of
the Qurán
regarding
religion
and revelation.

¹ Qurán, c. 15, v. 6; c. 21, v. 3, &c.

² Golius. in appen. ad Gram. Erp., p. 176.

be more than one true orthodox religion. For though the particular laws or ceremonies are only temporary, and subject to alteration according to the divine direction, yet the substance of it being eternal truth, is not liable to change, but continues immutably the same. And he taught that whenever this religion became neglected or corrupted in essentials, GOD had the goodness to re-inform and re-admonish mankind thereof by several prophets, of whom Moses and Jesus were the most distinguished, till the appearance of Muhammad, who is their seal, no other being to be expected after him. And the more effectually to engage people to hearken to him, great part of the Qurán is employed in relating examples of dreadful punishments formerly inflicted by GOD on those who rejected and abused his messengers; several of which stories, or some circumstances of them, are taken from the Old and New Testament, but many more from the apocryphal books and traditions of the Jews and Christians of those ages, set up in the Qurán as truths in opposition to the Scriptures, which the Jews and Christians are charged with having altered; and I am apt to believe that few or none of the relations or circumstances in the Qurán were invented by Muhammad, as is generally supposed, it being easy to trace the greatest part of them much higher, as the rest might be, were more of those books extant, and it was worth while to make the inquiry.

The other part of the Qurán is taken up in giving necessary laws and directions, in frequent admonitions to moral and divine virtues, and above all to the worshiping and reverencing of the only true GOD, and resignation to his will; among which are many excellent things intermixed not unworthy even a Christian's perusal.

But besides these, there are a great number of passages which are occasional, and relate to particular emergencies. For whenever anything happened which perplexed and gravelled Muhammad, and which he could not otherwise

✓ The use made of Old Testament history in the Qurán.

✓ The use made of the Qurán by Muhammad in emergency.

get over, he had constant recourse to a new revelation, as an infallible expedient in all nice cases; and he found the success of this method answer his expectation. It was certainly an admirable and politic contrivance of his to bring down the whole Qurán at once to the lowest heaven only, and not to the earth, as a bungling prophet would probably have done; for if the whole had been published at once, innumerable objections might have been made, which it would have been very hard, if not impossible, for him to solve; but as he pretended to have received it by parcels, as GOD saw proper that they should be published for the conversion and instruction of the people, he had a sure way to answer all emergencies, and to extricate himself with honour from any difficulty which might occur. If any objection be hence made to that eternity of the Qurán which the Muhammadans are taught to believe, they easily answer it by their doctrine of absolute predestination, according to which all the accidents for the sake of which these occasional passages were revealed were predetermined by God from all eternity.

That Muhammad was really the author and chief contriver of the Qurán is beyond dispute, though it be highly probable that he had no small assistance in his design from others, as his countrymen failed not to object to him.¹ However, they differed so much in their conjectures as to the particular persons who gave him such assistance,² that they were not able, it seems, to prove the charge; Muhammad, it is to be presumed, having taken his measures too well to be discovered. Dr. Prideaux³ has given the most probable account of this matter, though chiefly from Christian writers, who generally mix such ridiculous fables with what they deliver, that they deserve not much credit.

Muhammad
the author
of the
Qurán.

¹ Vide Qurán, c. 16, v. 105, and c. 25, v. 5." ✓

² See the notes on those passages.

³ Life of Mahomet, p. 31, &c.

The divine
original of
the Qurán.

However it be, the Muhammadans absolutely deny the Qurán was composed by their prophet himself, or any other for him, it being their general and orthodox belief that it is of divine original; nay, that it is eternal and uncreated, remaining, as some express it, in the very essence of GOD; that the first transcript has been from everlasting by GOD's throne, written on a table of vast bigness, called the Preserved Table, in which are also recorded the divine decrees past and future; that a copy from this table, in one volume on paper, was by the ministry of the Angel Gabriel sent down to the lowest heaven, in the month of Ramadhán, on the night of power;¹ from whence Gabriel revealed it to Muhammad by parcels, some at Makkah, and some at Madína, at different times, during the space of twenty-three years, as the exigency of affairs required; giving him, however, the consolation to show him the whole (which they tell us was bound in silk, and adorned with gold and precious stones of paradise) once a year; but in the last year of his life he had the favour to see it twice. They say that few chapters were delivered entire, the most part being revealed piecemeal, and written down from time to time by the prophet's amanuenses in such or such a part of such or such a chapter till they were completed, according to the directions of the angel.² The first parcel that was revealed is generally agreed to have been the first five verses of the ninety-sixth chapter.³

Original
MSS. of the
Qurán.

After the new revealed passages had been from the prophet's mouth taken down in writing by his scribe, they were published to his followers, several of whom took copies for their private use, but the far greater number got them by heart. The originals when returned were put

¹ Vide Qurán, c. 97, and note ibid.

² Therefore it is a mistake of Dr. Prideaux to say it was brought him chapter by chapter. Life of Mahomet, p. 6. The Jews also say the

Law was given to Moses by parcels. Vide Millium. de Mohammedismo ante Moham., p. 365.

³ Not the whole chapter, as Golius says. Append. ad Gr. Erp., p. 108.

promiscuously into a chest,* observing no order of time, for which reason it is uncertain when many passages were revealed.

When Muhammad died, he left his revelations in the same disorder I have mentioned, and not digested into the method, such as it is, which we now find them in. This was the work of his successor, Abu Baqr, who considering that a great number of passages were committed to the memory of Muhammad's followers, many of whom were slain in their wars, ordered the whole to be collected, not only from the palm-leaves and skins on which they had been written, and which were kept between two boards or covers, but also from the mouths of such as had gotten them by heart. And this transcript when completed he committed to the custody of Hafsa the daughter of Omar, one of the prophet's widows.¹

Collected
into one
volume by
Abu Baqr.

From this relation it is generally imagined that Abu Baqr was really the compiler of the Qurán; though for aught appears to the contrary, Muhammad left the chapters complete as we now have them, excepting such passages as his successor might add or correct from those who had gotten them by heart; what Abu Baqr did else being perhaps no more than to range the chapters in their present order, which he seems to have done without any regard to time, having generally placed the longest first.

However, in the thirtieth year of the Hijra, Othmán being then Khalífah, and observing the great disagreement in the copies of the Qurán in the several provinces of the empire—those of Irak, for example, following the reading of Abu Musa al Ashari, and the Syrians that of Maqdád Ibn Aswad—he, by advice of the companions, ordered a great number of copies to be transcribed from that of Abu

Othmán's
recension.

* Muir says, "This statement does not seem to be borne out by any good authority."—*Introduction, Life of Mahomet*, p. 4.

E. M. W.

¹ Elmacin. in Vita Abu Becr, Abulfeda.

Baqr, in Hafsa's care, under the inspection of Zaid Ibn Thábit, Abdallah Ibn Zobair, Saïd Ibn al As, and Abd-
alrahmán Ibn al Hárith, the Makhzumite; whom he
directed, that wherever they disagreed about any word,
they should write it in the dialect of the Quraish, in which
it was at first delivered.¹ These copies when made were
dispersed in the several provinces of the empire, and the
old ones burnt and suppressed. Though many things in
Hafsa's copy were corrected by the above-mentioned super-
visors, yet some few various readings still occur, the most
material of which will be taken notice of in their proper
places.

Various
readings :
how they
originated.

The want of vowels² in the Arabic character made
Muqris, or readers whose peculiar study and profession it
was to read the Qurán with its proper vowels, absolutely
necessary. But these, differing in their manner of reading,
occasioned still further variations in the copies of the
Qurán, as they are now written with the vowels; and
herein consist much the greater part of the various read-
ings throughout the book. The readers whose authority
the commentators chiefly allege, in admitting these various
readings, are seven in number.

The doctrine
of abroga-
tion.

There being some passages in the Qurán which are con-
tradictory, the Muhammadan doctors obviate any objection
from thence by the doctrine of abrogation; for they say
that God in the Qurán commanded several things which
were for good reasons afterwards revoked and abrogated.

Abrogated
passages.

Passages abrogated are distinguished into three kinds :
the first where the letter and the sense are both abrogated ;
the second, where the letter only is abrogated, but the
sense remains ; and the third, where the sense is abrogated,
though the letter remains.

¹ Abulfeda, in Vitis Abu Beer and Othmán.

² The characters or marks of the Arabic vowels were not used till several years after Muhammad. Some ascribe the invention of them to Yahya Ibn Yámir, some to Nasr

Ibn Asam, surnamed al 'Laithi, and others to Abu al Aswad al Dili—all three of whom were doctors of Basra, and immediately succeeded the companions. See D'Herbel., Bibl. Orient., p. 87.

Of the first kind were several verses, which, by the tradition of Malik Ibn Ans, were in the prophet's lifetime read in the chapter of Repentance, but are not now extant, one of which, being all he remembered of them, was the following: "If a son of Adam had two rivers of gold, he would covet yet a third; and if he had three, he would covet yet a fourth (to be added) unto them; neither shall the belly of a son of Adam be filled, but with dust. God will turn unto him who shall repent." Another instance of this kind we have from the tradition of Abdallah Ibn Masúd, who reported that the prophet gave him a verse to read which he wrote down; but the next morning, looking in his book, he found it was vanished, and the leaf blank: this he acquainted Muhammad with, who assured him the verse was revoked the same night.

Of the second kind is a verse called the verse of Stoning, which, according to the tradition of Omar, afterwards Khalífah, was extant while Muhammad was living, though it be not now to be found. The words are these: "Abhor not your parents, for this would be ingratitude in you. If a man and woman of reputation commit adultery, ye shall stone them both; it is a punishment ordained by GOD; for GOD is mighty and wise."

Of the last kind are observed several verses in sixty-three different chapters, to the number of 225; such as the precepts of turning in prayer to Jerusalem, fasting after the old custom, forbearance towards idolaters, avoiding the ignorant, and the like.¹ The passages of this sort have been carefully collected by several writers, and are most of them remarked in their proper places.

Though it is the belief of the Sonnites or orthodox that the Qurán is uncreated and eternal, subsisting in the very essence of GOD, and Muhammad himself is said to have pronounced him an infidel who asserted the contrary,² yet

The Qurán
believed to
be eternal.

¹ Abu Hashem Hebatallah, apud Marracc. de Alc., p. 42.

² Apud Poc. Spec., p. 220.

several have been of a different opinion; particularly the sect of the Mutazalites,¹ and the followers of Isa Ibn Subaih Abu Músa, surnamed al Muzdár, who stuck not to accuse those who held the Qurán to be uncreated of infidelity, as asserters of two eternal beings.²

This point was controverted with so much heat that it occasioned many calamities under some of the Khalífahs of the family of Abbás, al Mámún³ making a public edict declaring the Qurán to be created, which was confirmed by his successors al Mutasim⁴ and al Wáthik,⁵ who whipped, imprisoned, and put to death those of the contrary opinion. But at length al Mutawakkil,⁶ who succeeded al Wáthik, put an end to these persecutions by revoking the former edicts, releasing those that were imprisoned on that account, and leaving every man at liberty as to his belief in this point.⁷

Al Ghazáli's
opinion as
to the
Qurán.

Al Ghazáli seems to have tolerably reconciled both opinions, saying that the Qurán is read and pronounced with the tongue, written in books, and kept in memory; and is yet eternal, subsisting in God's essence, and not possible to be separated thence by any transmission into men's memories or the leaves of books;⁸ by which he seems to mean no more than that the original idea of the Qurán only is really in God, and consequently co-essential and co-eternal with him, but that the copies are created and the work of man.

Opinion of
al Jahidh.

The opinion of al Jahidh, chief of a sect bearing his name, touching the Qurán, is too remarkable to be

¹ See post, Sect. VIII.

² Vide Poc. Spec., p. 219, &c.

³ Anno Hij., 218. Abulfarag, p. 245, v. etiam Elmacin. in Vita al Mamún.

⁴ In the time of al Mutasim, a doctor named Abu Harún Ibn al Baqa found out a distinction to screen himself, by affirming that the Qurán was ordained, because it is said in that book, 'And I have

ordained thee the Qurán." He went still further to allow that what was ordained was created, and yet he denied it thence followed that the Qurán was created. Abulfarag, p. 253.

⁵ Ibid., p. 257.

⁶ Anno Hij., p. 242.

⁷ Abulfarag, p. 262.

⁸ Al Ghazáli, in prof. fid.

omitted: he used to say it was a body, which might sometimes be turned into a man,¹ and sometimes into a beast;² which seems to agree with the notion of those who assert the Qurán to have two faces, one of a man, the other of a beast;³ thereby, as I conceive, intimating the double interpretation it will admit of, according to the letter or the spirit.

As some have held the Qurán to be created, so there have not been wanting those who have asserted that there is nothing miraculous in that book in respect to style or composition, excepting only the prophetic relations of things past, and predictions of things to come; and that had God left men to their natural liberty, and not restrained them in that particular, the Arabians could have composed something not only equal but superior to the Qurán in eloquence, method, and purity of language. This was another opinion of the Mutazilites, and in particular of al Muzdár, above mentioned, and al Nudhám.⁴ Heretical opinions.

The Qurán being the Muhammadans' rule of faith and practice, it is no wonder its expositors and commentators are so very numerous. And it may not be amiss to take notice of the rules they observe in expounding it. Muslim exegetical rules.

One of the most learned commentators⁵ distinguishes the contents of the Qurán into allegorical and literal. The former comprehends the more obscure, parabolical, and enigmatical passages, and such as are repealed or abro-

¹ The Khalifah al Walid Ibn Yazid, who was the eleventh of the race of Ommeya, and is looked on by the Muhammadans as a reprobate and one of no religion, seems to have treated this book as a rational creature; for, dipping into it one day, the first words he met with were these: "Every rebellious, perverse person shall not prosper." Whereupon he stuck it on a lance, and shot it to pieces with arrows, repeating these verses: "Dost thou rebuke every rebellious, perverse

person? Behold, I am that rebellious, perverse person. When thou appearest before thy LORD on the day of resurrection, say, O LORD, al Walid has torn me thus." Ibn Shohnah. v. Poc. Spec., p. 223.

² Poc. Spec., p. 222.

³ Herbelot, p. 87.

⁴ Abulfeda, Shahristani, &c., apud Poc. Spec., p. 222, et Marracc, De Qur., p. 44.

⁵ Al Zamakhshari. Vide Qurán, c. 3, v. 7, note. ✓

gated ; the latter those which are plain, perspicuous, liable to no doubt, and in full force.

To explain these severally in a right manner, it is necessary from tradition and study to know the time when each passage was revealed, its circumstances, state, and history, and the reasons or particular emergencies for the sake of which it was revealed ;¹ or, more explicitly, whether the passage was revealed at Makkah or at Madína ; whether it be abrogated, or does itself abrogate any other passage ; whether it be anticipated in order of time or postponed ; whether it be distinct from the context or depends thereon ; whether it be particular or general ; and, lastly, whether it be implicit by intention or explicit in words.²

Muslim
reverence
for the
Qurán.

By what has been said the reader may easily believe this book is in the greatest reverence and esteem among the Muhammadans. They dare not so much as touch it without being first washed or legally purified ;³ which, lest they should do by inadvertence, they write these words on the cover or label, "Let none touch it but they who are clean." They read it with great care and respect, never holding it below their girdles. They swear by it, consult it in their weighty occasions,⁴ carry it with them to war, write sentences of it on their banners, adorn it with gold and precious stones, and knowingly suffer it not to be in the possession of any of a different persuasion.

Transla-
tions.

The Muhammadans, far from thinking the Qurán to be profaned by a translation, as some authors have written,⁵

¹ Ahmad Ibn Muh. al Thalabi, in Princip. Expos. Alc.

² Yahya Ibn al Salám al Basri, in Princip. Expos. Alc.

³ The Jews have the same veneration for their law, not daring to touch it with unwashed hands, nor then neither without a cover. Vide Millium, De Mohammedismo ante Moh., p. 366.

⁴ This they do by dipping into it,

and taking an omen from the words which they first light on, which practice they also learned of the Jews, who do the same with the Scriptures. Vide Millium, ubi sup. [See also Lane's Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians, vol. i. chap. xi., near the end. E. M. W.]

⁵ Sionita, De Urb. Orient., p. 41, et Marracc., De Alc., p. 33.

have taken care to have their Scriptures translated not only into the Persian tongue, but into several others, particularly the Javan and Malayan,¹ though out of respect to the original Arabic these versions are generally (if not always) interlineary.*

* In addition to those mentioned in the text, we would note two popular translations of the Qurán in the Urdú language current in India. They are interlined with the Arabic text in all Muslim editions.

E. M. W.

¹ Reland, *De Rel. Moh.*, p. 265.

SECTION IV.

OF THE DOCTRINES AND POSITIVE PRECEPTS OF THE QURÁN, WHICH
RELATE TO FAITH AND RELIGIOUS DUTIES.

✓ Islám the
one true
orthodox
belief.

IT has been already observed more than once, that the fundamental position on which Muhammad erected the superstructure of his religion was, that from the beginning to the end of the world there has been, and for ever will be, but one true orthodox belief, consisting, as to matter of faith, in the acknowledging of the only true GOD, and the believing in and obeying such messengers or prophets as he should from time to time send, with proper credentials, to reveal his will to mankind; and as to matter of practice, in the observance of the immutable and eternal laws of right and wrong, together with such other precepts and ceremonies as GOD should think fit to order for the time being, according to the different dispensations in different ages of the world; for these last he allowed were things indifferent in their own nature, and became obligatory by GOD's positive precept only, and were therefore temporary, and subject to alteration according to his will and pleasure. And to this religion he gives the name of Islám, which word signifies resignation, or submission to the service and commands of GOD,¹ and is used as the proper name of the Muhammadan religion, which they will also have

¹ The root *Salama*, from whence *Islám* is formed, in the first and fourth conjugations, signifies also to be saved, or to enter into a state of salvation; according to which, *Islám* may be translated *the religion or state*

of salvation; but the other sense is more approved by the Muhammadans, and alluded to in the Qurán itself. See c. 2. v. III, and c. 3, v. 19, notes.

to be the same at bottom with that of all the prophets from Adam.

Under pretext that this eternal religion was in his time corrupted, and professed in its purity by no one sect of men, Muhammad pretended to be a prophet sent by God to reform those abuses which had crept into it, and to reduce it to its primitive simplicity; with the addition, however, of peculiar laws and ceremonies, some of which had been used in former times, and others were now first instituted. And he comprehended the whole substance of his doctrine under these two propositions or articles of faith, viz., that there is but one God, and that himself was the apostle of God; in consequence of which latter article, all such ordinances and institutions as he thought fit to establish must be received as obligatory and of divine authority.

The Muhammadans divide their religion, which, as I just now said, they call Islám, into two distinct parts: Imán, *i.e.*, faith or theory, and Dín, *i.e.*, religion or practice; and teach that it is built on five fundamental points, one belonging to faith, and the other four to practice.

Five points
of Imán and
Dín.

The first is that confession of faith which I have already mentioned, that "there is no god but the true God, and that Muhammad is his apostle," under which they comprehend six distinct branches, viz., 1. Belief in God; 2. In his angels; 3. In his Scriptures; 4. In his prophets; 5. In the resurrection and day of judgment; and, 6. In God's absolute decree and predetermination both of good and evil.

First funda-
mental
point of
Islám.

The four points* relating to practice are: 1. Prayer, under which are comprehended those washings or purifica-

Four points
of religion.

* To these should be added the duty of Jihád, or war against infidels, which our author places under the head of Civil Laws, see chap. vi. All Muslims regard this as a religious duty, which they enumerate along with the four mentioned in the text. E. M. W.

tions which are necessary preparations required before prayer; 2. Alms; 3. Fasting; and, 4. The pilgrimage to Makkah. Of each of these I shall speak in their order.

The God of
Islam the
true God.

That both Muhammad and those among his followers who are reckoned orthodox had and continue to have just and true notions of GOD and his attributes (always excepting their obstinate and impious rejecting of the Trinity), appears so plain from the Qurán itself and all the Muhammadan divines, that it would be loss of time to refute those who suppose the God of Muhammad to be different from the true God, and only a fictitious deity or idol of his own creation.¹* Nor shall I here enter into any of the Muhammadan controversies concerning the divine nature and attributes, because I shall have a more proper opportunity of doing it elsewhere.²

Belief in the
doctrine of
angels
required.

The existence of angels and their purity are absolutely required to be believed in the Qurán, and he is reckoned an infidel who denies there are such beings, or hates any

* The God of Islám is undoubtedly the only true God, inasmuch as he is represented as a personal God, the Creator and Preserver of all things, as a prayer-hearing God, and as possessing many other characteristics of the God of the Bible.

And yet we have other objections to the Muslim conception of God, besides that of its "impious rejecting of the Trinity." We object to its having exalted His omnipotence over all other attributes; to its lowering of His character for holiness, nothing being said of God in the Qurán which might not be said of a holy man; to its limiting the goodness of God to Muslims, no matter what their character, relegating even infants of unbelievers to hell-fire; to its sacrifice of God's justice by denying the necessity for any atonement for sin; and, finally, to its limitation of the truth of God by its sanctification of a lie, if it only be spoken in self-defence or for the advancement of Islám. It should never be forgotten that the God of Islám is not merely the Allah described in the Qurán, but the God who speaks in every word, syllable, and letter of the Quran. We must not therefore separate what *we* conceive to have special reference to God in its teaching, from what *we* may conceive to have been used

¹ Marracc. in Alc., p. 102.

² Sect. VIII.

of them,¹ or asserts any distinction of sexes among them. They believe them to have pure and subtle bodies, created of fire;² that they neither eat nor drink, nor propagate their species; that they have various forms and offices; some adoring GOD in different postures, others singing praises to him, or interceding for mankind. They hold that some of them are employed in writing down the actions of men; others in carrying the throne of GOD and other services.

The four angels whom they look on as more eminently in GOD's favour, and often mention on account of the offices assigned them, are Gabriel, to whom they give several titles, particularly those of the holy spirit,³ and the angel of revelations,⁴ supposing him to be honoured by GOD with a greater confidence than any other, and to be employed in writing down the divine decrees;⁵ Michael, the friend and protector of the Jews;⁶ Azraël,* the angel of death, who separates men's souls from their bodies;⁷

Gabriel,
Michael,
Azraël,
Isráíl, and
guardian
angels.

by Muhammad for the furtherance of his private or political purposes; for, according to Islám, Muhammad was but the mouthpiece of Divinity. If, then, we would get a correct idea of the Allah of Islám, we must take into account all that was *done by* Muhammad under the sanction of the Qurán. Let this be done, and it will appear that what we have said above is by no means extravagant.

A true conception of Islám and its doctrines can never be formed by looking at the Qurán from the standpoint of the "unbelievers," who regard it as the work of Muhammad; but by looking at it as the Muslim does, who believes it to be not only God's word, but as being from eternity recorded on the "Preserved Table," kept close by the throne of God.

We would refer the reader to Palgrave's criticism on Muhammadan theology. For further information on this subject, see his *Travels in Arabia*.

E. M. W.

* Muslims pronounce these names Jibráíl, Mikáíl, and Izráíl.

E. M. W.

¹ Qurán, c. 2, vv. 31-34.

² Ibid., c. 7, v. 12, and c. 38, v.

⁵ Vide Hyde, Hist. Rel. Vet. Pers., p. 262.

⁶ Vide *ibid.*, p. 271, and note in Qurán, c. 2, vv. 97, &c.

^{77.} ³ Ibid., c. 2, v. 97.

⁴ See the notes, *ibid.*, vv. 97, &c.

⁷ Vide note, *ibid.*, c. 2, v. 30.

and Isráfil, whose office it will be to sound the trumpet at the resurrection.¹ The Muhammadans also believe that two guardian angels attend on every man to observe and write down his actions,² being changed every day, and therefore called al Muaqqibát, or the angels who continually succeed one another.

This doctrine borrowed from the Jews.

This whole doctrine concerning angels Muhammad and his disciples have borrowed from the Jews, who learned the names and offices of those beings from the Persians, as themselves confess.³ The ancient Persians firmly believed the ministry of angels, and their superintendence over the affairs of this world (as the Magians still do), and therefore assigned them distinct charges and provinces, giving their names to their months and the days of their months. Gabriel they called Sarosh and Raván Bakhsh, or the *giver of souls*, in opposition to the contrary office of the angel of death, to whom among other names they gave that of Murdád, or the *giver of death*; Michael they called Beshter, who according to them provides sustenance for mankind.⁴ The Jews teach that the angels were created of fire;⁵ that they have several offices;⁶ that they intercede for men,⁷ and attend them.⁸ The angel of death they name Dúma, and say he calls dying persons by their respective names at their last hour.⁹

Belief concerning Satan.

The devil, whom Muhammad names Iblis, from his *despair*, was once one of those angels who are nearest to God's presence, called Azazíl,¹⁰ and fell, according to the

¹ Qurán, c. 6, 13, and 86. The offices of these four angels are described almost in the same manner in the apocryphal Gospel of Barnabas, where it is said that Gabriel reveals the secrets of God, Michael combats against his enemies, Raphael receives the souls of those who die, and Uriel is to call every one to judgment on the last day. See the Menagiana, tom. iv. p. 333.

✓ ² Qurán, c. 50, v. 16.

³ Talmud Hieros. in Rosh hashan.

⁴ Vide Hide, ubi sup., c. 19 and 20.

⁵ Gemar. in Hagig. and Bereshit rabbah, &c. Vide Psalm civ. 4.

⁶ Yalkut hadash.

⁷ Gemar. in Shebet, and Bava Bathra, &c.

⁸ Midrash, Yalkut Shemúni.

⁹ Gemar. Berachoth.

¹⁰ Vide Reland, De Rel. Moh., p. 189, &c.

doctrine of the Qurán, for refusing to pay homage to Adam at the command of God.¹

Besides angels and devils, the Muhammadans are taught by the Qurán to believe in an intermediate order of creatures, which they call Jin or Genii, created also of fire,² but of a grosser fabric than angels, since they eat and drink, and propagate their species, and are subject to death.³ Some of these are supposed to be good and others bad, and capable of future salvation or damnation, as men are; whence Muhammad pretended to be sent for the conversion of genii as well as men.⁴ The Orientals pretend that these genii inhabited the world for many ages before Adam was created, under the government of several successive princes, who all bore the common name of Solomon; but falling at length into an almost general corruption, Iblís was sent to drive them into a remote part of the earth, there to be confined; that some of that generation still remaining, were by Tahmúrath, one of the ancient kings of Persia, who waged war against them, forced to retreat into the famous mountains of Qáf. Of which successions and wars they have many fabulous and romantic stories. They also make different ranks and degrees among these beings (if they be not rather supposed to be of a different species), some being called absolutely Jin, some Pari or fairies, some Dev or giants, others Taqwíms or fates.⁵

The Muhammadan notions concerning these genii agree almost exactly with what the Jews write of a sort of demons called Shedím, whom some fancy to have been begotten by two angels, named Aza and Azaël, on Naamah the daughter of Lamech, before the Flood.⁶ However, the Shedím, they tell us, agree in three things with the

Concerning
the Genii.

Agrees with
Jewish
belief in
Shedim.

¹ Qurán, c. 2, vv. 31-34. See also c. 7, v. 12; c. 38, v. 77, &c.

² Qurán, c. 55, v. 14. See the notes there.

³ Jaláluddin, in Qurán, c. 2, v. 101, and c. 18, v. 48.

⁴ Vide Qurán, c. 55, v. 31; c. 72, vv. 1-14; and c. 74.

⁵ See D'Herbelot, Bibl. Orient., pp. 369, 820, &c.

⁶ In libro Zohar.

ministering angels, for that, like them, they have wings, and fly from one end of the world to the other, and have some knowledge of futurity; and in three things they agree with men, like whom they eat and drink, are propagated, and die.¹ They also say that some of them believe in the law of Moses, and are consequently good, and that others of them are infidels and reprobates.²

✓ The former
Scriptures.

As to the Scriptures, the Muhammadans are taught by the Qurán that GOD, in divers ages of the world, gave revelations of his will in writing to several prophets, the whole and every word of which it is absolutely necessary for a good Muslim to believe. The number of these sacred books were, according to them, one hundred and four. Of which ten were given to Adam, fifty to Seth, thirty to Idrís or Enoch, ten to Abraham; and the other four, being the Pentateuch, the Psalms, the Gospel, and the Qurán, were successively delivered to Moses, David, Jesus, and Muhammad; which last being the seal of the prophets, those revelations are now closed, and no more are to be expected. All these divine books, except the four last, they agree to be now entirely lost, and their contents unknown, though the Sabians have several books which they attribute to some of the antediluvian prophets. And of those four, the Pentateuch, Psalms, and Gospel, they say, have undergone so many alterations and corruptions, that though there may possibly be some part of the true Word of GOD therein, yet no credit is to be given to the present copies in the hands of the Jews and Christians. The Jews in particular are frequently reflected on in the Qurán for falsifying and corrupting their copies of their law;* and some instances of such

* A careful study of the passages alluded to here will show that the alterations and "corruptions" charged against Jews and Christians in the Qurán do not refer to the *text* of their Scriptures. Muir,

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pretended corruptions, both in that book and the two others, are produced by Muhammadan writers, wherein they merely follow their own prejudices, and the fabulous accounts of spurious legends. Whether they have any copy of the Pentateuch among them different from that of the Jews or not, I am not entirely satisfied, since a person who travelled into the East was told that they had the books of Moses, though very much corrupted ;¹ but I know nobody that has ever seen them. However, they certainly have and privately read a book which they call the Psalms of David in Arabic and Persian, to which are added some prayers of Moses, Jonas, and others.² This Mr. Reland supposes to be a translation from our copies (though no doubt falsified in more places than one) ; but M. D'Herbelot says it contains not the same Psalms which are in our Psalter, being no more than an extract from thence mixed with other very different pieces.³ The easiest way to reconcile these two learned gentlemen is to presume that they speak of different copies. The Muhammadans have also a Gospel in Arabic, attributed to St. Barnabas, wherein the history of Jesus Christ is related in a manner very different from what we find in the true Gospels, and correspondent to those traditions which Muhammad has followed in his Qurán.* Of this Gospel the Moriscoes in Africa have a translation in

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in his treatise on *The Testimony Borne by the Coran to the Jewish and Christian Scriptures*, clearly proves that—"The strongest and most unequivocal testimony is borne by the Coran to the Jewish and Christian Scriptures as current in the time of Mahomet ; that the evidence extends equally to their genuineness and authority ; and that there is not a hint anywhere to be found of their concealment or interpolation."—*Life of Mahomet*, vol. ii. p. 297. E. M. W.

* See page 10, Preface to Preliminary Discourse.

¹ Terry's *Voyage to the East Indies*, p. 277.

² De Rel. Moham., p. 23.

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and Isráfil, whose office it will be to sound the trumpet at the resurrection.¹ The Muhammadans also believe that two guardian angels attend on every man to observe and write down his actions,² being changed every day, and therefore called al Muaqqibát, or the angels who continually succeed one another.

This doctrine borrowed from the Jews.

This whole doctrine concerning angels Muhammad and his disciples have borrowed from the Jews, who learned the names and offices of those beings from the Persians, as themselves confess.³ The ancient Persians firmly believed the ministry of angels, and their superintendence over the affairs of this world (as the Magians still do), and therefore assigned them distinct charges and provinces, giving their names to their months and the days of their months. Gabriel they called Sarosh and Raván Bakhsh, or the *giver of souls*, in opposition to the contrary office of the angel of death, to whom among other names they gave that of Murdád, or the *giver of death*; Michael they called Beshter, who according to them provides sustenance for mankind.⁴ The Jews teach that the angels were created of fire;⁵ that they have several offices;⁶ that they intercede for men,⁷ and attend them.⁸ The angel of death they name Dúma, and say he calls dying persons by their respective names at their last hour.⁹

Belief concerning Satan.

The devil, whom Muhammad names Iblís, from his *despair*, was once one of those angels who are nearest to God's presence, called Azazíl,¹⁰ and fell, according to the

¹ Qurán, c. 6, 13, and 86. The offices of these four angels are described almost in the same manner in the apocryphal Gospel of Barnabas, where it is said that Gabriel reveals the secrets of God, Michael combats against his enemies, Raphael receives the souls of those who die, and Uriel is to call every one to judgment on the last day. See the Menagiana, tom. iv. p. 333.

✓ ² Qurán, c. 50, v. 16.

³ Talmud Hieros. in Rosh hashan.

⁴ Vide Hide, ubi sup., c. 19 and 20.

⁵ Gemar. in Hagig. and Bereshit rabbah, &c. Vide Psalm civ. 4.

⁶ Yalkut hadash.

⁷ Gemar. in Shebet, and Bava Bathra, &c.

⁸ Midrash, Yalkut Shemúni.

⁹ Gemar. Berachoth.

¹⁰ Vide Reland, De Rel. Moh., p. 189, &c.

doctrine of the Qurán, for refusing to pay homage to Adam at the command of God.¹

Besides angels and devils, the Muhammadans are taught by the Qurán to believe in an intermediate order of creatures, which they call Jin or Genii, created also of fire,² but of a grosser fabric than angels, since they eat and drink, and propagate their species, and are subject to death.³ Some of these are supposed to be good and others bad, and capable of future salvation or damnation, as men are; whence Muhammad pretended to be sent for the conversion of genii as well as men.⁴ The Orientals pretend that these genii inhabited the world for many ages before Adam was created, under the government of several successive princes, who all bore the common name of Solomon; but falling at length into an almost general corruption, Iblís was sent to drive them into a remote part of the earth, there to be confined; that some of that generation still remaining, were by Tahmúrath, one of the ancient kings of Persia, who waged war against them, forced to retreat into the famous mountains of Qáf. Of which successions and wars they have many fabulous and romantic stories. They also make different ranks and degrees among these beings (if they be not rather supposed to be of a different species), some being called absolutely Jin, some Pari or fairies, some Dev or giants, others Taqwíms or fates.⁵

The Muhammadan notions concerning these genii agree almost exactly with what the Jews write of a sort of demons called Shedím, whom some fancy to have been begotten by two angels, named Aza and Azaël, on Naamah the daughter of Lamech, before the Flood.⁶ However, the Shedím, they tell us, agree in three things with the

Concerning
the Genii.

Agrees with
Jewish
belief in
Shedim.

¹ Qurán, c. 2, vv. 31-34. See also c. 7, v. 12; c. 38, v. 77, &c.

² Qurán, c. 55, v. 14. See the notes there.

³ Jaláluddin, in Qurán, c. 2, v. 101, and c. 18, v. 48.

⁴ Vide Qurán, c. 55, v. 31^v; c. 72, vv. 1-14; and c. 74.

⁵ See D'Herbelot, Bibl. Orient., pp. 369, 820, &c.

⁶ In libro Zohar.

ministering angels, for that, like them, they have wings, and fly from one end of the world to the other, and have some knowledge of futurity; and in three things they agree with men, like whom they eat and drink, are propagated, and die.¹ They also say that some of them believe in the law of Moses, and are consequently good, and that others of them are infidels and reprobates.²

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Spanish;¹ and there is in the library of Prince Eugene of Savoy a manuscript of some antiquity containing an Italian translation of the same Gospel,² made, it is to be supposed, for the use of renegades. This book appears to be no original forgery of the Muhammadans, though they have no doubt interpolated and altered it since, the better to serve their purpose; and in particular, instead of the Paraclete or Comforter,³ they have in this apocryphal Gospel inserted the word Periclyte, that is, the *famous* or *illustrious*, by which they pretend their prophet was foretold by name, that being the signification of Muhammad in Arabic;⁴ and this they say to justify that passage of the Qurán⁵ where Jesus Christ is formally asserted to have foretold his coming, under his other name of Ahmad, which is derived from the same root as Muhammad, and of the same import. From these or some other forgeries of the same stamp it is that the Muhammadans quote several passages of which there are not the least footsteps in the New Testament. But after all, we must not hence infer that the Muhammadans, much less all of them, hold these copies of theirs to be the ancient and genuine Scriptures themselves. If any argue, from the corruption which they insist has happened to the Pentateuch and Gospel, that the Qurán may possibly be corrupted also, they answer that God has promised that he will take care of the latter, and preserve it from any addition or diminution;⁶ but that he left the two other to the care of men. However, they confess there are some various readings in the Qurán,⁷ as has been observed.

Besides the books above mentioned, the Muhammadans also take notice of the writings of Daniel and several other

¹ Reland, ubi supra.

² Menagian, tom. iv. p. 321, first eight chapters. ✓
&c.

³ John xiv. 16, 26, xv. 26, and xvi. 7, compared with Luke xxiv. 49.

⁵ Cap. 61, v. 6. ✓

⁶ Qurán, c. 15, v. 9. ✓

⁷ Reland, ubi supra, pp. 24, 27.

prophets, and even make quotations thence; but these they do not believe to be divine scripture, or of any authority in matters of religion.¹

The number of the prophets which have been from time to time sent by GOD into the world amounts to no less than 224,000, according to one Muhammadan tradition, or to 124,000 according to another; among whom 313 were apostles, sent with special commissions to reclaim mankind from infidelity and superstition, and six of them brought new laws or dispensations, which successively abrogated the preceding: these were Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, and Muhammad. All the prophets in general the Muhammadans believe to have been free from great sins and errors of consequence, and professors of one and the same religion, that is, Islám, notwithstanding the different laws and institutions which they observed. They allow of degrees among them, and hold some of them to be more excellent and honourable than others.² The first place they give to the revealers and establishers of new dispensations, and the next to the apostles.

The prophets recognised by Islám.

In this great number of prophets they not only reckon divers patriarchs and persons named in Scripture, but not recorded to have been prophets (wherein the Jewish and Christian writers have sometimes led the way³), as Adam, Seth, Lot, Ismaél, Nun, Joshua, &c., and introduce some of them under different names, as Enoch, Heber, and Jethro, who are called in the Qurán Idrís, Húd, and Shuaib, but several others whose very names do not appear in Scripture (though they endeavour to find some persons there to fix them on), as Sálíh, Khidhar, Dhu'l Kif, &c. Several of their fabulous traditions concerning these prophets we shall occasionally mention in the notes on the Qurán.

¹ Reland, ubi supra, p. 41.

p. 2), and Adam by Epiphanius (Adv. Hæres., p. 6). See also

² Qurán, c. 2, v. 253, &c.
³ Thus Heber is said to have been a prophet by the Jews (Seder Olam.,

Joseph., Ant., l. 1, c. 2.

Muhammad
appeals to
the Bible in
proof of his
mission.

As Muhammad acknowledged the divine authority of the Pentateuch, Psalms, and Gospel, he often appeals to the consonancy of the Qurán with those writings, and to the prophecies which he pretended were therein concerning himself, as proofs of his mission; and he frequently charges the Jews and Christians with stifling the passages which bear witness to him.¹ His followers also fail not to produce several texts even from our present copies of the Old and New Testament to support their master's cause.²*

Doctrine of
the resur-
rection.

The next article of faith required by the Qurán is the belief of a general resurrection and a future judgment. But before we consider the Muhammadan tenets in those points, it will be proper to mention what they are taught to believe concerning the intermediate state, both of the body and of the soul, after death.

* For example, Deut. xviii. 15-18, where the Lord promises to raise up a prophet for the children of Israel *from among their brethren*. Muslims argue that the Israelites had no brethren excepting the Ismaélites, from whom Muhammad was descended. This argument is strengthened, they say, by the further statement that this prophet should be *like unto Moses*. Again, Deut. xxxiv. 10, declares that "there arose no prophet *in Israel* like unto Moses;" Habakkuk iii. 3 says, "The Holy One came from Mount Paran." Mount Paran is declared by the Muslims to be Makkah!

The Hebrew word מִשְׁתָּהוֹ, translated *desire* in Hag. ii. 7, is said to be the same as the name Muhammad. The same word is translated *beloved* in Cant. ii. 3. Wherefore we are called upon to behold the very name of the Arabian prophet in the Bible!

When we read in Isaiah, in the Septuagint version, chap. xxi. 7, that he saw "two riders, one on an ass and one on a camel," we are to understand the rider on the ass to refer to Jesus, who so entered Jerusalem, while the rider on a camel refers to Muhammad. When John the Baptist was asked if he were the Christ, or Elijah, or "that prophet," Muhammadans claim that the words "that prophet" refer to Muhammad, &c., &c. See *Essays on the Life of Muhammad*, by Syed Ahmed Khan Bahádr, C.S.I. E. M. W.

¹ Qurán, c. 2, vv. 41, 78; c. 3, 11. Life of Mahomet, and more by

² Some of these texts are produced by Dr. Prideaux at the end of his Marracci in Alcor., p. 26, &c.

When a corpse is laid in the grave, they say he is received by an angel, who gives him notice of the coming of the two examiners, who are two black, livid angels, of a terrible appearance, named Munkir and Nakir. These order the dead person to sit upright, and examine him concerning his faith, as to the unity of God and the mission of Muhammad: if he answer rightly, they suffer the body to rest in peace, and it is refreshed by the air of paradise; but if not, they beat him on the temples with iron maces, till he roars out for anguish so loud, that he is heard by all from east to west, except men and genii. Then they press the earth on the corpse, which is gnawed and stung till the resurrection by ninety-nine dragons, with seven heads each; or, as others say, their sins will become venomous beasts, the grievous ones stinging like dragons, the smaller like scorpions, and the others like serpents: circumstances which some understand in a figurative sense.¹

Concerning
the soul
after death.

The examination of the sepulchre is not only founded on an express tradition of Muhammad, but is also plainly hinted at, though not directly taught, in the Qurán,² as the commentators agree. It is therefore believed by the orthodox Muhammadans in general, who take care to have their graves made hollow, that they may sit up with more ease while they are examined by the angels;³ but is utterly rejected by the sect of the Mutazilites, and perhaps by some others.

These notions Muhammad certainly borrowed from the Jews, among whom they were very anciently received.⁴ They say that the angel of death coming and sitting on the grave, the soul immediately enters the body and raises it on his feet; that he then examines the departed person, and strikes him with a chain half of iron and half of fire;

This belief
borrowed
from the
Jews.

¹ Al Ghazali. Vide Poc., not. in Port. Mosis, p. 241, &c.

² Cap. 8, v. 52, and c. 47, v. 29, &c.

³ Smith, De Morib. et Instit. Turcar. Ep. 2, p. 57.

⁴ Vide Hyde, in Notis ad Bobov. de Visit. Ægrot., p. 19.

at the first blow all his limbs are loosened, at the second his bones are scattered, which are gathered together again by angels, and the third stroke reduces the body to dust and ashes, and it returns into the grave. This rack or torture they call *Hibbút haqqeber*, or the *beating of the sepulchre*, and pretend that all men in general must undergo it, except only those who die on the evening of the Sabbath, or have dwelt in the land of Israel.¹

If it be objected to the Muhammadans that the cry of the persons under such examination has never been heard, or if they be asked how those can undergo it whose bodies are burnt or devoured by beasts or birds, or otherwise consumed without burial; they answer, that it is very possible notwithstanding, since men are not able to perceive what is transacted on the other side the grave, and that it is sufficient to restore to life any part of the body which is capable of understanding the questions put by the angels.²

The state of
Al Barzakh :
various
opinions.

As to the soul, they hold that when it is separated from the body by the angel of death, who performs his office with ease and gentleness towards the good and with violence towards the wicked,³ it enters into that state which they call *Al Barzakh*,⁴ or the *interval* between death and the resurrection. If the departed person was a believer, they say two angels meet it, who convey it to heaven, that its place there may be assigned, according to its merit and degree. For they distinguish the souls of the faithful into three classes: the first of prophets, whose souls are admitted into paradise immediately; the second of martyrs, whose spirits, according to a tradition of Muhammad, rest in the crops of green birds which eat of the fruits and drink of the rivers of paradise; and the third of other

¹ R. Elias, in Tishbi. See also Buxtorf, Synag. Judaic., and Lexic. Talmud. say the same, in Nishmat bayim., f. 77.

² Vide Poc., ubi sup.

✓ ³ Qurán, c. 79, v. 1. The Jews

⁴ Vide Qurán, c. 23, v. 101, and not. ib.

believers, concerning the state of whose souls before the resurrection there are various opinions. For, 1. Some say they stay near the sepulchres, with liberty, however, of going wherever they please; which they confirm from Muhammad's manner of saluting them at their graves, and his affirming that the dead heard those salutations as well as the living, though they could not answer. Whence perhaps proceeded the custom of visiting the tombs of relations, so common among the Muhammadans.¹ 2. Others imagine they are with Adam in the lowest heaven, and also support their opinion by the authority of their prophet, who gave out that in his return from the upper heavens in his pretended night journey, he saw there the souls of those who were destined to paradise on the right hand of Adam, and of those who were condemned to hell on his left.² 3. Others fancy the souls of believers remain in the well Zamzam, and those of infidels in a certain well in the province of Hadramaut, called Burhút; but this opinion is branded as heretical. 4. Others say they stay near the graves for seven days; but that whither they go afterwards is uncertain. 5. Others that they are all in the trumpet whose sound is to raise the dead. 6. And others that the souls of the good dwell in the forms of white birds under the throne of God.³ As to the condition of the souls of the wicked, besides the opinions that have been already mentioned, the more orthodox hold that they are offered by the angels to heaven, from whence being repulsed as stinking and filthy, they are offered to the earth, and being also refused a place there, are carried down to the seventh earth, and thrown into a dungeon, which they call Sajín, under a green rock, or, according to a tradition of Muhammad, under the devil's jaw,⁴ to be

¹ Poc., ubi sup., 247.

² Ibid., p. 248. Consonant hereto are the Jewish notions of the souls of the just being on high, under the

throne of glory. Vide *ibid.*, p. 156.

³ Ibid., p. 250.

⁴ Al Baidhâwi. Vide Poc., ubi sup., p. 252.]

there tormented till they are called up to be joined again to their bodies.

Though some among the Muhammadans have thought that the resurrection will be merely spiritual, and no more than the returning of the soul to the place whence it first came (an opinion defended by Ibn Sina,¹ and called by some the *opinion of the philosophers*);² and others, who allow man to consist of body only, that it will be merely corporeal; the received opinion is, that both body and soul will be raised, and their doctors argue strenuously for the possibility of the resurrection of the body, and dispute with great subtlety concerning the manner of it.³ But Muhammad has taken care to preserve one part of the body, whatever becomes of the rest, to serve for a basis of the future edifice, or rather a leaven for the mass which is to be joined to it. For he taught that a man's body was entirely consumed by the earth, except only the bone called al Ajb, which we name the *os coccygis*, or rump-bone; and that as it was the first formed in the human body, it will also remain uncorrupted till the last day, as a seed from whence the whole is to be renewed: and this he said would be effected by a forty days' rain which God should send, and which would cover the earth to the height of twelve cubits, and cause the bodies to sprout forth like plants.⁴ Herein also is Muhammad beholden to the Jews, who say the same things of the bone Luz,⁵ excepting that what he attributes to a great rain will be effected, according to them, by a dew impregnating the dust of the earth.

The time of the resurrection the Muhammadans allow to be a perfect secret to all but GOD alone: the angel Gabriel himself acknowledging his ignorance on this point

¹ Or, as we corruptly name him, Avicenna.

² *Kenz al airâr.*

³ Vide Poe., ubi sup., p. 254.

⁴ Idem, *ibid.*, p. 255, &c.

⁵ *Bereshit. rabbah*, &c. Vide Poe., ubi sup., p. 117, &c.

when Muhammad asked him about it. However, they say the approach of that day may be known from certain signs which are to precede it. These signs they distinguish into two sorts—the lesser and the greater—which I shall briefly enumerate after Dr. Pocock.¹

The lesser signs are: 1. The decay of faith among men.² 2. The advancing of the meanest persons to eminent dignity. 3. That a maid-servant shall become the mother of her mistress (or master), by which is meant either that towards the end of the world men shall be much given to sensuality, or that the Muhammadans shall then take many captives. 4. Tumults and seditions. 5. A war with the Turks. 6. Great distress in the world, so that a man when he passes by another's grave shall say, "Would to GOD I were in his place." 7. That the provinces of Irák and Syria shall refuse to pay their tribute. And, 8. That the buildings of Madína shall reach to Aháb or Yaháb.

The greater signs are:

1. The sun's rising in the west, which some have imagined it originally did.³

2. The appearance of the beast, which shall rise out of the earth, in the temple of Makkah, or on Mount Safá, or in the territory of Táiyif, or some other place. This beast they say is to be sixty cubits high: though others, not satisfied with so small a size, will have her reach to the clouds and to heaven when her head only is out; and that she will appear for three days, but show only a third part of her body. They describe this monster, as to her form, to be a compound of various species, having the head of a bull, the eyes of a hog, the ears of an elephant, the horns of a stag, the neck of an ostrich, the breast of a lion, the colour of a tiger, the back of a cat, the tail of a ram, the legs of a camel, and the voice of an ass. Some say this beast is

¹ Vide Poc., ubi sup., p. 258, &c.

² See Luke xviii. 8.

³ See Whiston's Theory of the Earth, bk. ii. p. 98, &c.

to appear three times in several places, and that she will bring with her the rod of Moses and the seal of Solomon; and being so swift that none can overtake or escape her, will with the first strike all the believers on the face and mark them with the word *Múmin*, *i.e.*, believer; and with the latter will mark the unbelievers, on the face likewise, with the word *Káfir*, *i.e.*, infidel, that every person may be known for what he really is. They add that the same beast is to demonstrate the vanity of all religions except Islám, and to speak Arabic. All this stuff seems to be the result of a confused idea of the beast in the Revelation.¹

3. War with the Greeks, and the taking of Constantinople by 70,000 of the posterity of Isaac, who shall not win that city by force of arms, but the walls shall fall down while they cry out, "There is no god but GOD: GOD is most great!" As they are dividing the spoil, news will come to them of the appearance of Antichrist, whereupon they shall leave all, and return back.

4. The coming of Antichrist, whom the Muhammadans call *al Masíh al Dajjál*, *i.e.*, the false or lying Christ, and simply *al Dajjál*. He is to be one-eyed, and marked on the forehead with the letters K.F.R., signifying *Káfir*, or infidel. They say that the Jews give him the name of Messiah Ben David, and pretend he is to come in the last days and to be lord both of land and sea, and that he will restore the kingdom to them. According to the traditions of Muhammad, he is to appear first between Irák and Syria, or according to others, in the province of Khurásán; they add that he is to ride on an ass, that he will be followed by 70,000 Jews of Ispahán, and continue on earth forty days, of which one will be equal in length to a year, another to a month, another to a week, and the rest will be common days; that he is to lay waste all places, but will not enter Makkah or Madína, which are to be guarded by angels;

¹ Chap. xiii.

and that at length he will be slain by Jesus, who is to encounter him at the gate of Lud. It is said that Muhammad foretold several Antichrists, to the number of about thirty, but one of greater note than the rest.

5. The descent of Jesus on earth. They pretend that he is to descend near the white tower to the east of Damascus, when the people are returned from the taking of Constantinople; that he is to embrace the Muhammadan religion, marry a wife, get children, kill Antichrist, and at length die after forty years', or, according to others, twenty-four years',¹ continuance on earth. Under him they say there will be great security and plenty in the world, all hatred and malice being laid aside; when lions and camels, bears and sheep, shall live in peace, and a child shall play with serpents unhurt.²

6. War with the Jews, of whom the Muhammadans are to make a religious slaughter, the very trees and stones discovering such of them as hide themselves, except only the tree called Gharkad, which is the tree of the Jews.

7. The eruption of Gog and Magog, or, as they are called in the East, Yájúj and Májúj, of whom many things are related in the Qurán³ and the traditions of Muhammad. These barbarians, they tell us, having passed the lake of Tiberias, which the vanguard of their vast army will drink dry, will come to Jerusalem, and there greatly distress Jesus and his companions; till at his request God will destroy them, and fill the earth with their carcases, which after some time God will send birds to carry away, at the prayers of Jesus and his followers. Their bows, arrows, and quivers the Muslims will burn for seven years together;⁴ and at last God will send a rain to cleanse the earth, and to make it fertile.

8. A smoke which shall fill the whole earth.⁵

¹ Al Thalábi, in Qurán, c. 4.

² See Isaiah xi. 6, &c.

✓ ³ Cap. 18, v. 96, and 21, v. 96.

⁴ See Ezek. xxxix. 9; Rev. xx. 8.

⁵ See Qurán, c. 44, v. 10, and the notes thereon. Compare also Joel ii. 20, and Rev. ix. 2. ✓

9. An eclipse of the moon. Muhammad is reported to have said that there would be three eclipses before the last hour; one to be seen in the East, another in the West, and the third in Arabia.

10. The returning of the Arabs to the worship of al Lát and al Uzza and the rest of their ancient idols, after the decease of every one in whose heart there was faith equal to a grain of mustard-seed, none but the very worst of men being left alive. For GOD, they say, will send a cold odoriferous wind, blowing from Syria Damascena, which shall sweep away the souls of all the faithful, and the Qurán itself, so that men will remain in the grossest ignorance for a hundred years.

11. The discovery of a vast heap of gold and silver by the retreating of the Euphrates, which will be the destruction of many.

12. The demolition of the Kaabah or temple of Makkah by the Ethiopians.¹

13. The speaking of beasts and inanimate things.

14. The breaking out of fire in the province of Hijáz; or, according to others, in Yaman.

15. The appearance of a man of the descendants of Qahtán, who shall drive men before him with his staff.

16. The coming of the Mahdí or director, concerning whom Muhammad prophesied that the world should not have an end till one of his own family should govern the Arabians, whose name should be the same with his own name, and whose father's name should also be the same with his father's name, who should fill the earth with righteousness.* This person the Shiites believe to be now

* An account of a remarkable movement among Indian Muslims, aroused during the eleventh century (A.H.) by the expected advent of the Imám Mahdí, is given in F. Talboys Wheeler's *History of India*, vol. iv. part i. pp. 151-153.

E. M. W.

¹ See post, in this section.

alive, and concealed in some secret place till the time of his manifestation; for they suppose him to be no other than the last of the twelve Imáms, named Muhammad Abu'l Qásim, as their prophet was, and the son of Hasan al Askarí, the eleventh of that succession. He was born at Sarmanrái in the 255th year of the Hijra.¹ From this tradition, it is to be presumed, an opinion pretty current among the Christians took its rise, that the Muhammadans are in expectation of their prophet's return.

17. A wind which shall sweep away the souls of all who have but a grain of faith in their hearts, as has been mentioned under the tenth sign.

These are the greater signs, which, according to their doctrine, are to precede the resurrection, but still leave the hour of it uncertain: for the immediate sign of its being come will be the first blast of the trumpet, which they believe will be sounded three times. The first they call the *blast of consternation*, at the hearing of which all creatures in heaven and earth shall be struck with terror, except those whom God shall please to exempt from it. The effects attributed to this first sound of the trumpet are very wonderful; for they say the earth will be shaken, and not only all buildings, but the very mountains levelled; that the heavens shall melt, the sun be darkened, the stars fall, on the death of the angels, who, as some imagine, hold them suspended between heaven and earth, and the sea shall be troubled and dried up, or, according to others, turned into flames, the sun, moon, and stars being thrown into it: the Qurán, to express the greatness of the terror of that day, adds that women who give suck shall abandon the care of their infants, and even the she-camels which have gone ten months with young (a most valuable part of the substance of that nation) shall be utterly neglected. A further effect of this blast will be that concourse of beasts mentioned in the Qurán,² though

The blast
of the resur-
rection
trump. ✓

Effects of
the first
blast. ✓

¹ Vide D'Herbel., Bibl. Orient., p. 531.

² Cap. 81, v. 5. ✓

some doubt whether it be to precede the resurrection or not. They who suppose it will precede, think that all kinds of animals, forgetting their respective natural fierceness and timidity, will run together into one place, being terrified by the sound of the trumpet and the sudden shock of nature.

Effects of
the second
blast.

The Muhammadans believe that this first blast will be followed by a second, which they call the *blast of examination*,¹ when all creatures, both in heaven and earth, shall die or be annihilated, except those which God shall please to exempt from the common fate;² and this, they say, shall happen in the twinkling of an eye, nay, in an instant, nothing surviving except God alone, with paradise and hell, and the inhabitants of those two places, and the throne of glory.³ The last who shall die will be the angel of death.

Effects of
the third
blast

Forty years after this will be heard the *blast of resurrection*, when the trumpet shall be sounded the third time by Israfil, who, together with Gabriel and Michael, will be previously restored to life, and standing on the rock of the temple of Jerusalem,⁴ shall, at God's command, call together all the dry and rotten bones, and other dispersed parts of the bodies, and the very hairs, to judgment. This angel having, by the divine order, set the trumpet to his mouth, and called together all the souls from all parts, will throw them into his trumpet, from whence, on his giving the last sound, at the command of God, they will fly forth like bees, and fill the whole space between heaven and earth, and then repair to their respective bodies, which

¹ Several writers, however, make no distinction between this blast and the first, supposing the trumpet will sound but twice. See the notes to Qurán, c. 39, v. 68.

² Qurán, c. 30, v. 14.

³ To these some add the spirit who bears the waters on which the throne is placed, the preserved table wherein the decrees of God are

registered, and the pen wherewith they are written; all which things the Muhammadans imagine were created before the world.

⁴ In this circumstance the Muhammadans follow the Jews, who also agree that the trumpet will sound more than once. Vide R. Bechai in Biur hattorah, and Otioth shel R. Akiba.

the opening earth will suffer to arise; and the first who shall so arise, according to a tradition of Muhammad, will be himself. For this birth the earth will be prepared by the rain above mentioned, which is to fall continually for forty years,¹ and will resemble the seed of a man, and be supplied from the water under the throne of God, which is called living water; by the efficacy and virtue of which the dead bodies shall spring forth from their graves, as they did in their mother's womb, or as corn sprouts forth by common rain, till they become perfect; after which breath will be breathed into them, and they will sleep in their sepulchres till they are raised to life at the last trump.

As to the length of the day of judgment, the Qurán in one place tells us that it will last 1000 years,² and in another 50,000.³ To reconcile this apparent contradiction, the commentators use several shifts: some saying they know not what measure of time God intends in those passages; others, that these forms of speaking are figurative and not to be strictly taken, and were designed only to express the terribleness of that day, it being usual for the Arabs to describe what they dislike as of long continuance, and what they like as the contrary; and others suppose them spoken only in reference to the difficulty of the business of the day, which, if God should commit to any of his creatures, they would not be able to go through it in so many thousand years; to omit some other opinions which we may take notice of elsewhere.

Having said so much in relation to the time of the resurrection, let us now see who are to be raised from the dead, in what manner and form they shall be raised, in what place they shall be assembled, and to what end, according to the doctrine of the Muhammadans.

¹ Elsewhere (see *supra*, p. 130) this rain is said to continue only forty days; but it rather seems that it is

to fall during the whole interval between the second and third blasts.

² Qurán, c. 32, v. 4.

³ *Ibid.*, c. 70, v. 4.

Length of
the judg-
ment-day.

Resurrec-
tion to be
general.

That the resurrection will be general, and extend to all creatures, both angels, genii, men, and animals, is the received opinion, which they support by the authority of the Qurán, though that passage which is produced to prove the resurrection of brutes be otherwise interpreted by some.¹

Manner of
the rising
of the dead.

The manner of their resurrection will be very different. Those who are destined to be partakers of eternal happiness will arise in honour and security; and those who are doomed to misery, in disgrace and under dismal apprehensions. As to mankind, they say that they will be raised perfect in all their parts and members, and in the same state as they came out of their mother's wombs, that is, barefooted, naked, and uncircumcised; which circumstances when Muhammad was telling his wife Ayesha, she, fearing the rules of modesty might be thereby violated, objected that it would be very indecent for men and women to look upon one another in that condition; but he answered her, that the business of the day would be too weighty and serious to allow them the making use of that liberty. Others, however, allege the authority of their prophet for a contrary opinion as to their nakedness, and pretend he asserted that the dead should arise dressed in the same clothes in which they died;² unless we interpret these words, as some do, not so much of the outward dress of the body, as the inward clothing of the mind, and understand thereby that every person will rise again in the same state as to his faith or infidelity, his knowledge or ignorance, his good or bad works. Muhammad is also said to have further taught, by another tradition, that mankind shall be assembled at the last day distinguished into three classes. The first, of those who go on

¹ See the notes to Qurán, c. 81, v. 5, and *supra*, page 136.

² In this also they follow their old guides, the Jews, who say that if the wheat which is sown naked

rise clothed, it is no wonder the pious who are buried in their clothes should rise with them. Gemar. Sanhedr., fol. 90.

foot ; the second, of those who ride ; and the third, of those who creep grovelling with their faces on the ground. The first class is to consist of those believers whose good works have been few ; the second of those who are in greater honour with God, and more acceptable to him ; whence Ali affirmed that the pious when they come forth from their sepulchres shall find ready prepared for them white-winged camels with saddles of gold, wherein are to be observed some footsteps of the doctrine of the ancient Arabians ;¹ and the third class, they say, will be composed of the infidels, whom God shall cause to make their appearance with their faces on the earth, blind, dumb, and deaf. But the ungodly will not be thus only distinguished ; for, according to a tradition of the prophet, there will be ten sorts of wicked men on whom God shall on that day fix certain discretery remarks. The first will appear in the form of apes ; these are the professors of Zendicism : the second in that of swine ; these are they who have been greedy of filthy lucre and enriched themselves by public oppression : the third will be brought with their heads reversed and their feet distorted ; these are the usurers : the fourth will wander about blind ; these are unjust judges : the fifth will be deaf, dumb, and blind, understanding nothing ; these are they who glory in their own works : the sixth will gnaw their tongues, which will hang down upon their breasts, corrupted blood flowing from their mouths like spittle, so that everybody shall detest them ; these are the learned men and doctors, whose actions contradict their sayings : the seventh will have their hands and feet cut off ; these are they who have injured their neighbours : the eighth will be fixed to the trunks of palm trees or stakes of wood ; these are the false accusers and informers : the ninth will stink worse than a corrupted corpse ; these are they who have indulged their passions and voluptuous appetites, but refused God

¹ See *supra*, Sect. I., p. 43.

such part of their wealth as was due to him: the tenth will be clothed with garments daubed with pitch; and these are the proud, the vainglorious, and the arrogant.

✓ The place
of final
judgment.

As to the place where they are to be assembled to judgment, the Qurán and the traditions of Muhammad agree that it will be on the earth, but in what part of the earth it is not agreed. Some say their prophet mentioned Syria for the place; others, a white and even tract of land, without inhabitants or any signs of buildings. Al Ghazáli imagines it will be a second earth, which he supposes to be of silver; and others, an earth which has nothing in common with ours but the name; having, it is possible, heard something of the new heavens and new earth mentioned in Scripture: whence the Qurán has this expression, "On the day wherein the earth shall be changed into another earth."¹

✓ End of the
resurrec-
tion.

The end of the resurrection the Muhammadans declare to be, that they who are so raised may give an account of their actions and receive the reward thereof. And they believe that not only mankind, but the genii and irrational animals also,² shall be judged on this great day, when the unarmed cattle shall take vengeance on the horned, till entire satisfaction shall be given to the injured.³

State of the
resurrected
pending
judgment.

As to mankind, they hold that when they are all assembled together, they will not be immediately brought to judgment, but the angels will keep them in their ranks and order while they attend for that purpose; and this attendance some say is to last forty years, others seventy,

✓ ¹ Cap. 14, v. 49.

✓ ² Qurán, c. 6, v. 37. Vide Mai-
monid., More Nev., part iii. c. 17.

³ This opinion the learned Greaves supposed to have taken its rise from the following words of Ezekiel, wrongly understood: "And as for ye, O my flock, thus saith the Lord God, Behold I, even I, will judge between the fat cattle, and between the lean cattle; because ye have thrust with side and with shoulder,

and pushed all the diseased with your horns, till ye have scattered them abroad; therefore will I save my flock, and they shall no more be a prey, and I will judge between cattle and cattle," &c. (Ezek. xxxiv. 17, 20-22). Much might be said concerning brutes deserving future reward and punishment. See Bayle, Dict. Hist. Art. Rorarius, Rem. D., &c.

others 300, nay, some say no less than 50,000 years, each of them vouching their prophet's authority. During this space they will stand looking up to heaven, but without receiving any information or orders thence, and are to suffer grievous torments, both the just and the unjust, though with manifest difference. For the limbs of the former, particularly those parts which they used to wash in making the ceremonial ablution before prayer, shall shine gloriously, and their sufferings shall be light in comparison, and shall last no longer than the time necessary to say the appointed prayers; but the latter will have their faces obscured with blackness, and disfigured with all the marks of sorrow and deformity. What will then occasion not the least of their pain is a wonderful and incredible sweat, which will even stop their mouths, and in which they will be immersed in various degrees according to their demerits, some to the ankles only, some to the knees, some to the middle, some so high as their mouth, and others as their ears. And this sweat, they say, will be provoked not only by that vast concourse of all sorts of creatures mutually pressing and treading on one another's feet, but by the near and unusual approach of the sun, which will be then no farther from them than the distance of a mile, or, as some translate the word, the signification of which is ambiguous, than the length of a bodkin. So that their skulls will boil like a pot,¹ and they will be all bathed in sweat. From this inconvenience, however, the good will be protected by the shade of God's throne; but the wicked will be so miserably tormented with it, and also with hunger, and thirst, and a stifling air, that they will cry out, "Lord, deliver us from this anguish, though thou send us into hell-fire."² What they fable of the extraordinary heat of the sun on this occasion, the Muhammadans certainly borrowed from the Jews, who say, that for the punishment of the wicked on the last day that planet shall be drawn from its sheath,

¹ Al Ghazáli.² Idem.

in which it is now put up, lest it should destroy all things by its excessive heat.¹

Muham-
mad's inter-
cession in
the judg-
ment.

The great
day of
assizes.

When those who have risen shall have waited the limited time, the Muhammadans believe GOD will at length appear to judge them; Muhammad undertaking the office of intercessor, after it shall have been declined by Adam, Noah, Abraham, and Jesus, who shall beg deliverance only for their own souls. They say that on this solemn occasion GOD will come in the clouds, surrounded by angels, and will produce the books wherein the actions of every person are recorded by their guardian angels,² and will command the prophets to bear witness against those to whom they have been respectively sent. Then every one will be examined concerning all his words and actions, uttered and done by him in this life; not as if GOD needed any information in those respects, but to oblige the person to make public confession and acknowledgment of GOD's justice. The particulars of which they shall give an account, as Muhammad himself enumerated them, are—of their time, how they spent it; of their wealth, by what means they acquired it and how they employed it; of their bodies, wherein they exercised them; of their knowledge and learning, what use they made of them. It is said, however, that Muhammad has affirmed that no less than 70,000 of his followers should be permitted to enter paradise without any previous examination, which seems to be contradictory to what is said above. To the questions we have mentioned each person shall answer, and make his defence in the best manner he can, endeavouring to excuse himself by casting the blame of his evil deeds on others, so that a dispute shall arise even between the soul and the body, to which of them their guilt ought to be imputed, the soul saying, "O Lord, my body I received from thee; for thou createdst me without a hand to lay hold with,

¹ Vide Pocock, not. in Port. Mosis, p. 277.

² See *supra*, p. 120.

a foot to walk with, an eye to see with, or an understanding to apprehend with, till I came and entered into this body; therefore, punish it eternally, but deliver me." The body, on the other side, will make this apology:—"O Lord, thou createdst me like a stock of wood, having neither hand that I could lay hold with, nor foot that I could walk with, till this soul, like a ray of light, entered into me, and my tongue began to speak, my eye to see, and my foot to walk; therefore, punish it eternally, but deliver me." But GOD will propound to them the following parable of the blind man and the lame man, which, as well as the preceding dispute, was borrowed by the Muhammadans from the Jews:¹—A certain king, having a pleasant garden, in which were ripe fruits, set two persons to keep it, one of whom was blind and the other lame, the former not being able to see the fruit nor the latter to gather it; the lame man, however, seeing the fruit, persuaded the blind man to take him upon his shoulders; and by that means he easily gathered the fruit, which they divided between them. The lord of the garden, coming some time after, and inquiring after his fruit, each began to excuse himself; the blind man said he had no eyes to see with, and the lame man that he had no feet to approach the trees. But the king, ordering the lame man to be set on the blind, passed sentence on and punished them both. And in the same manner will GOD deal with the body and the soul. As these apologies will not avail on that day, so will it also be in vain for any one to deny his evil actions, since men and angels and his own members, nay, the very earth itself, will be ready to bear witness against him.

Though the Muhammadans assign so long a space for the attendance of the resuscitated before their trial, yet they tell us the trial itself will be over in much less time,

Time allotted to the trial.

¹ Gemara, Sanhedr. c. 11; R. Jos. Albo, Serm. iv. c. 33. See also Epiphan. in Ancorat., sect. 89.

and, according to an expression of Muhammad, familiar enough to the Arabs, will last no longer than while one may milk an ewe, or than the space between the two milkings of a she-camel.¹ Some, explaining those words so frequently used in the Qurán, "God will be swift in taking an account," say that he will judge all creatures in the space of half a day, and others that it will be done in less time than the twinkling of an eye.²

The account
books deli-
vered.

At this examination they also believe that each person will have the book wherein all the actions of his life are written delivered to him; which books the righteous will receive in their right hand, and read with great pleasure and satisfaction, but the ungodly will be obliged to take them against their wills in their left,³ which will be bound behind their backs, their right hand being tied up to their necks.⁴

✓
The great
balance
described.

To show the exact justice which will be observed on this great day of trial, the next thing they describe is the balance wherein all things shall be weighed. They say it will be held by Gabriel, and that it is of so vast a size, that its two scales, one of which hangs over paradise, and the other over hell, are capacious enough to contain both heaven and earth. Though some are willing to understand what is said in the Qurán concerning this balance allegorically, and only as a figurative representation of GOD's equity, yet the more ancient and orthodox opinion is that it is to be taken literally; and since words and actions, being mere accidents, are not capable of being themselves weighed, they say that the books wherein they are written will be thrown into the scales, and according as those wherein the good or the evil actions

¹ The Arabs use, after they have drawn some milk from the camel, to wait a while and let her young one suck a little, that she may give down her milk more plentifully at the second milking.

² Pocock, not. in Port. Mosis, pp. 278-282. See also Qurán, c. 2, v. 201. ✓

³ Qurán, c. 17, v. 16; c. 18, v. 47; c. 69, v. 25; and c. 84, vv. 7, 8. ✓

⁴ Jaláluddin.

are recorded shall preponderate, sentence will be given; those whose balances laden with their good works shall be heavy will be saved, but those whose balances are light will be condemned.¹ Nor will any one have cause to complain that GOD suffers any good action to pass unrewarded, because the wicked for the good they do have their reward in this life, and therefore can expect no favour in the next.

The old Jewish writers make mention as well of the books to be produced at the last day, wherein men's actions are registered,² as of the balance wherein they shall be weighed;³ and the Scripture itself seems to have given the first notion of both.⁴ But what the Persian Magi believe of the balance comes nearest to the Muhammadan opinion. They hold that on the day of judgment two angels, named Mihr and Sarosh, will stand on the bridge we shall describe by and by, to examine every person as he passes; that the former, who represents the divine mercy, will hold a balance in his hand to weigh the actions of men; that according to the report he shall make thereof to GOD, sentence will be pronounced, and those whose good works are found more ponderous, if they turn the scale but by the weight of a hair, will be permitted to pass forward to paradise; but those whose good works shall be found light will be by the other angel, who represents GOD's justice, precipitated from the bridge into hell.⁵

Notions of books and balance borrowed from Jews and Magians.



This examination being passed, and every one's works weighed in a just balance, that mutual retaliation will follow, according to which every creature will take vengeance one of another, or have satisfaction made them for the injuries which they have suffered. And since

Mutual retaliation of the creatures and of men.

✓ ¹ Qurán, c. 23, v. 103; c. 7, v. 8, &c.

⁴ Exod. xxxii. 32, 33; Dan. vii. 10; Rev. xx. 12, &c., and Dan. v. 27.

² Midrash, Yalkut Shemuni, f. 153, c. 3.

³ Gemar. Sanhedr., f. 91, &c.

⁵ Hyde, De Rel. Vet. Pers., pp. 245, 401, &c.

there will then be no other way of returning like for like, the manner of giving this satisfaction will be by taking away a proportionable part of the good works of him who offered the injury, and adding it to those of him who suffered it. Which being done, if the angels (by whose ministry this is to be performed) say, "Lord, we have given to every one his due, and there remaineth of this person's good works so much as equalleth the weight of an ant," God will of his mercy cause it to be doubled unto him, that he may be admitted into paradise; but if, on the contrary, his good works be exhausted, and there remain evil works only, and there be any who have not yet received satisfaction from him, God will order that an equal weight of their sins be added unto his, that he may be punished for them in their stead, and he will be sent to hell laden with both. This will be the method of God's dealing with mankind. As to brutes, after they shall have likewise taken vengeance of one another, as we have mentioned above, he will command them to be changed into dust;¹ wicked men being reserved to more grievous punishment, so that they shall cry out, on hearing this sentence passed on the brutes, "Would to God that we were dust also!" As to the genii, many Muhammadans are of opinion that such of them as are true believers will undergo the same fate as the irrational animals, and have no other reward than the favour of being converted into dust; and for this they quote the authority of their prophet. But this, however, is judged not so very reasonable, since the genii, being capable of putting themselves in the state of believers as well as men, must consequently deserve, as it seems, to be rewarded for their faith, as well as to be punished for infidelity. Wherefore some entertain a more favourable opinion, and assign the believing genii a place near the confines of paradise, where they will

Fate of the
brutes and
genii.

¹ Yet they say the dog of the favour, be admitted into paradise.
even sleepers and Ezra's ass, which See Qurán, c. 18, vv. 8-24, and ✓
was raised to life, will, by peculiar c. 3.

enjoy sufficient felicity, though they be not admitted into that delightful mansion. But the unbelieving genii, it is universally agreed, will be punished eternally, and be thrown into hell with the infidels of mortal race. It may not be improper to observe, that under the denomination of unbelieving genii, the Muhammadans comprehend also the devil and his companions.¹

The trials being over and the assembly dissolved, the Muhammadans hold that those who are to be admitted into paradise will take the right-hand way, and those who are destined to hell-fire will take the left; but both of them must first pass the bridge, called in Arabic al Sirát, which they say is laid over the midst of hell, and described to be finer than a hair and sharper than the edge of a sword, so that it seems very difficult to conceive how any one shall be able to stand upon it; for which reason most of the sect of the Mutazilites reject it as a fable, though the orthodox think it a sufficient proof of the truth of this article that it was seriously affirmed by him who never asserted a falsehood, meaning their prophet, who, to add to the difficulty of the passage, has likewise declared that this bridge is beset on each side with briars and hooked thorns, which will, however, be no impediment to the good, for they shall pass with wonderful ease and swiftness, like lightning or the wind, Muhammad and his Muslims leading the way; whereas the wicked, what with the slipperiness and extreme narrowness of the path, the entangling of the thorns, and the extinction of the light which directed the former to paradise, will soon miss their footing, and fall down headlong into hell, which is gaping beneath them.²

This circumstance Muhammad seems also to have borrowed from the Magians, who teach that on the last day all mankind will be obliged to pass a bridge which they call Púl Chínavad or Chínavar, that is, *the straight*

Passing
the bridge
over hell.

This notion
also bor-
rowed from
the
Magians.

✓ ¹ Vide Qurán, c. 18, v. 48.

² Pocock, ubi sup., pp. 282-289.

bridge, leading directly into the other world; on the midst of which they suppose the angels, appointed by GOD to perform that office, will stand, who will require of every one a strict account of his actions, and weigh them in the manner we have already mentioned.¹ It is true the Jews speak likewise of the bridge of hell, which they say is no broader than a thread; but then they do not tell us that any shall be obliged to pass it except the idolaters, who will fall thence into perdition.²

As to the punishment of the wicked, the Muhammadans are taught that hell is divided into seven storeys, or apartments, one below another, designed for the reception of as many distinct classes of the damned.³ The first, which they call Jahannam, they say will be the receptacle of those who acknowledged one GOD, that is, the wicked Muhammadans, who, after having there been punished according to their demerits, will at length be released. The second, named Ladhwa, they assign to the Jews; the third, named Hutama, to the Christians; the fourth, named al Safr, to the Sabians; the fifth, named Saqar, to the Magians; the sixth, named al Jahim, to the idolaters; and the seventh, which is the lowest and worst of all, and is called al Hawiya, to the hypocrites, or those who outwardly professed some religion, but in their hearts were of none.⁴ Over each of these apartments they believe there will be set a guard of angels,⁵ nineteen in

The seven
apartments
of hell
and their
inmates.

¹ Hyde, De Rel. Vet. Pers., pp. 245, 402, &c.

² Midrash, Yalkut Reubeni, § Gehinnom.

✓ ³ Qurán, c. 15, v. 14.

⁴ Others fill these apartments with different company. Some place in the second the idolaters; in the third, Gog and Magog, &c.; in the fourth, the devils; in the fifth, those who neglect alms and prayers; and crowd the Jews, Christians, and Magians together in the sixth. Some, again, will have the first to be prepared for the Dahrians, or those who

deny the creation and believe the eternity of the world; the second, for the Dualists, or Manichees, and the idolatrous Arabs; the third, for the Brahmins of the Indies; the fourth, for the Jews; the fifth, for the Christians; and the sixth, for the Magians. But all agree in assigning the seventh to the hypocrites. Vide Millium, De Moham-medismo ante Moham., p. 412; D'Herbel., Bibl. Orient., p. 368, &c.

⁵ Qurán, c. 40, v. 52; c. 43, v. 77; c. 74, v. 30, &c. ✓

number,¹ to whom the damned will confess the just judgment of God, and beg them to intercede with him for some alleviation of their pain, or that they may be delivered by being annihilated.²

Muhammad has, in his Qurán and traditions, been very exact in describing the various torments of hell, which, according to him, the wicked will suffer both from intense heat and excessive cold. We shall, however, enter into no detail of them here, but only observe that the degrees of these pains will also vary, in proportion to the crimes of the sufferer and the apartment he is condemned to; and that he who is punished the most lightly of all will be shod with shoes of fire, the fervour of which will cause his skull to boil like a caldron. The condition of these unhappy wretches, as the same prophet teaches, cannot be properly called either life or death; and their misery will be greatly increased by their despair of being ever delivered from that place, since, according to that frequent expression in the Qurán, "they must remain therein for ever." It must be remarked, however, that the infidels alone will be liable to eternity of damnation, for the Muslims, or those who have embraced the true religion, and have been guilty of heinous sins, will be delivered thence after they shall have expiated their crimes by their sufferings. The contrary of either of these opinions is reckoned heretical; for it is the constant orthodox doctrine of the Muhammadans that no unbeliever or idolater will ever be released, nor any person who in his lifetime professed and believed the unity of God be condemned to eternal punishment. As to the time and manner of the deliverance of those believers whose evil actions shall outweigh their good, there is a tradition of Muhammad that they shall be released after they shall have been scorched and their skins burnt black, and shall afterwards be admitted into paradise; and when the inhabitants of

Proportion
of suffering
in hell. ✓

Final
restoration
of Muslim
culprits. ✓

✓ ¹ Qurán, c. 74, v. 30.

✓ ² Ibid., c. 40, v. 52; c. 43, v. 77.

that place shall, in contempt, call them infernals, GOD will, on their prayers, take from them that opprobrious appellation. Others say he taught that while they continue in hell they shall be deprived of life, or (as his words are otherwise interpreted) be cast into a most profound sleep, that they may be the less sensible of their torments; and that they shall afterwards be received into paradise, and there revive on their being washed with the water of life; though some suppose they will be restored to life before they come forth from their place of punishment, that at their bidding farewell to their pains they may have some little taste of them. The time which these believers shall be detained there, according to a tradition handed down from their prophet, will not be less than 900 years, nor more than 7000. And as to the manner of their delivery, they say that they shall be distinguished by the marks of prostration on those parts of their bodies with which they used to touch the ground in prayer, and over which the fire will, therefore, have no power; and that being known by this characteristic, they will be relieved by the mercy of GOD, at the intercession of Muhammad and the blessed; whereupon those who shall have been dead will be restored to life, as has been said, and those whose bodies shall have contracted any sootiness or filth from the flames and smoke of hell will be immersed in one of the rivers of paradise, called the river of life, which will wash them whiter than pearls.¹

Muhammad indebted to Jews and Magians for his notions of hell and the state of the lost.

For most of these circumstances relating to hell and the state of the damned, Muhammad was likewise, in all probability, indebted to the Jews, and in part to the Magians, both of whom agree in making seven distinct apartments in hell,² though they vary in other particulars. The former place an angel as a guard over each of these infernal apartments, and suppose he will intercede for the

¹ Poc., not. in Port. Mosis, pp. 289-291.

² Nishmat hayim, f. 32; Gemar.

in Arubin, f. 19; Zohar. ad Exod. xxvi. 2, &c.; and Hyde, De Rel. Vet. Pers., p. 245.

miserable wretches there imprisoned, who will openly acknowledge the justice of GOD in their condemnation.¹ They also teach that the wicked will suffer a diversity of punishments, and that by intolerable cold² as well as heat, and that their faces shall become black;³ and believe those of their own religion shall also be punished in hell hereafter, according to their crimes (for they hold that few or none will be found so exactly righteous as to deserve no punishment at all), but will soon be delivered thence, when they shall be sufficiently purged from their sins by their father Abraham, or at the intercession of him or some other of the prophets.⁴ The Magians allow but one angel to preside over all the seven hells, who is named by them Vanánd Yazád, and, as they teach, assigns punishments proportionate to each person's crimes, restraining also the tyranny and excessive cruelty of the devil, who would, if left to himself, torment the damned beyond their sentence.⁵ Those of this religion do also mention and describe various kinds of torments, wherewith the wicked will be punished in the next life, among which, though they reckon extreme cold to be one, yet they do not admit fire, out of respect, as it seems, to that element, which they take to be the representation of the divine nature; and, therefore, they rather choose to describe the damned souls as suffering by other kinds of punishments, such as an intolerable stink, the stinging and biting of serpents and wild beasts, the cutting and tearing of the flesh by the devils, excessive hunger and thirst, and the like.⁶

Before we proceed to a description of the Muhammadan paradise, we must not forget to say something of the wall or partition which they imagine to be between that place and hell, and seems to be copied from the great gulf of

¹ Midrash, Yalkut Shemuni, part 11, f. 116.

² Zohar. ad Exod. xix.

³ Yalkut Shemuni, ubi sup., f. 86.

⁴ Nishmat hayim, f. 82; Gemar.

Arubin, f. 19. Vide Qurán, c. 2, v. 79, and c. 3, v. 24, and notes there.

⁵ Hyde, De Rel. Vet. Pers., p. 182.

⁶ Vide eundem, ibid., p. 399, &c.

The partition
at
Aráf.

separation mentioned in Scripture.¹ They call it al Urf, and more frequently in the plural al Aráf, a word derived from the verb *arafa*, which signifies to *distinguish* between things, or to *part* them; though some commentators give another reason for the imposition of this name, because, they say, those who stand on this partition will know and distinguish the blessed from the damned by their respective marks or characteristics;² and others say the word properly intends anything that is high raised or elevated, as such a wall of separation must be supposed to be.³ The Muhammadan writers greatly differ as to the persons who are to be found on al Aráf. Some imagine it to be a sort of limbo for the patriarchs and prophets, or for the martyrs and those who have been most eminent for sanctity, among whom, they say, there will be also angels in the form of men. Others place here such whose good and evil works are so equal that they exactly counterpoise each other, and therefore deserve neither reward nor punishment; and these, they say, will, on the last day, be admitted into paradise, after they shall have performed an act of adoration, which will be imputed to them as a merit, and will make the scale of their good works to overbalance. Others suppose this intermediate space will be a receptacle for those who have gone to war without their parents' leave, and therein suffered martyrdom, being excluded paradise for their disobedience, and escaping hell because they are martyrs. The breadth of this partition wall cannot be supposed to be exceeding great, since not only those who shall stand thereon will hold conference with the inhabitants both of paradise and of hell, but the blessed and the damned themselves will also be able to talk to one another.⁴

If Muhammad did not take his notions of the partition we have been describing from Scripture, he must at least

¹ Luke xvi. 26.

³ Al Baidháwi.

² Jaláluddin. Vide Qurán, c. 7, vv. 47-50.

⁴ Qurán, ubi sup. Vide D'Herbel, Bibl. Orient., p. 121, &c.

have borrowed it at second-hand from the Jews, who mention a thin wall dividing paradise from hell.¹

The righteous, as the Muhammadans are taught to believe, having surmounted the difficulties and passed the sharp bridge above mentioned, before they enter paradise will be refreshed by drinking at the pond of their prophet, who describes it to be an exact square, of a month's journey in compass: its water, which is supplied by two pipes from al Kauthar, one of the rivers of paradise, being whiter than milk or silver and more odoriferous than musk, with as many cups set around it as there are stars in the firmament, of which water whoever drinks will thirst no more for ever.² This is the first taste which the blessed will have of their future and now near-approaching felicity.

The
refreshing
water of
al Kauthar.

Though paradise be so very frequently mentioned in the Qurán, yet it is a dispute among the Muhammadans whether it be already created, or be to be created hereafter: the Mutazilites and some other sectaries asserting that there is not at present any such place in nature, and that the paradise which the righteous will inhabit in the next life will be different from that from which Adam was expelled. However, the orthodox profess the contrary, maintaining that it was created even before the world, and describe it, from their prophet's traditions, in the following manner.

They say it is situate above the seven heavens (or in the seventh heaven) and next under the throne of God; and to express the amenity of the place, tell us that the earth of it is of the finest wheat flour, or of the purest musk, or, as others will have it, of saffron; that its stones are pearls and jacinths, the walls of its buildings enriched with gold and silver, and that the trunks of all its trees are of gold, among which the most remarkable is the tree called Túbá, or the tree of happiness. Concerning this

Paradise
described.

¹ Midrash, Yalkut Sioni, f. 11.

² Al Ghazáli,

tree they fable that it stands in the palace of Muhammad, though a branch of it will reach to the house of every true believer;¹ that it will be laden with pomegranates, grapes, dates, and other fruits of surprising bigness, and of tastes unknown to mortals. So that if a man desire to eat of any particular kind of fruit, it will immediately be presented to him, or if he choose flesh, birds ready dressed will be set before him according to his wish. They add that the boughs of this tree will spontaneously bend down to the hand of the person who would gather of its fruits, and that it will supply the blessed not only with food, but also with silken garments, and beasts to ride on ready saddled and bridled, and adorned with rich trappings, which will burst forth from its fruits; and that this tree is so large, that a person mounted on the fleetest horse would not be able to gallop from one end of its shade to the other in a hundred years.²

The rivers
of paradise.

As plenty of water is one of the greatest additions to the pleasantness of any place, the Qurán often speaks of the rivers of paradise as a principal ornament thereof. Some of these rivers, they say, flow with water, some with milk, some with wine, and others with honey, all taking their rise from the root of the tree Túba: two of which rivers, named al Kauthar and the river of life, we have already mentioned. And lest these should not be sufficient, we are told this garden is also watered by a great number of lesser springs and fountains, whose pebbles are rubies and emeralds, their earth of camphire, their beds of musk, and their sides of saffron, the most remarkable among them being Salsabíl and Tasním.

Glories of
the Húr al
oyún.

But all these glories will be eclipsed by the resplendent and ravishing girls of paradise, called, from their large black eyes, Húr al oyún, the enjoyment of whose company will be a principal felicity of the faithful. These, they say, are created not of clay, as mortal women are,

¹ Yahya, in Qurán, c. 13.

² Jaláluddín, *ibid.*

but of pure musk, being, as their prophet often affirms in his Qurán, free from all natural impurities, defects, and inconveniences incident to the sex, of the strictest modesty, and secluded from public view in pavilions of hollow pearls, so large, that, as some traditions have it, one of them will be no less than four parasangs (or, as others say, sixty miles) long, and as many broad.

The name which the Muhammadans usually give to this happy mansion is al Jannat, or the garden; and sometimes they call it, with an addition, Jannat-ul-Firdaus, the garden of paradise, Jannat-ul-Adan, the garden of Eden (though they generally interpret the word Eden, not according to its acceptation in Hebrew, but according to its meaning in their own tongue, wherein it signifies a settled or perpetual habitation), Jannat-ul-Mawá, the garden of abode, Jannat-ul-Náim, the garden of pleasure, and the like; by which several appellations some understand so many different gardens, or at least places of different degrees of felicity (for they reckon no less than a hundred such in all), the very meanest whereof will afford its inhabitants so many pleasures and delights, that one would conclude they must even sink under them, had not Muhammad declared, that in order to qualify the blessed for a full enjoyment of them, God will give to every one the abilities of a hundred men.

We have already described Muhammad's pond, whereof the righteous are to drink before their admission into this delicious seat; besides which some authors¹ mention two fountains springing from under a certain tree near the gate of paradise, and say that the blessed will also drink of one of them, to purge their bodies and carry off all excrementitious dregs, and will wash themselves in the other. When they are arrived at the gate itself, each person will there be met and saluted by the beautiful youths appointed to serve and wait upon him, one of them

Names of
the abode of
bliss. ✓

The two
fountains at
the gate of
paradise,
celestial at-
tendance,
&c. ✓

¹ Al Ghazáli, Kanz al Afrár.

running before, to carry the news of his arrival to the wives destined for him; and also by two angels, bearing the presents sent him by GOD, one of whom will invest him with a garment of paradise, and the other will put a ring on each of his fingers, with inscriptions on them alluding to the happiness of his condition. By which of the eight gates (for so many they suppose paradise to have) they are respectively to enter, is not worth inquiry; but it must be observed that Muhammad has declared that no person's good works will gain him admittance, and that even himself shall be saved, not by his merits, but merely by the mercy of GOD. It is, however, the constant doctrine of the Qurán that the felicity of each person will be proportioned to his deserts, and that there will be abodes of different degrees of happiness; the most eminent degree being reserved for the prophets, the second for the doctors and teachers of GOD's worship, the next for the martyrs, and the lower for the rest of the righteous, according to their several merits. There will also some distinction be made in respect to the time of their admission, Muhammad (to whom, if you will believe him, the gates will first be opened) having affirmed that the poor will enter paradise five hundred years before the rich: nor is this the only privilege which they will enjoy in the next life, since the same prophet has also declared, that when he took a view of paradise, he saw the majority of its inhabitants to be the poor, and when he looked down into hell, he saw the greater part of the wretches confined there to be women.

The mercy of God, the ground; works, the measure of the rewards of the righteous.

The great feast of God.

For the first entertainment of the blessed on their admission, they fable that the whole earth will then be as one loaf of bread, which GOD will reach to them with his hand, holding it like a cake; and that for meat they will have the ox Balám and the fish Nún, the lobes of whose livers will suffice 70,000 men, being, as some imagine, to be set before the principal guests, viz., those who, to that number, will be admitted into paradise without

examination;¹ though others suppose that a definite number is here put for an indefinite, and that nothing more is meant thereby than to express a great multitude of people.

From this feast every one will be dismissed to the mansion designed for him, where (as has been said) he will enjoy such a share of felicity as will be proportioned to his merits, but vastly exceed comprehension or expectation, since the very meanest in paradise (as he who, it is pretended, must know best has declared) will have eighty thousand servants, seventy-two wives of the girls of paradise, besides the wives he had in this world, and a tent erected for him of pearls, jacinths, and emeralds, of a very large extent; and, according to another tradition, will be waited on by three hundred attendants while he eats, will be served in dishes of gold, whereof three hundred shall be set before him at once, containing each a different kind of food, the last morsel of which will be as grateful as the first; and will also be supplied with as many sorts of liquors in vessels of the same metal; and, to complete the entertainment, there will be no want of wine, which, though forbidden in this life, will yet be freely allowed to be drunk in the next, and without danger, since the wine of paradise will not inebriate, as that we drink here. The flavour of this wine we may conceive to be delicious without a description, since the water of Tasnīm and the other fountains which will be used to dilute it is said to be wonderfully sweet and fragrant. If any object to these pleasures, as an impudent Jew did to Muhammad, that so much eating and drinking must necessarily require proper evacuations, we answer, as the prophet did, that the inhabitants of paradise will not need to ease themselves, nor even to blow their nose, for that all superfluities will be discharged and carried off by perspiration, or a sweat as odoriferous as musk, after which their appetite shall return afresh.

Rewards of
the faithful
described.

¹ See *supra*, p. 142.

The magnificence of the garments and furniture promised by the Qurán to the godly in the next life is answerable to the delicacy of their diet; for they are to be clothed in the richest silks and brocades, chiefly of green, which will burst forth from the fruits of paradise, and will be also supplied by the leaves of the tree Túbá; they will be adorned with bracelets of gold and silver, and crowns set with pearls of incomparable lustre; and will make use of silken carpets, litters of a prodigious size, couches, pillows, and other rich furniture embroidered with gold and precious stones.

Ability of
the faithful
to enjoy.

That we may the more readily believe what has been mentioned of the extraordinary abilities of the inhabitants of paradise to taste these pleasures in their height, it is said they will enjoy a perpetual youth; that in whatever age they happen to die, they will be raised in their prime and vigour, that is, of about thirty years of age, which age they will never exceed (and the same they say of the damned); and that when they enter paradise they will be of the same stature with Adam, who, as they fable, was no less than sixty cubits high. And to this age and stature their children, if they shall desire any (for otherwise their wives will not conceive), shall immediately attain, according to that saying of their prophet, "If any of the faithful in paradise be desirous of issue, it shall be conceived, born, and grown up within the space of an hour." And in the same manner, if any one shall have a fancy to employ himself in agriculture (which rustic pleasure may suit the wanton fancy of some), what he shall sow will spring up and come to maturity in a moment.

Lest any of the senses should want their proper delight, we are told the ear will there be entertained, not only with the ravishing songs of the angel Isráfil, who has the most melodious voice of all God's creatures, and of the daughters of paradise; but even the trees themselves will celebrate the divine praises with a harmony exceeding what ever mortals have heard; to which will be joined the

sound of the bells hanging on the trees, which will be put in motion by the wind proceeding from the throne of God, so often as the blessed wish for music; nay, the very clashing of the golden-bodied trees, whose fruits are pearls and emeralds, will surpass human imagination; so that the pleasures of this sense will not be the least of the enjoyments of paradise.

The delights we have hitherto taken a view of, it is said, will be common to all the inhabitants of paradise, even those of the lowest order. What then, think we, must they enjoy who shall obtain a superior degree of honour and felicity? To these, they say, there are prepared, besides all this, "such things as eye hath not seen, nor hath ear heard, nor hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive;" an expression most certainly borrowed from Scripture.¹ That we may know wherein the felicity of those who shall attain the highest degree will consist, Muhammad is reported to have said that the meanest of the inhabitants of paradise will see his gardens, wives, servants, furniture, and other possessions take up the space of a thousand years' journey (for so far and farther will the blessed see in the next life), but that he will be in the highest honour with God who shall behold his face morning and evening; and this favour al Ghazáli supposes to be that additional or superabundant recompense promised in the Qurán,² which will give such exquisite delight, that in respect thereof all the other pleasures of paradise will be forgotten and lightly esteemed; and not without reason, since, as the same author says, every other enjoyment is equally tasted by the very brute beast who is turned loose into luxuriant pasture.³ The reader will observe, by the way, that this is a full confutation of those who pretend that the Muhammadans admit of no spiritual

The spiritual enjoyments of heaven.

¹ Isa. lxiv. 4; 1 Cor. ii. 9.

✓ ² Cap. 10, v. 9, &c.

³ Vide Poc., in not. ad Port. Mosis, p. 305.

pleasure in the next life, but make the happiness of the blessed to consist wholly in corporeal enjoyments.¹*

✓ Muhammad indebted to Jews and Magians for his notions of paradise.

Whence Muhammad took the greatest part of his paradise it is easy to show. The Jews constantly describe the future mansion of the just as a delicious garden, and make it also reach to the seventh heaven.² They also say it has three gates,³ or, as others will have it, two,⁴ and four rivers (which last circumstance they copied, to be sure, from those of the Garden of Eden),⁵ flowing with milk, wine, balsam, and honey.⁶ Their Behemoth and Leviathan, which they pretend will be slain for the entertainment of the blessed,⁷ are so apparently the Balám and Nún of Muhammad, that his followers themselves confess he is obliged to them for both.⁸ The Rabbins likewise mention seven different degrees of felicity,⁹ and say that the highest will be of those who perpetually contemplate the face of God.¹⁰ The Persian Magi had also an idea of the future happy estate of the good, very little different from that of Muhammad. Paradise they called Bahisht, and Mínú, which signifies *crystal*, where they believe the righteous shall enjoy all manner of delights, and particularly the company of the Hurán-i-bahisht, or black-eyed nymphs of paradise,¹¹ the care of whom, they say, is committed to the angel Zamiyád;¹² and hence Muhammad seems to have taken the first hint of his paradisiacal ladies.

It is not improbable, however, but that he might have been obliged, in some respect, to the Christian accounts of

* We find no authority for such spiritual blessing in the Qurán. But see post, p. 162. E. M. W.

¹ Vide Reland, De Rel. Moh., l. 2, § 17.

² Vide Gemar. Tánith, f. 25, Bera-coth, f. 34, and Midrash sabbath, f. 37.

³ Megillah, Amkoth, p. 78.

⁴ Midrash, Yalkut Shemuni.

⁵ Gen. ii. 10, &c.

⁶ Midrash, Yalkut Shemuni.

⁷ Gemar. Bava Bathra, f. 78; Rashi, in Job i.

⁸ Vide Poc., not. in Port. Mosis, p. 298. ⁹ Nishmat hayim, f. 32.

¹⁰ Midrash, Tehillim, f. 11.

¹¹ Sadder, porta 5.

¹² Hyde, De Rel. Vet. Pers., p. 225.

the felicity of the good in the next life.* As it is scarce possible to convey, especially to the apprehensions of the generality of mankind, an idea of spiritual pleasures without introducing sensible objects, the Scriptures have been obliged to represent the celestial enjoyments by corporeal images, and to describe the mansion of the blessed as a glorious and magnificent city, built of gold and precious stones, with twelve gates, through the streets of which there runs a river of water of life, and having on either side the tree of life, which bears twelve sorts of fruits and leaves of a healing virtue.¹ Our Saviour likewise speaks of the future state of the blessed as of a kingdom where they shall eat and drink at his table.² But then these descriptions have none of those puerile imaginations³ which reign throughout that of Muhammad, much less any the most distant intimation of sensual delights, which he was so fond of; on the contrary, we are expressly assured that "in the resurrection they will neither marry nor be given in marriage, but will be as the angels of God

Christian and Muslim notions of the future state compared.

* As all the doctrines of Muhammad concerning the future state were proclaimed in Makkan suras *before* the tenth year of his mission, and as almost no reference had yet been made to Christianity, it seems quite certain that he was ignorant of the Christian Scriptures; and inasmuch as he everywhere evinces in the Qurán his almost entire ignorance of Christian doctrine, we may safely conclude that he owed little or nothing to Christianity for his ideas of heaven and hell.

E. M. W.

¹ Rev. xxi. 10, &c., and xxii. 1, 2.

² Luke xxii. 29, 30, &c.

³ I would not, however, undertake to defend all the Christian writers in this particular; witness that one passage of Irenæus, wherein he introduces a tradition of St. John that our Lord should say, "The days shall come, in which there shall be vines, which shall have each ten thousand branches, and every one of those branches shall have ten thousand lesser branches, and every one of these branches shall have ten

thousand twigs, and every one of these twigs shall have ten thousand clusters of grapes, and in every one of these clusters there shall be ten thousand grapes, and every one of these grapes being pressed shall yield two hundred and seventy-five gallons of wine; and when a man shall take hold of one of these sacred bunches, another bunch shall cry out, I am a better bunch: take me, and bless the Lord by me," &c. Iren., l. 5, c. 33.

in heaven.”¹ Muhammad, however, to enhance the value of paradise with his Arabians, chose rather to imitate the indecency of the Magians than the modesty of the Christians in this particular, and lest his beatified Muslims should complain that anything was wanting, bestows on them wives, as well as the other comforts of life; judging, it is to be presumed, from his own inclinations, that, like Panurgus’s ass,² they would think all other enjoyments not worth their acceptance if they were to be debarred from this.

√ The description of paradise in the Qurán to be understood in a literal sense.

Had Muhammad, after all, intimated to his followers, that what he had told them of paradise was to be taken, not literally, but in a metaphorical sense (as it is said the Magians do the description of Zoroaster’s³), this might, perhaps, make some atonement; but the contrary is so evident from the whole tenor of the Qurán, that although √ some Muhammadans, whose understandings are too refined to admit such gross conceptions, look on their prophet’s descriptions as parabolical, and are willing to receive them in an allegorical or spiritual acceptance,⁴ yet the general and orthodox doctrine is, that the whole is to be strictly believed in the obvious and literal acceptance; to prove which I need only urge the oath they exact from Christians (who they know abhor such fancies) when they would bind them in the most strong and sacred manner; for in such a case they make them swear that if they falsify their engagement, they will affirm that there will be black-eyed girls in the next world and corporeal pleasures.⁵

Before we quit this subject it may not be improper

¹ Matt. xxii. 30.

² Vide Rabelais, Pantagr., l. 5, c. 7. A better authority than this might, however, be alleged in favour of Muhammad’s judgment in this respect; I mean that of Plato, who is said to have proposed, in his ideal commonwealth, as the reward of valiant men and consummate sol-

diers, the kisses of boys and beautiful damsels. Vide Gell. Noct. Att., l. 18, c. 2.

³ Vide Hyde, De Rel. Vet. Pers., p. 266.

⁴ Vide eund., in not. ad Bobov. Lit. Turcar., p. 21.

Poc. ad Port. Mosis, p. 305.

to observe the falsehood of a vulgar imputation on the Muhammadans, who are by several writers¹ reported to hold that women have no souls, or, if they have, that they will perish, like those of brute beasts, and will not be rewarded in the next life. But whatever may be the opinion of some ignorant people among them, it is certain that Muhammad had too great a respect for the fair sex to teach such a doctrine; and there are several passages in the Qurán which affirm that women, in the next life, will not only be punished for their evil actions, but will also receive the rewards of their good deeds, as well as the men, and that in this case God will make no distinction of sexes.² It is true the general notion is that they will not be admitted into the same abode as the men are, because their places will be supplied by the paradisiacal females (though some allow that a man will there also have the company of those who were his wives in this world, or at least such of them as he shall desire³), but that good women will go into a separate place of happiness, where they will enjoy all sorts of delights;⁴ but whether one of those delights will be the enjoyment of agreeable paramours created for them, to complete the economy of the Muhammadan system, is what I have nowhere found decided. One circumstance relating to these beatified females, conformable to what he had asserted of the men, he acquainted his followers with in the answer he returned to an old woman, who, desiring him to intercede with God that she might be admitted into paradise, he told her that no old woman would enter that place; which setting the poor woman a crying, he explained himself by saying that God would then make her young again.⁵

✓
The rewards
of Muslim
women.

¹ Hornbek, *Sum. Contr.*, p. 16. Grelot, *Voyage de Constant.*, p. 275. Ricaut's *Present State of the Ottoman Empire*, l. 2, c. 21.

in not. ad Bobov. de. *Visit. ægr.*, p. 21.

³ See *supra*, p. 157.

² See Qurán, c. 3, v. 196; c. 4, v. 126, &c.; and also c. 13, v. 23; c. 16, v. 40, 48, 57, &c. Vide etiam Reland, *De Rel. Moh.*, l. 2, § 18; and Hyde,

⁴ Vide Chardin, *Voy.*, tom. 2, p. 328; and Bayle, *Dict. Hist. Art. Mahomet*, Rem. Q.

⁵ See Qurán, c. 56, v. 36, and the notes there; and Gagnier, not. in Abulfeda, *Vit. Moh.*, p. 145.

✓ The decrees
of God.

The sixth great point of faith which the Muhammadans are taught by the Qurán to believe is GOD's absolute decree and predestination both of good and evil; for the orthodox doctrine is, that whatever hath or shall come to pass in this world, whether it be good or whether it be bad, proceedeth entirely from the divine will, and is irrevocably fixed and recorded from all eternity in the preserved table,¹ GOD having secretly predetermined not only the adverse and prosperous fortune of every person in this world, in the most minute particulars, but also his faith or infidelity, his obedience or disobedience, and consequently his everlasting happiness or misery after death, which fate or predestination it is not possible by any foresight or wisdom to avoid.

✓ Use made
of this doc-
trine by
Muham-
mad.

Of this doctrine Muhammad makes great use in his Qurán for the advancement of his designs, encouraging his followers to fight without fear, and even desperately, for the propagation of their faith, by representing to them that all their caution could not avert their inevitable destiny or prolong their lives for a moment,² and deterring them from disobeying or rejecting him as an impostor by setting before them the danger they might thereby incur of being, by the just judgment of GOD, abandoned to seduction, hardness of heart, and a reprobate mind, as a punishment for their obstinacy.³

As this doctrine of absolute election and reprobation has been thought by many of the Muhammadan divines to be derogatory to the goodness and justice of GOD, and to make GOD the author of evil, several subtle distinctions have been invented and disputes raised to explicate or soften it, and different sects have been formed, according to their several opinions or methods of explaining this point, some of them going so far as even to hold the

¹ See *supra*, p. 108.

² Qurán, c. 3, v. 144; c. 4, v. 77, &c.

³ *Ibid.*, c. 4, vv. 134-144; c. 2, vv. 6-20, &c., *passim*.

direct contrary position of absolute free will in man, as we shall see hereafter.¹

Of the four fundamental points of religious practice required by the Qurán, the first is prayer, under which, as has been said, are also comprehended those legal washings or purifications which are necessary preparations thereto. Prayer or *sulát*. ✓

Of these purifications there are two degrees, one called *Ghusl*, being a total immersion or bathing of the body in water, and the other called *Wadhú* (by the Persians *Abdast*), which is the washing of their faces, hands, and feet after a certain manner. The first is required in some extraordinary cases only, as after having lain with a woman, or being polluted by emission of seed, or by approaching a dead body; women also being obliged to it after their courses or childbirth. The latter is the ordinary ablution in common cases and before prayer, and must necessarily be used by every person before he can enter upon that duty.² It is performed with certain formal ceremonies, which have been described by some writers, but are much easier apprehended by seeing them done than by the best description. Ceremonial purifications required. ✓

These purifications were perhaps borrowed by Muhammad from the Jews; at least they agree in a great measure with those used by that nation,³ who in process of time burdened the precepts of Moses in this point with so many traditionary ceremonies, that whole books have been written about them, and who were so exact and superstitious therein, even in our Saviour's time, that they are often reproved by him for it.⁴ But as it is certain that the pagan Arabs used lustrations of this kind⁵ long before the time of Muhammad, as most nations did, and still do in the East, where the warmth of the climate These were borrowed from the Jews.

¹ Sect. VIII.

✓ ² Qurán, c. 4, v. 42, and c. 5, v. 7. Vide Reland, De Rel. Moh., l. 1, c. 8.

³ Poc., not. in Port. Mosis, p. 356, &c.

⁴ Mark vii. 3, &c.

⁵ Vide Herodot., l. 3, c. 198.

requires a greater nicety and degree of cleanliness than these colder parts, perhaps Muhammad only recalled his countrymen to a more strict observance of those purifying rites, which had been probably neglected by them, or at least performed in a careless and perfunctory manner. The Muhammadans, however, will have it that they are as ancient as Abraham,¹ who, they say, was enjoined by GOD to observe them, and was shown the manner of making the ablution by the Angel Gabriel in the form of a beautiful youth.² Nay, some deduce the matter higher, and imagine that these ceremonies were taught our first parents by the angels.³

The practice of religion based on cleanliness.

That his followers might be the more punctual in this duty, Muhammad is said to have declared, that "the practice of religion is founded on cleanliness," which is the one-half of the faith and the key of prayer, without which it will not be heard by GOD.⁴ That these expressions may be the better understood, al Ghazālī reckons ✓ four degrees of purification, of which the first is, the cleansing of the body from all pollution, filth, and excrements; the second, the cleansing of the members of the body from all wickedness and unjust actions; the third, the cleansing of the heart from all blamable inclinations and odious vices; and the fourth, the purging a man's secret thoughts from all affections which may divert their attendance on GOD: adding, that the body is but as the outward shell in respect to the heart, which is as the kernel. And for this reason he highly complains of those who are superstitiously solicitous in exterior purifications, avoiding those persons as unclean who are not so scrupu-

¹ Al Jannābi in Vita Abrah. Vide Poc. Spec., p. 303.

² Herewith agrees the spurious Gospel of St. Barnabas, the Spanish translation of which (cap. 29) has these words: *Dixo Abraham, Que harè yo para servir al Dios de los sanctos y prophetas? Respondiò el angel, Ve e aquellu fuente y lavate,*

porque Dios quiere hablar contigo. Dixo Abraham, Como tengo de lavarme? Luego et angelise le apareciò como uno bello-mancebo, y se lavò en la fuente, y le dixo, Abraham, haz como yo. Y Abraham se lavò, &c.

³ Al Kessāfi. Vide Reland, De Rel. Moham., p. 81.

⁴ Al Ghazālī, Ibn al Athir.

lously nice as themselves, and at the same time have their minds lying waste, and overrun with pride, ignorance, and hypocrisy.¹ Whence it plainly appears with how little foundation the Muhammadans have been charged by some writers² with teaching or imagining that these formal washings alone cleanse them from their sins.³

Lest so necessary a preparation to their devotions should be omitted, either where water cannot be had, or when it may be of prejudice to a person's health, they are allowed in such cases to make use of fine sand or dust in lieu of it;⁴ and then they perform this duty by clapping their open hands on the sand, and passing them over the parts, in the same manner as if they were dipped in water. But for this expedient Muhammad was not so much indebted to his own cunning⁵ as to the example of the Jews, or perhaps that of the Persian Magi, almost as scrupulous as the Jews themselves in their lustrations, who both of them prescribe the same method in cases of necessity;⁶ and there is a famous instance in ecclesiastical history of sand being used, for the same reason, instead of water, in the administration of the Christian sacrament of baptism, many years before Muhammad's time.⁷

Lustration with sand instead of water allowed.

Neither are the Muhammadans contented with bare washing, but think themselves obliged to several other necessary points of cleanliness, which they make also parts of this duty; such as combing the hair, cutting the beard, paring the nails, pulling out the hairs of their arm-pits, shaving their private parts, and circumcision;⁸ of

Minor points of purification.

¹ Vide Poc. Spec., p. 302, &c.

² Barthol. Edessen. Confut. Hagar., p. 360. G. Sionita and J. Hesronita, in Tract. de Urb. and Morib. Orient. ad Calcem Geogr. Nubiens., c. 15. Du Ryer, dans le Sommaire de la Rel. des Turcs, mis à la tête de sa version de l'Alcor. St. Olon, Descr. du Royaume de Maroc, c. 2. Hyde, in not. ad Bobov. de Prec. Moh., p. 1. Smith,

de Morib. et Instit. Turcar., Ep. 1, p. 32.

³ Vide Reland, De Rel. Moh., l. 2, c. 11.

⁴ Qurán, c. 4, v. 42, and c. 5, v. 7.

⁵ Vide Smith, ubi sup.

⁶ Gemar. Berachoth, c. 2. Vide Poc. not. ad Port. Mosis, p. 380. Sadler, porta 84.

⁷ Cedren., p. 250.

⁸ Vide Poc. Spec., p. 303.

which last I will add a word or two, lest I should not find a more proper place.

The Muslim doctrine of circumcision.

Circumcision, though it be not so much as once mentioned in the Qurán, is yet held by the Muhammadans to be an ancient divine institution, confirmed by the religion of Islám, and though not so absolutely necessary but that it may be dispensed with in some cases,¹ yet highly proper and expedient. The Arabs used this rite for many ages before Muhammad, having probably learned it from Ismaél, though not only his descendants, but the Himyárites,² and other tribes, practised the same. The Ismaélites, we are told,³ used to circumcise their children, not on the eighth day, as is the custom of the Jews, but when about twelve or thirteen years old, at which age their father underwent that operation;⁴ and the Muhammadans imitate them so far as not to circumcise children before they be able, at least, distinctly to pronounce that profession of their faith, "There is no god but God; Muhammad is the apostle of God;"⁵ but pitch on what age they please for the purpose, between six and sixteen or thereabouts.⁶ Though the Muslim doctors are generally of opinion, conformably to the Scripture, that this precept was originally given to Abraham, yet some have imagined that Adam was taught it by the Angel Gabriel, to satisfy an oath he had made to cut off that flesh which, after his fall, had rebelled against his spirit; whence an odd argument has been drawn for the universal obligation of circumcision.⁷ Though I cannot say the Jews led the Muhammadans the way here, yet they seem so unwilling to believe any of the principal

¹ Vide Bobov. de Circumcis., p. 22.

² Philostorg., Hist. Eccl., l. 3.

³ Joseph., Ant., l. 1, c. 23.

⁴ Gen. xvii. 25.

⁵ Vide Bobov., ubi sup., and Poc. Spec., p. 319.

⁶ Vide Reland, De Rel. Moh., l. 1, p. 75.

⁷ This is the substance of the

following passage of the Gospel of Barnabas (cap. 23), viz., *Entonces dixo Jesus; Adam el primer hombre aviendo comido por engano del demonio la comida prohibida por Dios en el parayso, se le rebeló su carne à su espíritu; por lo qual juró diciendo, Por Dios que yo te quiero cortar; y rompiendo una piedra tomó su carne para cortarla con el corte de la piedra.*

patriarchs or prophets before Abraham were really uncircumcised, that they pretend several of them, as well as some holy men who lived after his time, were born ready circumcised, or without a foreskin, and that Adam, in particular, was so created;¹ whence the Muhammadans affirm the same thing of their prophet.²

Prayer was by Muhammad thought so necessary a duty, Prayer the key of paradise. that he used to call it the pillar of religion and the key of paradise; and when the Thakifites, who dwelt at Tayif, sending in the ninth year of the Hijra to make their submission to the prophet, after the keeping of their favourite idol had been denied them,³ begged, at least, that they might be dispensed with as to their saying of the appointed prayers, he answered, "That there could be no good in that religion wherein was no prayer."⁴

That so important a duty, therefore, might not be The hours of prayer. neglected, Muhammad obliged his followers to pray five times every twenty-four hours, at certain stated times; viz., 1. In the morning, before sunrise; 2. When noon is past, and the sun begins to decline from the meridian; 3. In the afternoon, before sunset; 4. In the evening, after sunset, and before day be shut in; and 5. After the day is shut in, and before the first watch of the night.⁵ For this institution he pretended to have received the divine command from the throne of God himself, when he took his night journey to heaven; and the observing of the stated times of prayer is frequently insisted on in the Qurán, though they be not particularly prescribed therein. Accordingly, at the aforesaid times, of which public notice is given by the Muadhdhíns, or Criers, from the steeples

Por loqual fue reprehendido del angel Gabriel, y el le dixo; Yo he jurado por Dios que lo he de cortar, y men tiroso no lo serè jamas. Ala hora el angel le enseño la superfluidad de su carne, y a quella cortò. De manera que ansi como todo hombre toma carne de Adam, ansi esta obligado a cumplir

aquello que Adam con juramento prometìd.

¹ Shalshel. hakkabala. Vide Poc. Spec., p. 320; Gagnier, not. in Abulfed., Vit. Moh., p. 2.

² Vide Poc. Spec., p. 304.

³ See supra, p. 39.

⁴ Abulfed. Vit. Moh., p. 127.

⁵ Vide ibid., pp. 38, 39.

Manner of
performing
the service
of prayer.

of their mosques (for they use no bell), every conscientious Muslim prepares himself for prayer, which he performs either in the mosque or any other place, provided it be clean, after a prescribed form, and with a certain number of phrases or ejaculations (which the more scrupulous count by a string of beads) and using certain postures of worship; all which have been particularly set down and described, though with some few mistakes, by other writers,¹ and ought not to be abridged, unless in some special cases, as on a journey, on preparing for battle, &c.

For the regular performance of the duty of prayer among the Muhammadans, besides the particulars above mentioned, it is also requisite that they turn their faces, while they pray, towards the temple of Makkah,² the quarter where the same is situate being, for that reason, pointed out within their mosques by a niche, which they call al Mihráb, and without by the situation of the doors opening into the galleries of the steeples: there are also tables calculated for the ready finding out their Qibla, or part towards which they ought to pray, in places where they have no other direction.³

But what is principally to be regarded in the discharge of this duty, say the Muslim doctors, is the inward disposition of the heart, which is the life and spirit of prayer;⁴ the most punctual observance of the external rites and ceremonies before mentioned being of little or no avail, if performed without due attention, reverence, devotion, and hope;⁵ so that we must not think the Muhammadans, or the considerate part of them at least, content themselves with the mere *opus operatum*, or imagine their whole religion to be placed therein.⁶

¹ Vide Hotting., Hist. Eccles., tom. 8, pp. 470-529; Bobov. in Liturg. Turcic., p. 1, &c.; Grelot, Voyage de Constant., pp. 253-264; Chardin, Voy. de Perse, tom. 2, p. 382, &c.; and Smith, de Moribus ac Instit. Turcar., Ep. 1, p. 33, &c.

² Qurán, c. 2, v. 142. See the notes there.

³ Vide Hyde, De Rel. Vet. Pers., pp. 8, 9, and 126

⁴ Al Ghazáli.

⁵ Vide Poc. Spec., p. 305.

⁶ Vide Smith, ubi sup., p. 40.

I had like to have omitted two things which in my mind deserve mention on this head, and may, perhaps, be better defended than our contrary practice. One is, that the Muhammadans never address themselves to GOD in sumptuous apparel, though they are obliged to be decently clothed, but lay aside their costly habits and pompous ornaments, if they wear any, when they approach the divine presence, lest they should seem proud and arrogant.¹ The other is, that they admit not their women to pray with them in public, that sex being obliged to perform their devotions at home, or if they visit the mosques, it must be at a time when the men are not there; for the Muslims are of opinion that their presence inspires a different kind of devotion from that which is requisite in a place dedicated to the worship of GOD.²

The greater part of the particulars comprised in the Muhammadan institution of prayer their prophet seems to have copied from others, and especially the Jews, exceeding their institutions only in the number of daily prayers.³ The Jews are directed to pray three times a day,⁴ in the morning, in the evening, and within night, in imitation of Abraham,⁵ Isaac,⁶ and Jacob;⁷ and the practice was as early, at least, as the time of Daniel.⁸ The several postures used by the Muhammadans in their prayers

Regulations as to apparel and women in time of prayer.

The institution of prayer borrowed from the Jews.

¹ Reland, De Rel. Moh., p. 96. See Qurán, c. 7, v. 32.

² A Moor, named Ahmad Ibn Abdalla, in a Latin epistle by him, written to Maurice, Prince of Orange, and Emanuel, Prince of Portugal, containing a censure of the Christian religion (a copy of which, once belonging to Mr. Selden, who has thence transcribed a considerable passage in his treatise De Synedriis vett. Ebræor., l. 1, c. 12, is now in the Bodleian Library), finds great fault with the unedifying manner in which mass is said among the Roman Catholics, for this very reason among others. His words are: *Ubicunque congregantur simul*

viri et femine, ibi mens non est intenta et devota: nam inter celebrandum missam et sacrificia, femine et viri mutuis aspectibus, signis, ac nutibus accendunt pravorum appetitum, et desideriorum suorum ignes: et quando hoc non fieret, saltem humana fragilitas delectatur mutuo et reciproco aspectu; et ita non potest esse mens quieta, attenta, et devota.

³ The Sabians, according to some, exceed the Muhammadans in this point, praying seven times a day. See supra, p. 34, note.

⁴ Gemar. Berachoth.

⁵ Gen. xix. 27. ⁶ Gen. xxiv. 63.

⁷ Gen. xxviii. 11, &c.

⁸ Dan. vi. 10. J

are also the same with those prescribed by the Jewish Rabbins, and particularly the most solemn act of adoration, by prostrating themselves so as to touch the ground with their forehead; ¹ notwithstanding, the latter pretend the practice of the former, in this respect, to be a relic of their ancient manner of paying their devotions to Baal-peor.² The Jews likewise constantly pray with their faces turned towards the temple of Jerusalem,³ which has been their Qibla from the time it was first dedicated by Solomon; ⁴ for which reason Daniel, praying in Chaldea, had the windows of his chamber open towards that city; ⁵ and the same was the Qibla of Muhammad and his followers for six or seven months,⁶ and till he found himself obliged to change it for the Kaabah. The Jews, moreover, are obliged by the precepts of their religion to be careful that the place they pray in, and the garments they have on when they perform their duty, be clean: ⁷ the men and women also among them pray apart (in which particular they were imitated by the Eastern Christians); and several other conformities might be remarked between the Jewish public worship and that of the Muhammadans.⁸

Almsgiving
the second
fundamental act
of religious
practice.

The next point of the Muhammadan religion is the giving of alms, which are of two sorts, legal and voluntary. The legal alms are of indispensable obligation, being commanded by the law, which directs and determines both the portion which is to be given and of what things it ought to be given; but the voluntary alms are left to every one's liberty, to give more or less as he shall see fit. The former kind of alms some think to be properly called *Zakát* and the latter *Sadaga*, though this name be also

¹ Vide Millium, De Mohammedismo ante Moham., p. 427, &c., and Hyde, De Rel. Vet. Pers., p. 5, &c.

² Maimonid. in Epist. ad Proselyt. Relig. Vide Poc. Spec., p. 306.

³ Gemar. Bava Bathra, and Berachoth.

⁴ 1 Kings viii. 29, &c.

⁵ Dan. vi. 10.

⁶ Some say eighteen months. Vide Abulfed., Vit. Moh., p. 54.

⁷ Maimon. in Halachoth Tephilla, c. 9, § 8, 9. Menura hammeor, fol. 28, 2.

⁸ Vide Millium, ubi sup., p. 424, et seq.

frequently given to the legal alms. They are called Zakát, either because they increase a man's store, by drawing down a blessing thereon, and produce in his soul the virtue of liberality,¹ or because they purify the remaining part of one's substance from pollution and the soul from the filth of avarice;² and Sadaqa, because they are a proof of a man's sincerity in the worship of GOD. Some writers have called the legal alms tithes, but improperly, since in some cases they fall short, and in others exceed that proportion.

The giving of alms is frequently commanded in the Qurán, and often recommended therein jointly with prayer; the former being held of great efficacy in causing the latter to be heard of GOD: for which reason the Khalífah Omar Ibn Abd al Azíz used to say "that prayer carries us half-way to GOD, fasting brings us to the door of his palace, and alms procures us admission."³ The Muhammadans, therefore, esteem almsdeeds to be highly meritorious, and many of them have been illustrious for the exercise thereof. Hasan, the son of Ali and grandson of Muhammad, in particular, is related to have thrice in his life divided his substance equally between himself and the poor, and twice to have given away all he had;⁴ and the generality are so addicted to the doing of good, that they extend their charity even to brutes.⁵*

Alms, according to the prescriptions of the Muhammadan law, are to be given of five things: 1. Of cattle, that is to say, of camels, kine, and sheep; 2. Of money;

Laws relating to legal alms.

* A few years' residence among Muslims will serve to materially modify this statement.

E. M. W.

Al Baidháwi. See Qurán, c. 2, vv. 261-274.

² Idem. Compare this with what our Saviour says (Luke xi. 41), "Give alms of such things as ye have; and behold, all things are clean unto you."

³ D'Herbel., Bibl. Orient., p. 5.

⁴ Ibid., p. 422.

⁵ Vide Busbeq., Epist. 3, p. 178. Smith, de Morib. Turc., Ep. 1, p. 66, &c. Compare Eccles. xi. 1 and Prov. xii. 10.

3. Of corn; 4. Of fruits, viz., dates and raisins; and 5. Of wares sold. Of each of these a certain portion is to be given in alms, being usually one part in forty, or two and a half per cent. of the value. But no alms are due for them, unless they amount to a certain quantity or number; nor until a man has been in possession of them eleven months, he not being obliged to give alms thereout before the twelfth month is begun; nor are alms due for cattle employed in tilling the ground or in carrying of burdens. In some cases a much larger portion than the before-mentioned is reckoned due for alms: thus of what is gotten out of mines, or the sea, or by any art or profession over and above what is sufficient for the reasonable support of a man's family, and especially where there is a mixture or suspicion of unjust gain, a fifth part ought to be given in alms. Moreover, at the end of the fast of *Ramadhán*, every Muslim is obliged to give in alms for himself and for every one of his family, if he has any, a measure¹ of wheat, barley, dates, raisins, rice, or other provisions commonly eaten.²

Appropriation of legal alms.

The legal alms were at first collected by *Muhammad* himself, who employed them as he thought fit, in the relief of his poor relations and followers, but chiefly applied them to the maintenance of those who served in his wars, and fought, as he termed it, in the way of God. His successors continued to do the same, till, in process of time, other taxes and tributes being imposed for the support of the government, they seem to have been weary of acting as almoners to their subjects, and to have left the paying them to their consciences.

Jewish and Muslim almsgiving compared.

In the foregoing rules concerning alms we may observe also footsteps of what the Jews taught and practised in respect thereto. Alms, which they also call *Sedaka*, *i.e.*,

¹ This measure is a *Sáá*, and contains about six or seven pounds weight.

² Vide *Reland*, *De Rel. Mahomed.*, l. I, p. 99, &c. *Chardin*, *Voy. de Perse*, tom. 2, p. 415, &c.

justice or righteousness,¹ are greatly recommended by their Rabbins, and preferred even to sacrifices,² as a duty the frequent exercise whereof will effectually free a man from hell-fire,³ and merit everlasting life;⁴ wherefore, besides the corners of the field and the gleanings of their harvest and vineyard, commanded to be left for the poor and the stranger by the law of Moses,⁵ a certain portion of their corn and fruits is directed to be set apart for their relief, which portion is called the tithes of the poor.⁶ The Jews likewise were formerly very conspicuous for their charity. Zaccheus gave the half of his goods to the poor;⁷ and we are told that some gave their whole substance: so that their doctors at length decreed that no man should give above a fifth part of his goods in alms.⁸ There were also persons publicly appointed in every synagogue to collect and distribute the people's contributions.⁹

The third point of religious practice is fasting, a duty of so great moment, that Muhammad used to say it was "the gate of religion," and that "the odour of the mouth of him who fasteth is more grateful to GOD than that of musk;" and al Ghazáli reckons fasting one-fourth part of the faith. According to the Muhammadan divines, there are three degrees of fasting: 1. The restraining the belly and other parts of the body from satisfying their lusts; 2. The restraining the ears, eyes, tongue, hands, feet, and other members from sin; and 3. The fasting of the heart from worldly cares, and refraining the thoughts from everything besides GOD.¹⁰

The duty of fasting.

¹ Hence alms are in the New Testament termed *Δικαιοσύνη*. Matt. vi. 1 (ed. Steph.), and 2 Cor. ix. 10.

² Gemar. in Bava Bathra.

³ Ibid., in Gittin.

⁴ Ibid., in Rosh hashana.

⁵ Levit. xix. 9, 10; Deut. xxiv. 19, &c.

⁶ Vide Gemar. Hierosol. in Peah,

and Maimon, in Halachoth matanot Aniyyim, c. 6. Conf. Pirke Avot, v. 9.

⁷ Luke xix. 8.

⁸ Vide Reland, Ant. Sacr. Vet. Hebr., p. 402.

⁹ Vide ibid., p. 138.

¹⁰ Al Ghazáli, Al Mustatraf.

The fast of
Ramadhán.

The Muhammadans are obliged, by the express command of the Qurán, to fast the whole month of Ramadhán, from the time the new moon first appears till the appearance of the next new moon ; during which time they must abstain from eating, drinking, and women, from daybreak till night,¹ or sunset. And this injunction they observe so strictly, that while they fast they suffer nothing to enter their mouths, or other parts of their body, esteeming the fast broken and null if they smell perfumes, take a clyster or injection, bathe, or even purposely swallow their spittle ; some being so cautious that they will not open their mouths to speak, lest they should breathe the air too freely :² the fast is also deemed void if a man kiss or touch a woman, or if he vomit designedly. But after sunset they are allowed to refresh themselves, and to eat and drink, and enjoy the company of their wives till daybreak ;³ though the more rigid begin the fast again at midnight.⁴ This fast is extremely rigorous and mortifying when the month of Ramadhán happens to fall in summer, for the Arabian year being lunar,⁵ each month runs through all the different seasons in the course of

¹ Qurán, c. 2, vv. 185-195.

² Hence we read that the Virgin Mary, to avoid answering the reflections cast on her for bringing home a child, was advised by the Angel Gabriel to feign she had vowed a fast, and therefore she ought not to speak. See Qurán, c. 19, v. 27.

³ The words of the Qurán (cap. 2, v. 187) are : "Until ye can distinguish a white thread from a black thread by the daybreak"—*ā* form of speaking borrowed by Muhammad from the Jews, who determine the time when they are to begin their morning lesson to be so soon as a man can discern blue from white, *i.e.*, the blue threads from the white threads in the fringes of their garments. But this explication the commentators do not approve, pretending that by the white thread

and the black thread are to be understood the light and dark streaks of the daybreak ; and they say the passage was at first revealed without the words "of the daybreak ;" but Muhammad's followers, taking the expression in the first sense, regulated their practice accordingly, and continued eating and drinking till they could distinguish a white thread from a black thread, as they lay before them—to prevent which for the future, the words "of the daybreak" were added as explanatory of the former. *Al Baidháwi*. Vide Pocock, not. in *Carmen Tograi*, p. 89, &c. Chardin, *Voy. de Perse*, tom. 2, p. 423.

⁴ Vide Chardin, *ibid.*, p. 421, &c. Reland, *De Relig. Moh.*, p. 109, &c.

⁵ See post, Sect. VI.

thirty-three years, the length and heat of the days making the observance of it much more difficult and uneasy than in winter.

The reason given why the month of Ramadhán was pitched on for this purpose is, that on that month the Qurán was sent down from heaven.¹ Some pretend that Abraham, Moses, and Jesus received their respective revelations in the same month.²

From the fast of Ramadhán none are excused, except only travellers and sick persons (under which last denomination the doctors comprehend all whose health would manifestly be injured by their keeping the fast; as women with child and giving suck, ancient people, and young children); but then they are obliged, as soon as the impediment is removed, to fast an equal number of other days: and the breaking the fast is ordered to be expiated by giving alms to the poor.³

Muhammad seems to have followed the guidance of the Jews in his ordinances concerning fasting, no less than in the former particulars. That nation, when they fast, abstain not only from eating and drinking, but from women, and from anointing themselves,⁴ from daybreak until sunset, and the stars begin to appear,⁵ spending the night in taking what refreshments they please.⁶ And they allow women with child and giving suck, old persons, and young children to be exempted from keeping most of the public fasts.⁷

Though my design here be briefly to treat of those points only which are of indispensable obligation on a Muslim, and expressly required by the Qurán, without entering into their practice as to voluntary and super-

The rule of fasting for the sick, &c.

This also borrowed from the Jews.

¹ Qurán, c. 2, v. 185. See also c. 97.

² Al Baidháwi, ex Trad. Moham-medis.

³ See Qurán, c. 2, v. 185.

⁴ Siphra, f. 252, 2.

⁵ Tosephothad Gemar. Yoma, f. 34.

⁶ Vide Gemar. Yoma, f. 40, and Maimon. in Halachoth Tánioth, c. 5, § 5.

⁷ Vide Gemar. Tánith, f. 12, and Yoma, f. 83, and Es Hayim, Tánith, c. 1.

Voluntary
fasts of
Muslims.

Ashúra bor-
rowed from
the Jewish
day of
atonement.

Pilgrimage
to Makkah.

erogatory works; yet, to show how closely Muhammad's institutions follow the Jewish, I shall add a word or two of the voluntary fasts of the Muhammadans. These are such as have been recommended either by the example or approbation of their prophet; and especially certain days of those months which they esteem sacred: there being a tradition that he used to say, That a fast of one day in a sacred month was better than a fast of thirty days in another month, and that the fast of one day in Ramadhán was more meritorious than a fast of thirty days in a sacred month.¹ Among the more commendable days is that of Ashúra, the tenth of Muharram, which, though some writers tell us it was observed by the Arabs, and particularly the tribe of Quraish, before Muhammad's time,² yet, as others assure us, that prophet borrowed both the name and the fast from the Jews, it being with them the tenth of the seventh month, or Tisri, and the great day of expiation commanded to be kept by the law of Moses.³ Al Kazwíni relates that when Muhammad came to Madína, and found the Jews there fasted on the day of Ashúra, he asked them the reason of it; and they told him it was because on that day Pharaoh and his people were drowned, Moses and those who were with him escaping: whereupon he said that he bore a nearer relation to Moses than they, and ordered his followers to fast on that day. However, it seems afterwards he was not so well pleased in having imitated the Jews herein; and therefore declared that, if he lived another year, he would alter the day, and fast on the ninth, abhorring so near an agreement with them.⁴

The pilgrimage to Makkah is so necessary a point of practice that, according to a tradition of Muhammad, he who dies without performing it may as well die a Jew or

¹ Al Ghazáli.

² Al Bárezi in Comment. ad Orat. Ibn Nobátæ.

³ Levit. xvi. 29, and xxiii. 27.

⁴ Ibn al Athir. Vide Poc. Spec., p. 309.

a Christian;¹ and the same is expressly commanded in the Qurán.² Before I speak of the time and manner of performing this pilgrimage, it may be proper to give a short account of the temple of Makkah, the chief scene of the Muhammadan worship; in doing which I need be the less prolix, because that edifice has been already described by several writers,³ though they, following different relations, have been led into some mistakes, and agree not with one another in several particulars: nor, indeed, do the Arab authors agree in all things, one great reason whereof is their speaking of different times.

The temple of Makkah stands in the midst of the city, and is honoured with the title of Masjid al Harám, *i.e.*, the sacred or inviolable temple. What is principally revered in this place, and gives sanctity to the whole, is a square stone building called the Kaabah, as some fancy, from its height, which surpasses that of the other buildings in Makkah,⁴ but more probably from its quadrangular form, and Bait Allah, *i.e.*, the house of God, being peculiarly hallowed and set apart for his worship. The length of this edifice, from north to south, is twenty-four cubits, its breadth from east to west twenty-three cubits, and its height twenty-seven cubits: the door, which is on the east side, stands about four cubits from the ground; the floor being level with the bottom of the door.⁵ In the corner next this door is the black stone, of which I shall take notice by and by. On the north side of the Kaabah, within a semicircular enclosure fifty cubits long, lies the white stone, said to be the sepulchre of Ismael, which receives the rain-water that falls off the Kaabah by a spout, formerly of wood,⁶ but now of gold.

The temple of Makkah; described.

¹ Al Ghazáli.

² Cap. 3, v. 97. See also c. 22, v. 36, and c. 2, v. 125, &c.

³ Chardin, *Voy. de Perse*, t. 2, p. 428, &c.; Bremond, *Descrittioni dell' Egitto*, &c., l. 1, c. 29; Pitts' *Account of the Rel.*, &c., of the

Mohammedans, p. 98, &c.; and Boulainvilliers, *Vie de Mah.* p. 54, &c., which last author is the most particular.

⁴ Ahmad Ibn Yusuf.

⁵ Sharif al Edrisi, and *Kitab Masalik*, apud Poc. Spec., p. 125, &c.

⁶ Sharif al Edrisi, *ibid.*

The Kaabah has a double roof, supported within by three octangular pillars of aloes wood, between which, on a bar of iron, hang some silver lamps. The outside is covered with rich black damask, adorned with an embroidered band of gold, which is changed every year, and was formerly sent by the Khalífahs, afterwards by the Sultáns of Egypt, and is now provided by the Turkish emperors.* At a small distance from the Kaabah, on the east side, is the Station or Place of Abraham, where is another stone much respected by the Muhammadans, of which something will be said hereafter.

The Kaabah, at some distance, is surrounded, but not entirely, by a circular enclosure of pillars, joined towards the bottom by a low balustrade, and towards the top by bars of silver. Just without this inner enclosure, on the south, north, and west sides of the Kaabah, are three buildings which are the oratories, or places where three of the orthodox sects assemble to perform their devotions (the fourth sect, viz., that of al Sháfaí, making use of the Station of Abraham for that purpose), and towards the

* "The interior of the Caaba consists of a single room, the roof of which is supported by two columns, and it has no other light than what is received by the door. The ceiling, the upper half of the two columns, and the side walls to within about five feet of the floor, are hung with a thick stuff of red silk, richly interwoven with flowers and inscriptions in large characters of silver. The lower part of each pillar is lined with sweet aloe wood; and that part of the walls below the silk hangings is lined with fine white marble, ornamented with inscriptions cut in relief, and with elegant arabesques; the whole being of exquisite workmanship. The floor, which is upon a level with the door, and therefore about seven feet above the level of the area of the mosque, is laid with marble of different colours. Between the pillars numerous lamps are suspended—donations of the faithful, and said to be of solid gold. In the north-west corner of the chamber is a small gate, which leads up to the flat roof of the building. The interior ornaments are coeval with the restoration of the Caaba, which took place A.D. 1627."—*Burckhardt's Travels in Arabia, quoted from Lane's Kurán*, p. 7.

south-east stands the edifice which covers the well Zamzam, the treasury, and the cupola of al Abbás.¹

All these buildings are enclosed, a considerable distance, by a magnificent piazza, or square colonnade, like that of the Royal Exchange in London, but much larger, covered with small domes or cupolas, from the four corners whereof rise as many minarets or steeples, with double galleries, and adorned with gilded spires and crescents, as are the cupolas which cover the piazza and the other buildings. Between the pillars of both enclosures hang a great number of lamps, which are constantly lighted at night. The first foundations of this outward enclosure were laid by Omar, the second Khalífah, who built no more than a low wall, to prevent the court of the Kaabah, which before lay open, from being encroached on by private buildings; but the structure has been since raised, by the liberality of many succeeding princes and great men, to its present lustre.²

This is properly all that is called the temple, but the whole territory of Makkah being also Harám or sacred, Sacred territory. there is a third enclosure, distinguished at certain distances by small turrets, some five, some seven, and others ten miles distant from the city.³ Within this compass of ground it is not lawful to attack an enemy, or even to hunt or fowl, or cut a branch from a tree: which is the true reason why the pigeons at Makkah are reckoned sacred, and not that they are supposed to be of the race of that imaginary pigeon which some authors, who should have known better, would persuade us Muhammad made pass for the Holy Ghost.⁴

¹ Sharíf al Edrisi, *ibid.*

² Poc. Spec., p. 116.

³ Gol. not. in Alfrag., p. 99. [The present limits extend much farther. Burckhardt's *Travels in Arabia*, p. 466.]

⁴ Gab. Sionita et Joh. Hesronita, *de nonnullis Orient. urbib. ad calc.*

Geogr. Nub., p. 21. Al Mughultai, in his *Life of Muhammad*, says the pigeons of the temple of Makkah are of the best breed of those which laid their eggs at the mouth of the cave where the prophet and Abu Baqr hid themselves when they fled from that city. See ante, p. 86.

The antiquity of the Kaabah.

The temple of Makkah was a place of worship, and in singular veneration with the Arabs from great antiquity, and many centuries before Muhammad. Though it was most probably dedicated at first to an idolatrous use,¹ yet the Muhammadans are generally persuaded that the Kaabah is almost coeval with the world: for they say that Adam, after his expulsion from paradise, begged of GOD that he might erect a building like that he had seen there, called Bait al Mámúr, or the *frequented house*, and al Duráh, towards which he might direct his prayers, and which he might compass, as the angels do the celestial one. Whereupon GOD let down a representation of that house in curtains of light,² and set it in Makkah, perpendicularly under its original,³ ordering the patriarch to turn towards it when he prayed, and to compass it by way of devotion.⁴ After Adam's death, his son Seth built a house in the same form of stones and clay, which being destroyed by the Deluge, was rebuilt by Abraham and Ismaél,⁵ at GOD's command, in the place where the former had stood, and after the same model, they being directed therein by revelation.⁶

The present building.

After this edifice had undergone several reparations, it was, a few years after the birth of Muhammad, rebuilt by the Quraish on the old foundation,⁷ and afterwards repaired

¹ See ante, p. 38.

² Some say that the Bait al Mámúr itself was the Kaabah of Adam, which, having been let down to him from heaven, was, at the Flood, taken up again into heaven, and is there kept. Al Zamakh. in Qurán, c. 2.

³ Al Júzi, ex Trad. Ibn Abbás. It has been observed that the primitive Christian Church held a parallel opinion as to the situation of the celestial Jerusalem with respect to the terrestrial; for in the apocryphal book of the Revelations of St. Peter (cap. 27), after Jesus has mentioned unto Peter the creation of the seven

heavens—whence, by the way, it appears that this number of heavens was not devised by Muhammad—and of the angels, begins the description of the heavenly Jerusalem in these words: "We have created the upper Jerusalem above the waters, which are above the third heaven, hanging directly over the lower Jerusalem," &c. Vide Gagnier, not. ad Abulfed. Vit. Moh., p. 28.

⁴ Al Shahristáni.

⁵ Vide Qurán, c. 2, v. 125.

⁶ Al Jannábi, in Vita Abraham.

⁷ Vide Abulfed. Vit. Moh., p. 13.

by Abdullah Ibn Zubair, the Khalífah of Makkah, and at length again rebuilt by al Hajáj Ibn Yúsaf, in the seventy-fourth year of the Hijra, with some alterations, in the form wherein it now remains.¹ Some years after, however, the Khalífah Harún al Rashíd (or, as others write, his father, al Muhdi, or his grandfather, al Mansúr) intended again to change what had been altered by al Hajáj, and to reduce the Kaabah to the old form in which it was left by Abdullah, but was dissuaded from meddling with it, lest so holy a place should become the sport of princes, and being new modelled after every one's fancy, should lose that reverence which was justly paid it.² But notwithstanding the antiquity and holiness of this building, they have a prophecy, by tradition from Muhammad, that in the last times the Ethiopians shall come and utterly demolish it, after which it will not be rebuilt again for ever.³

Before we leave the temple of Makkah, two or three The black stone described. particulars deserve further notice. One is the celebrated black stone, which is set in silver, and fixed in the south-east corner of the Kaabah,* being that which looks towards

* "At the (north) east corner of the Kaaba, near the door, is the famous 'black stone;' it forms a part of the sharp angle of the building, at four or five feet above the ground. It is an irregular oval, about seven inches in diameter, with an undulated surface, composed of about a dozen smaller stones of different sizes and shapes, well joined together with a small quantity of cement, and perfectly smoothed; it looks as if the whole had been broken into many pieces by a violent blow, and then united again. It is very difficult to determine accurately the quality of this stone, which has been worn to its present surface by the millions of touches and kisses it has received. It appears to me like a lava, containing several small extraneous particles of a whitish and a yellowish substance. Its colour is now a deep reddish brown, approaching to black; it is surrounded on all sides by a border, composed of a substance which

¹ Abulfed. in Hist. Gen. al Jan-nábi, &c.

² Al Jannábi.

³ Idem, Ahmad Ibn Yusaf. Vide Poc. Spec., p. 115, &c

Basra; about two cubits and one-third, or, which is the same thing, seven spans from the ground. This stone is exceedingly respected by the Muhammadans, and is kissed by the pilgrims with great devotion, being called by some the right hand of God on earth. They fable that it is one of the precious stones of paradise, and fell down to the earth with Adam, and being taken up again, or otherwise preserved at the Deluge, the Angel Gabriel afterwards brought it back to Abraham when he was building the Kaabah. It was at first whiter than milk, but grew black long since by the touch of a menstruous woman, or, as others tell us, by the sins of mankind,¹ or rather by the touches and kisses of so many people, the superficies only being black, and the inside still remaining white.² When the Karmatians,³ among other profanations by them offered to the temple of Makkah, took away this stone, they could not be prevailed on, for love or money, to restore it, though those of Makkah offered no less than five thousand pieces of gold for it.⁴ However, after they had kept it twenty-two years, seeing they could not thereby draw the pilgrims from Makkah, they sent it back of their own accord, at the same time bantering its devotees by telling them it was not the true stone; but, as it is said, it was proved to be no counterfeit by its peculiar quality of swimming on water.⁵

I took to be a close cement of pitch and gravel, of a similar, but not quite the same, brownish colour. This border serves to support its detached pieces; it is two or three inches in breadth, and rises a little above the surface of the stone."—*Burckhardt*, pp. 137, 138, quoted in *Muir's Life of Mahomet*, vol. ii. chap. ii.

Burton thinks it is an *aërolite*.

E. M. W.

¹ Al Zamakh, &c., in Qurán. Ahmad Ibn Yusaf.

² Poc. Spec., p. 117, &c.

³ These Karmatians were a sect which arose in the year of the Hijra 278, and whose opinions overturned

the fundamental points of Muhammadism. See D'Herbel., *Bibl. Orient.*, Art. Carmath, and hereafter § viii.

⁴ D'Herbel., p. 40.

⁵ Ahmad Ibn Yusaf, Abulfeda. Vide Poc. Spec., p. 119.

Another thing observable in this temple is the stone in Abraham's Place, wherein they pretend to show his footsteps, telling us he stood on it when he built the Kaabah,¹ and that it served him for a scaffold, rising and falling of itself as he had occasion,² though another tradition says he stood upon it while the wife of his son Ismaël, whom he paid a visit to, washed his head.³ It is now enclosed in an iron chest, out of which the pilgrims drink the water of Zamzam,⁴ and are ordered to pray at it by the Qurán.⁵ The officers of the temple took care to hide this stone when the Karmatians took the other.⁶

The stone in
Abraham's
Place.

The last thing I shall take notice of in the temple is the well Zamzam, on the east side of the Kaabah, and which is covered with a small building and cupola. The Muhammadans are persuaded it is the very spring which gushed out for the relief of Ismaël, when Hagar his mother wandered with him in the desert;⁷ and some pretend it was so named from her calling to him, when she spied it, in the Egyptian tongue, *Zam, zam*, that is, "Stay, stay,"⁸ though it seems rather to have had the name from the murmuring of its waters. The water of this well is reckoned holy, and is highly revered, being not only drunk with particular devotion by the pilgrims, but also sent in bottles, as a great rarity, to most parts of the Muhammadan dominions. Abdullah, surnamed al Háfidh, from his great memory, particularly as to the traditions of Muhammad, gave out that he acquired that faculty by drinking large draughts of Zamzam water,⁹ to which I really believe it as efficacious as that of Helicon to the inspiring of a poet.

The well
Zamzam.

To this temple every Muhammadan, who has health and means sufficient,¹⁰ ought once, at least, in his life to go on

Fame of the
pilgrimage
to Makkah.

¹ Abulfeda.

² Vide Hyde, De Rel. Vet. Pers.,

p. 35.

³ Ahmad Ibn Yusaf, Safu'ddín.

⁴ Ahmad Ibn Yusaf.

⁵ Cap. 2, v. 125.

⁶ Vide Poc. Spec., p. 120, &c.

⁷ Gen. xxi. 19.

⁸ G. Sionit. et J. Hesr. de non. urb. Orient., p. 19.

⁹ D'Herbel., p. 5.

¹⁰ See Qurán, c. 3, v. 97, and the notes thereon.

pilgrimage; nor are women excused from the performance of this duty. The pilgrims meet at different places near Makkah, according to the different parts from whence they come,¹ during the months of Shawwál and Dhu'l Qaada, being obliged to be there by the beginning of Dhu'l Hajja, which month, as its name imports, is peculiarly set apart for the celebration of this solemnity.

The sacred habit put on.

At the places above mentioned the pilgrims properly commence the sacred rites. The men put on the *Ihrám*, or sacred habit, which consists only of two woollen wrappers, one wrapped about the middle to cover their shame, and the other thrown over their shoulders, having their heads bare, and a kind of slippers which cover neither the heel nor the instep, and so enter the sacred territory on their way to Makkah. While they have this habit on they must neither hunt nor fowl² (though they are allowed to fish³), which precept is so punctually observed, that they will not kill even a louse or a flea, if they find them on their bodies: there are some noxious animals, however, which they have permission to kill during the pilgrimage, as kites, ravens, scorpions, mice, and dogs given to bite.⁴ During the pilgrimage it behoves a man to have a constant guard over his words and actions, and to avoid all quarrelling or ill language, and all converse with women and obscene discourse, and to apply his whole intention to the good work he is engaged in.

Visiting the temple, &c.

The pilgrims, being arrived at Makkah, immediately visit the temple, and then enter on the performance of the prescribed ceremonies, which consist chiefly in going in procession round the Kaabah, in running between the Mounts Safá and Marwa, in making the station on Mount Arafát, and slaying the victims, and shaving their heads in the valley of Miná. These ceremonies have been so particularly described by others,⁵ that I may be excused

¹ Vide Bobov. de Peregr. Mecc., p. 12, &c.

⁴ Al Baid.

² Qurán, c. 5, vv. 95-97.

³ Ibid. &c.; Chardin, Voy. de Perse, t. 2,

⁵ Bobov. de Peregr. Mecc., p. 11.

if I but just mention the most material circumstances thereof.

In compassing the Kaabah, which they do seven times, beginning at the corner where the black stone is fixed, they use a short, quick pace the three first times they go round it, and a grave, ordinary pace the four last ; which, it is said, was ordered by Muhammad, that his followers might show themselves strong and active, to cut off the hopes of the infidels, who gave out that the immoderate heats of Madína had rendered them weak.¹ But the aforesaid quick pace they are not obliged to use every time they perform this piece of devotion, but only at some particular times.² So often as they pass by the black stone, they either kiss it, or touch it with their hand, and kiss that.

The running between Safá and Marwa³ is also performed seven times, partly with a slow pace, and partly running ;⁴ for they walk gravely till they come to a place between two pillars ; and there they run, and afterwards walk again ; sometimes looking back, and sometimes stopping, like one who has lost something, to represent Hagar seeking water for her son ;⁵ for the ceremony is said to be as ancient as her time.⁶

On the ninth of Dhu'l Hajja, after morning prayer, the pilgrims leave the valley of Miná, whither they come the day before, and proceed in a tumultuous and rushing manner to Mount Arafát,⁷ where they stay to perform their devotions till sunset : then they go to Muzdalífah, an oratory between Arafát and Miná, and there spend the night in prayer and reading the Qurán. The next morning, by daybreak, they visit al Mashar al Harám, or the

p. 440, &c. See also Pitts' Account of the Rel., &c., of the Muhammadians, p. 92, &c. ; Gagnier, *Vie de Moh.*, t. 2, p. 258, &c. ; Abulfed., *Vit. Muh.*, p. 130, &c. ; and Reland, *De Rel. Moh.*, p. 113, &c.

¹ Ibn al Athír.

² Vide Poc. Spec., p. 314.

³ See ante, p. 42.

⁴ Al Ghazáli.

⁵ Reland, *De Rel. Moh.*, p. 121.

⁶ Ibn al Athír.

⁷ See Qurán, c. 2, v. 198, and note there.

sacred monument,¹ and departing thence before sunrise, haste by Batn Muhassir to the valley of Miná, where they throw seven stones² at three marks or pillars, in imitation of Abraham, who, meeting the devil in that place, and being by him disturbed in his devotions, or tempted to disobedience, when he was going to sacrifice his son, was commanded by God to drive him away by throwing stones at him;³ though others pretend this rite to be as old as Adam, who also put the devil to flight in the same place and by the same means.⁴

Sacrifices
and sacred
offerings.

This ceremony being over, on the same day, the tenth of Dhu'l Hajja, the pilgrims slay their victims in the said valley of Miná, of which they and their friends eat part, and the rest is given to the poor. These victims must be either sheep, goats, kine, or camels; males if of either of the two former kinds, and females if of either of the latter, and of a fit age.⁵ The sacrifices being over, they shave their heads and cut their nails, burying them in the same place: after which the pilgrimage is looked on as completed,⁶ though they again visit the Kaabah, to take their leave of that sacred building.

The cere-
monies of
pilgrimage
borrowed
from Arab
heathenism.

The above-mentioned ceremonies, by the confession of the Muhammadans themselves, were almost all of them observed by the pagan Arabs many ages before their prophet's appearance; and particularly the compassing of the Kaabah, the running between Safá and Marwa, and the throwing of the stones in Miná; and were confirmed by Muhammad, with some alterations in such points as seemed most exceptionable: thus, for example, he ordered that when they compassed the Kaabah they should be clothed;⁷ whereas, before his time, they performed that

¹ See Qurán, c. 2, v. 188. M. Gagnier has been guilty of a mistake in confounding this monument with the sacred enclosure of the Kaabah. Vide Gagn. not. ad Abulfed. Vit. Moh., p. 131, and Vie de Moh., t. 2, p. 262.

² Dr. Pocock, from al Ghazáli,

says seventy, at different times and places. Poc. Spec., p. 315.

³ Al Ghazáli, Ahmad Ibn Yusaf.

⁴ Ibn al Athír.

⁵ Vide Reland, ubi sup., p. 117.

⁶ See Qurán, c. 2, v. 196.

⁷ Qurán, c. 7, v. 27, 32.

piece of devotion naked, throwing off their clothes as a mark that they had cast off their sins,¹ or as signs of their disobedience towards God.²

It is also acknowledged that the greater part of these rites are of no intrinsic worth, neither affecting the soul nor agreeing with natural reason, but altogether arbitrary, and commanded merely to try the obedience of mankind, without any further view, and are therefore to be complied with; not that they are good in themselves, but because God has so appointed.³ Some, however, have endeavoured to find out some reasons for the arbitrary injunctions of this kind; and one writer,⁴ supposing men ought to imitate the heavenly bodies, not only in their purity but in their circular motion, seems to argue the procession round the Kaabah to be therefore a rational practice. Reland⁵ has observed that the Romans had something like this in their worship, being ordered by Numa to use a circular motion in the adoration of the gods, either to represent the orbicular motion of the world, or the perfecting the whole office of prayer to that God who is maker of the universe, or else in allusion to the Egyptian wheels, which were hieroglyphics of the instability of human fortune.⁶

The pilgrimage to Makkah, and the ceremonies prescribed to those who perform it, are, perhaps, liable to greater exception than other of Muhammad's institutions, not only as silly and ridiculous in themselves, but as relics of idolatrous superstition.⁷ Yet whoever seriously considers how difficult it is to make people submit to the

¹ Al Faik, de Tempore Ignor. Arabum, apud Mill. de Mohammed. ante Moh., p. 322. Comp. Isa. lxiv. 6.

² Jakál. al Baid. This notion comes very near if it be not the same with that of the Adamites.

³ Al Ghazáli. Vide Abulfar. Hist. Dyn., p. 171.

⁴ Abu Jáfar Ibn Tufail, in Vita Hai Ibn Yukdhán, p. 151. See Mr.

Ockley's English translation thereof, p. 117.

⁵ De Rel. Moh., p. 123.

⁶ Plutarch. in Numa.

⁷ Maimonides (in Epist. ad Prosel. Rel.) pretends that the worship of Mercury was performed by throwing of stones, and that of Chemosh by making bare the head and putting on unsewn garments.

abolishing of ancient customs, how unreasonable soever, which they are fond of, especially where the interest of a considerable party is also concerned, and that a man may with less danger change many things than one great one,¹ must excuse Muhammad's yielding some points of less moment to gain the principal. The temple of Makkah was held in excessive veneration by all the Arabs in general (if we except only the tribes of Tay and Khuzáah and some of the posterity of al Hárith Ibn Qaab,² who used not to go in pilgrimage thereto), and especially by those of Makkah, who had a particular interest to support that veneration; and as the most silly and insignificant things are generally the objects of the greatest superstition, Muhammad found it much easier to abolish idolatry itself than to eradicate the superstitious bigotry with which they were addicted to that temple and the rites performed there; wherefore, after several fruitless trials to wean them therefrom,³ he thought it best to compromise the matter, and rather than to frustrate his whole design, to allow them to go on pilgrimage thither, and to direct their prayers thereto, contenting himself with transferring the devotions there paid from their idols to the true God, and changing such circumstances therein as he judged might give scandal. And herein he followed the example of the most famous legislators, who instituted not such laws as were absolutely the best in themselves, but the best their people were capable of receiving; and we find God himself had the same condescendence for the Jews, whose hardness of heart he humoured in many things, giving them therefore statutes that were not good, and judgments whereby they should not live.⁴*

Muham-
mad's con-
cession to
Arab custom
and super-
stition.

* For a clear and accurate description of the rites and ceremonies of the Muslim religion, the reader is referred to Hughes' *Notes on Muhammadanism*.
E. M. W.

¹ According to the maxim, *Tutius est multa mutare quam unum magnum*.

² Al Shahristání.

³ See Qurán, c. 2, v. 147, &c.

⁴ Ezek. xx. 25. Vide Spencer de Urim et Thummim, c. 4, § 7.

SECTION V.

OF CERTAIN NEGATIVE PRECEPTS IN THE QURÁN.

HAVING in the preceding section spoken of the fundamental points of the Muhammadan religion, relating both to faith and to practice, I shall in this and the two following discourses speak in the same brief method of some other precepts and institutions of the Qurán which deserve peculiar notice, and first of certain things which are thereby prohibited.

The drinking of wine, under which name all sorts of strong and inebriating liquors are comprehended, is forbidden in the Qurán in more places than one.¹ Some, indeed, have imagined that excess therein is only forbidden, and that the moderate use of wine is allowed by two passages in the same book;² but the more received opinion is, that to drink any strong liquors, either in a lesser quantity or in a greater, is absolutely unlawful; and though libertines³ indulge themselves in a contrary practice, yet the more conscientious are so strict, especially if they have performed the pilgrimage to Makkah,⁴ that they hold it unlawful not only to taste wine, but to press grapes for the making of it, to buy or to sell it, or even to maintain themselves with the money arising by the sale of that liquor. The Persians, however, as well as the Turks, are very fond of wine; and if one asks them how it comes to pass that they venture to drink it, when it is

The drinking of wine and spirituous liquors forbidden.

¹ See c. 2, v. 218, and c. 5, v. 92.

³ Vide Smith, *De Morib. et Instit.*

² Cap. 2, v. 218, and c. 16, v. 69.

Turcar, Ep. 2, p. 28, &c.

Vide D'Herbel., *Bibl. Orient.*, p. 696.

⁴ Vide Chardin, *ubi supra*, p. 212.

so directly forbidden by their religion, they answer, that it is with them as with the Christians, whose religion prohibits drunkenness and whoredom as great sins, and who glory, notwithstanding, some in debauching girls and married women, and others in drinking to excess.¹

Question as
to coffee and
tobacco.

It has been a question whether coffee comes not under the above-mentioned prohibition,² because the fumes of it have some effect on the imagination. This drink, which was first publicly used at Aden in Arabia Felix, about the middle of the ninth century of the Hijra, and thence gradually introduced into Makkah, Madína, Egypt, Syria, and other parts of the Levant, has been the occasion of great disputes and disorders, having been sometimes publicly condemned and forbidden, and again declared lawful and allowed.³ At present the use of coffee is generally tolerated, if not granted, as is that of tobacco, though the more religious make a scruple of taking the latter, not only because it inebriates, but also out of respect to a traditional saying of their prophet (which, if it could be made out to be his, would prove him a prophet indeed), "That in the latter days there should be men who should bear the name of Muslims, but should not be really such; and that they should smoke a certain weed, which should be called TOBACCO." However, the Eastern nations are generally so addicted to both, that they say, "A dish of coffee and a pipe of tobacco are a complete entertainment;" and the Persians have a proverb that coffee without tobacco is meat without salt.⁴

Opium and bang (which latter is the leaves of hemp in pills or conserve) are also by the rigid Muhammadans esteemed unlawful, though not mentioned in the Qurán,

¹ Chardin, ubi sup., p. 344.

² Abd al Qádir Muhammad al An-sári has written a treatise concerning coffee, wherein he argues for its lawfulness. Vide D'Herbel., art. Cah-vah.

³ Vide Le Traité Historique de

l'Origine et du Progrès du Café, à la fin du Voy. de l'Arabie Heureuse de la Roque.

⁴ Reland, Dissert. Miscell., t. 2, p. 280. Vide Chardin, Voy. de Perse, t. 2, pp. 14 and 66.

because they intoxicate and disturb the understanding as wine does, and in a more extraordinary manner: yet these drugs are now commonly taken in the East;* but they who are addicted to them are generally looked upon as debauchees.¹

Several stories have been told as the occasion of Muhammad's prohibiting the drinking of wine;² but the true reasons are given in the Qurán, viz., because the ill qualities of that liquor surpass its good ones, the common effects thereof being quarrels and disturbances in company, and neglect, or at least indecencies, in the performance of religious duties.³ For these reasons it was that the priests were, by the Levitical law, forbidden to drink wine or strong drink when they entered the tabernacle,⁴ and that the Nazarites,⁵ and Rechabites,⁶ and many pious persons among the Jews and primitive Christians, wholly abstained therefrom; nay, some of the latter went so far as to condemn the use of wine as sinful.⁷ But Muhammad is said to have had a nearer example than any of these, in the more devout persons of his own tribe.⁸

The reason why wine-drinking was prohibited.

Gaming is prohibited by the Qurán⁹ in the same passages, and for the same reasons, as wine. The word *al maisar*, which is there used, signifies a particular manner of casting lots by arrows, much practised by the pagan Arabs, and performed in the following manner. A young camel being bought and killed, and divided into ten or twenty-eight parts, the persons who cast lots for them, to the number of seven, met for that purpose; and eleven arrows were provided, without heads or feathers, seven of

Lots and games of chance forbidden.

* Opium is very commonly used by Muslims in India. E. M. W.

¹ Vide Chardin, *ibid.*, p. 68, &c., and D'Herbel, p. 200.

² Vide Prid., *Life of Mah.*, p. 82, &c.; Busbeq., *Epist.* 3, p. 255; and Mandeville's *Travels*, p. 170.

³ Qurán, c. 2, v. 218; c. 5, v. 92; and c. 4, v. 42 and note. See Prov. xxiii. 29, &c.

⁴ Levit. x. 9.

⁵ Numb. vi. 2.

⁶ Jerem. xxxv. 5, &c.

⁷ This was the heresy of those called Encratitæ, and Aquarij. Khuáf, a Magian heretic, also declared wine unlawful; but this was after Muhammad's time. Hyde, *De Rel. Vet. Pers.*, p. 300.

⁸ Vide Reland, *De Rel. Moh.*, p. 271. ⁹ Cap. 2, v. 218; c. 5, v. 92.

which were marked, the first with one notch, the second with two, and so on, and the other four had no mark at all.¹ These arrows were put promiscuously into a bag, and then drawn by an indifferent person, who had another near him to receive them, and to see he acted fairly; those to whom the marked arrows fell won shares in proportion to their lot, and those to whom the blanks fell were entitled to no part of the camel at all, but were obliged to pay the full price of it. The winners, however, tasted not of the flesh, any more than the losers, but the whole was distributed among the poor; and this they did out of pride and ostentation, it being reckoned a shame for a man to stand out, and not venture his money on such an occasion.² This custom, therefore, though it was of some use to the poor and diversion to the rich, was forbidden by Muhammad,³ as the source of great inconveniences, by occasioning quarrels and heart-burnings, which arose from the winners insulting of those who lost.

Chess allowable under restrictions.

Under the name of lots the commentators agree that all other games whatsoever, which are subject to hazard or chance, are comprehended and forbidden, as dice, cards, tables, &c. And they are reckoned so ill in themselves, that the testimony of him who plays at them is by the more rigid judged to be of no validity in a court of justice. Chess is almost the only game which the Muhammadan doctors allow to be lawful (though it has been a doubt with some),⁴ because it depends wholly on skill and management, and not at all on chance: but then it is allowed under certain restrictions, viz., that it be no hindrance to the regular performance of their devotions, and that no money or other thing be played for or betted; which last the Turks, being Sunnis, religiously observe,

¹ Some writers, as al Zamakh. and al Shirázi, mention but three blank arrows.

² Auctores Nodhm al dorr, et Nothr al dorr, al Zamakh. al Fir-aúzábádi, al Shirázi in Orat. al

Hariri, al Baidháwi, &c. Vide Poc. Spec., p. 324, &c.

³ Qurán, c. 5, v. 4.

⁴ Vide Hyde, De Ludis Oriental. in Proleg. ad Shahiludium.

but the Persians and Moguls do not.¹ But what Muhammad is supposed chiefly to have disliked in the game of chess was the carved pieces, or men, with which the pagan Arabs played, being little figures of men, elephants, horses, and dromedaries;² and these are thought, by some commentators, to be truly meant by the images prohibited in one of the passages of the Qurán³ quoted above. That the Arabs in Muhammad's time actually used such images for chessmen appears from what is related in the Sunnat of Ali, who, passing accidentally by some who were playing at chess, asked, "What images they were which they were so intent upon?"⁴ for they were perfectly new to him, that game having been but very lately introduced into Arabia, and not long before into Persia, whither it was first brought from India in the reign of Khusrú Anushirwán.⁵ Hence the Muhammadan doctors infer that the game was disapproved only for the sake of the images: wherefore the Sunnis always play with plain pieces of wood or ivory; but the Persians and Indians, who are not so scrupulous, continue to make use of the carved ones.⁶ *

The Muhammadans comply with the prohibition of gaming much better than they do with that of wine; for though the common people, among the Turks more frequently, and the Persians more rarely, are addicted to play, yet the better sort are seldom guilty of it.⁷

Gaming, at least to excess, has been forbidden in all well-ordered states. Gaming-houses were reckoned scandalous places among the Greeks, and a gamester is declared by Aristotle⁸ to be no better than a thief: the Roman senate made very severe laws against playing at games of hazard,⁹ except only during the Saturnalia; though the

* This statement is more than doubtful. E. M. W.

¹ Vide Hyde, De Ludis Oriental. in Proleg. ad Shahiludium.

² Vide eundem, *ibid.*, and in Hist. Shahiludij, p. 135, &c. ³ Cap. 5, v. 92.

⁴ Sukaikar al Dimishki, and Auctor libri al Mustatraf, apud Hyde, *ubi sup.*, p. 8.

⁵ Khondemir. apud eund. *ibid.*, p. 41. ⁶ Vide Hyde, *ubi sup.*, p. 9.

⁷ Vide eundem, in Proleg., and Chardin, Voy. de Perse, t. 2, p. 46.

⁸ Lib. iv. ad Nicom.

⁹ Vide Horat., l. 3. Carm. Od.

people played often at other times, notwithstanding the prohibition: the civil law forbade all pernicious games,¹ and though the laity were, in some cases, permitted to play for money, provided they kept within reasonable bounds, yet the clergy were forbidden to play at tables (which is a game of hazard), or even to look on while others played.² Accursius, indeed, is of opinion they may play at chess, notwithstanding that law, because it is a game not subject to chance,³ and being but newly invented in the time of Justinian, was not then known in the Western parts. However, the monks for some time were not allowed even chess.⁴

As to the Jews, Muhammad's chief guides, they also highly disapprove gaming: gamesters being severely censured in the Talmud, and their testimony declared invalid.⁵

Divining by
arrows for-
bidden.

Another practice of the idolatrous Arabs forbidden also in one of the above-mentioned passages,⁶ was that of divining by arrows. The arrows used by them for this purpose were like those with which they cast lots, being without heads or feathers, and were kept in the temple of some idol, in whose presence they were consulted. Seven such arrows were kept at the temple of Makkah;⁷ but generally in divination they made use of three only, on one of which was written, "My LORD hath commanded me," on another, "My LORD hath forbidden me," and the third was blank. If the first was drawn, they looked on it as an approbation of the enterprise in question; if the second, they made a contrary conclusion; but if the third happened to be drawn, they mixed them and drew

¹ ff. de Aleatoribus, Novell. Just. 123, &c. Vide Hyde, ubi sup. in Hist. Aleæ, p. 119.

² Authent. interdicimus, c. de episcopis.

³ In Com. ad Legem Præd.

⁴ Du Fresne, in Gloss.

⁵ Bava Mesia, 84, 1; Rosh hashana and Sanhedr. 24, 2. Vide

etiam Maimon. in Tract. Gezila. Among the modern civilians, Mascardus thought common gamesters were not to be admitted as witnesses, being infamous persons. Vide Hyde, ubi sup. in Proleg. et in Hist. Aleæ, § 3.

⁶ Qurán, c. 5, v. 4.

⁷ See ante, p. 42.

over again, till a decisive answer was given by one of the others. These divining arrows were generally consulted before anything of moment was undertaken; as when a man was about to marry, or about to go a journey, or the like.¹ This superstitious practice of divining by arrows was used by the ancient Greeks,² and other nations; and is particularly mentioned in Scripture,³ where it is said that "the king of Babylon stood at the parting of the way, at the head of the two ways, to use divination; he made his arrows bright" (or, according to the version of the Vulgate, which seems preferable in this place, "he mixed together or shook the arrows"), "he consulted with images," &c.; the commentary of St. Jerome on which passage wonderfully agrees with what we are told of the aforesaid custom of the old Arabs: "He shall stand," says he, "in the highway, and consult the oracle after the manner of his nation, that he may cast arrows into a quiver, and mix them together, being written upon or marked with the names of each people, that he may see whose arrow will come forth, and which city he ought first to attack."⁴

A distinction of meats was so generally used by the Eastern nations, that it is no wonder that Muhammad Laws concerning meats. made some regulations in that matter. The Qurán, therefore, prohibits the eating of blood, and swine's flesh, and whatever dies of itself, or is slain in the name or in honour of any idol, or is strangled, or killed by a blow, or a fall, or by any other beast.⁵ In which particulars Muhammad seems chiefly to have imitated the Jews, by whose law, as is well known, all those things are forbidden; but he allowed some things to be eaten which Moses did not,⁶ as camels' flesh⁷ in particular. In cases of necessity, how-

¹ Ibn al Athir, al Zamakh., and al Baid. in Qurán, c. 5, v. 4. Al Mustatraf, &c. Vide Poc. Spec., p. 327, &c., and D'Herbel., Bibl. Orient., art. Kodáh.

² Vide Potter, Antiq. of Greece, vol. i. p. 334.

³ Ezek. xxi. 21.

⁴ Vide Poc. Spec., p. 329, &c.

⁵ Cap. 2, v. 174; c. 5, v. 4; c. 6, v. 146; and c. 16, v. 116.

⁶ Levit. xi. 4.

⁷ See Qurán, c. 3, vv. 49 and 93, and c. 6, v. 146.

ever, where a man may be in danger of starving, he is allowed by the Muhammadan law to eat any of the said prohibited kinds of food;¹ and the Jewish doctors grant the same liberty in the same case.² Though the aversion to blood and what dies of itself may seem natural, yet some of the pagan Arabs used to eat both: of their eating of the latter some instances will be given hereafter; and as to the former, it is said they used to pour blood, which they sometimes drew from a live camel, into a gut, and then broiled it in the fire, or boiled it, and ate it:³ this food they called *Muswadd*, from *Aswad*, which signifies *black*; the same nearly resembling our black puddings in name as well as composition.⁴ The eating of meat offered to idols I take to be commonly practised by all idolaters, being looked on as a sort of communion in their worship, and for that reason esteemed by Christians, if not absolutely unlawful, yet as what may be the occasion of great scandal;⁵ but the Arabs were particularly superstitious in this matter, killing what they ate on stones erected on purpose around the Kaabah, or near their own houses, and calling, at the same time, on the name of some idol.⁶ Swine's flesh, indeed, the old Arabs seem not to have eaten; and their prophet, in prohibiting the same, appears to have only confirmed the common aversion of the nation. Foreign writers tell us that the Arabs wholly abstained from swine's flesh,⁷ thinking it unlawful to feed thereon,⁸ and that very few, if any, of those animals are found in their country, because it produces not proper food for them;⁹ which has made one writer imagine that if a hog were carried thither, it would immediately die.¹⁰

¹ Qurán, c. 5, v. 2, &c., and in the other passages last quoted.

² Vide Maimon. in Halachoth Melachim, c. 8, § i., &c.

³ Nothr al dorr, al Firauz., al Zamakh., and al Baid.

⁴ Poc. Spec., p. 320.

⁵ Compare Acts xv. 29 with 1 Cor. viii. 4, &c.

⁶ See the fifth chapter of the Qurán, v. 4, and the notes there.

⁷ Solin. de Arab., c. 33.

⁸ Hieronym. in Jovin. l. 2, c. 6.

⁹ Idem, ibid.

¹⁰ Solinus, ubi supra.

In the prohibition of usury¹ I presume Muhammad also followed the Jews, who are strictly forbidden by their law to exercise it among one another, though they are so infamously guilty of it in their dealing with those of a different religion; but I do not find the prophet of the Arabs has made any distinction in this matter.

Of usury and certain superstitious customs.

Several superstitious customs relating to cattle, which seem to have been peculiar to the pagan Arabs, were also abolished by Muhammad. The Qurán² mentions four names by them given to certain camels or sheep, which for some particular reasons were left at free liberty, and were not made use of as other cattle of the same kind. These names are Bahíra, Sáiba, Wasíla, and Hámi: of each whereof in their order.

As to the first, it is said that when a she-camel or a sheep had borne young ten times, they used to slit her ear, and turn her loose to feed at full liberty; and when she died, her flesh was eaten by the men only, the women being forbidden to eat thereof: and such a camel or sheep, from the slitting of her ear, they called Bahíra. Or the Bahíra was a she-camel, which was turned loose to feed, and whose fifth young one, if it proved a male, was killed and eaten by men and women promiscuously; but if it proved a female, had its ear slit, and was dismissed to free pasture, none being permitted to make use of its flesh or milk, or to ride on it; though the women were allowed to eat the flesh of it when it died: or it was the female young of the Sáiba, which was used in the same manner as its dam; or else an ewe, which had yeaned five times.³ These, however, are not all the opinions concerning the Bahíra; for some suppose that name was given to a she-camel, which, after having brought forth young five times, if the last was a male, had her ear slit, as a mark thereof, and was let go loose to feed, none driving her from pasture or water, nor using her for

The customs relating to the Bahíra, Sáiba, Wasíla and Hámi explained.

¹ Qurán, c. 2, v. 275.

² Cap. 5, v. 102.

³ Al Firauzábádi.

carriage;¹ and others tell us that when a camel had newly brought forth, they used to slit the ear of her young one, saying, "O GOD, if it live, it shall be for our use, but if it die, it shall be deemed rightly slain;" and when it died they ate it.²

Sáiba signifies a she-camel turned loose to go where she will. And this was done on various accounts: as when she had brought forth females ten times together; or in satisfaction of a vow; or when a man had recovered from sickness, or returned safe from a journey, or his camel had escaped some signal danger either in battle or otherwise. A camel so turned loose was declared to be Sáiba, and, as a mark of it, one of the *vertebræ* or bones was taken out of her back, after which none might drive her from pasture or water, or ride on her.³ Some say that the Sáiba, when she had ten times together brought forth females, was suffered to go at liberty, none being allowed to ride on her, and that her milk was not to be drank by any but her young one, or a guest, till she died; and then her flesh was eaten by men as well as women, and her last female young one had her ear slit, and was called Bahíra, and turned loose as her dam had been.⁴

This appellation, however, was not so strictly proper to female camels, but that it was given to the male when his young one had begotten another young one:⁵ nay, a servant set at liberty and dismissed by his master was also called Sáiba;⁶ and some are of opinion that the word denotes an animal which the Arabs used to turn loose in honour of their idols, allowing none to make use of them thereafter, except women only.⁷

Wasíla is, by one author,⁸ explained to signify a she-camel which had brought forth ten times, or an ewe which

¹ Al Zamakh., al Baidháwi, al Mustatrafi.

² Ibn al Athír.

³ Al Firauzáb., al Zamakh.

⁴ Al Jawhari, Ibn al Athír.

⁵ Al Firauz.

⁶ Idem, al Jawhari, &c.

⁷ Nothir al dorr and Nodhm al dorr.

⁸ Al Firauz.

had yeaned seven times, and every time twins; and if the seventh time she brought forth a male and a female, they said, "Wusilat akháha," *i.e.*, "She is joined," or, "was brought forth with her brother," after which none might drink the dam's milk, except men only; and she was used as the Saiba. Or Wasila was particularly meant of sheep; as when an ewe brought forth a female, they took it to themselves, but when she brought forth a male, they consecrated it to their gods, but if both a male and a female, they said, "She is joined to her brother," and did not sacrifice that male to their gods: or Wasila was an ewe which brought forth first a male and then a female, on which account, or because she followed her brother, the male was not killed; but if she brought forth a male only, they said, "Let this be an offering to our gods."¹ Another² writes, that if an ewe brought forth twins seven times together, and the eighth time a male, they sacrificed that male to their gods; but if the eighth time she brought both a male and a female, they used to say, "She is joined to her brother," and for the female's sake they spared the male, and permitted not the dam's milk to be drunk by women. A third writer tells us, that Wasila was an ewe, which having yeaned seven times, if that which she brought forth the seventh time was a male, they sacrificed it, but if a female, it was suffered to go loose, and was made use of by women only; and if the seventh time she brought forth both a male and a female, they held them both to be sacred, so that men only were allowed to make any use of them, or to drink the milk of the female: and a fourth³ describes it to be an ewe which brought forth ten females at five births one after another, *i.e.*, every time twins, and whatever she brought forth afterwards was allowed to men, and not to women, &c.

Hámi was a male camel used for a stallion, which, if the females had conceived ten times by him, was after-

¹ Al Firauz., al Zamakh.

² Al Jawhari.

³ Al Mutarrezí.

wards freed from labour, and let go loose, none driving him from pasture or from water; nor was any allowed to receive the least benefit from him, not even to shear his hair.¹

These things were observed by the old Arabs in honour of their false gods,² and as part of the worship which they paid them, and were ascribed to the divine institution; but are all condemned in the Qurán, and declared to be impious superstitions.³

Muhammad
prohibits
infanticide.

The law of Muhammad also put a stop to the inhuman custom, which had been long practised by the pagan Arabs, of burying their daughters alive, lest they should be reduced to poverty by providing for them, or else to avoid the displeasure and disgrace which would follow, if they should happen to be made captives, or to become scandalous by their behaviour;⁴ the birth of a daughter being, for these reasons, reckoned a great misfortune,⁵ and the death of one as a great happiness.⁶ The manner of their doing this is differently related: some say that when an Arab had a daughter born, if he intended to bring her up, he sent her, clothed in a garment of wool or hair, to keep camels or sheep in the desert; but if he designed to put her to death, he let her live till she became six years old, and then said to her mother, "Perfume her, and adorn her, that I may carry her to her mothers;" which being done, the father led her to a well or pit dug for that purpose, and having bid her to look down into it, pushed her in headlong, as he stood behind her, and then filling up the pit, levelled it with the rest of the ground; but others say, that when a woman was ready to fall in labour, they dug a pit, on the brink whereof she was to be delivered, and if the child happened to be a daughter, they threw it into the pit, but if a son, they saved it alive.⁷

¹ Al Firaúz., al Jawhari.

² Jalál. in Qurán.

³ Qurán, c. 5, v. 102, and c. 6, v. 142-145. Vide Poc. Spec., pp. 330-334.

⁴ Al Baidháwi, al Zamakh., al Mustatraf.

⁵ See Qurán, c. 16, vv. 60, 61.

⁶ Al Maidáni. ⁷ Al Zamakh.

This custom, though not observed by all the Arabs in general, was yet very common among several of their tribes, and particularly those of Quraish and Kinda; the former using to bury their daughters alive in Mount Abu Dalama, near Makkah.¹ In the time of ignorance, while they used this method to get rid of their daughters, Sásaá, grandfather to the celebrated poet al Farazdak, frequently redeemed female children from death, giving for every one two she-camels big with young, and a he-camel; and hereto al Farazdak alluded when, vaunting himself before one of the Khalífahs of the family of Omayyah, he said, "I am the son of the giver of life to the dead;" for which expression being censured, he excused himself by alleging the following words of the Qurán,² "He who saveth a soul alive, shall be as if he had saved the lives of all mankind."³ The Arabs, in thus murdering of their children, were far from being singular; the practice of exposing infants and putting them to death being so common among the ancients, that it is remarked as a thing very extraordinary in the Egyptians, that they brought up *all* their children;⁴ and by the laws of Lycurgus⁵ no child was allowed to be brought up without the approbation of public officers. At this day, it is said, in China, the poorer sort of people frequently put their children, the females especially, to death with impunity.⁶*

* The same practice was common among several castes of the Hindus. It is worthy of note that the motives for the act were the same as those which influenced the heathen Arabs. E. M. W.

¹ Al Mustatraf.

² Cap. 5, v. 35.

³ Al Mustatraf. Vide Ibn Khabbân, in Vita al Farazdak, and Poc. Spec., p. 334.

⁴ Strabo, l. 17. Vide Diodor. Sic., l. 1, c. 80.

⁵ Vide Plutarch, in Lycurgo.

⁶ Vide Pufendorf, de Jure Nat. et Gent., l. 6, c. 7, § 6. The Grecians also treated daughters

especially in this manner—whence that saying of Posidippus:

Ἵδὼν τρέφει τις καὶ ὠένης ὦν τὸν υἱόν,
Θυγατέρα δὲ ἐκτίθησι καὶ ἡ πλούσιος—

"A man, tho' poor, will not expose his son;

But if he's rich, will scarce preserve his daughter."—

See Potter's Antiq. of Greece, vol. ii. p. 333.

This wicked practice is condemned by the Qurán in several passages;¹ one of which, as some commentators² judge, may also condemn another custom of the Arabians, altogether as wicked, and as common among other nations of old, viz., the sacrificing of their children to their idols; as was frequently done, in particular, in satisfaction of a vow they used to make, that if they had a certain number of sons born, they would offer one of them in sacrifice.

Several other superstitious customs were likewise abrogated by Muhammad, but the same being of less moment, and not particularly mentioned in the Qurán, or having been occasionally taken notice of elsewhere, I shall say nothing of them in this place.

¹ Cap. 6, vv. 137 and 151; c. 16, vv. 60, 61; and c. 17, v. 33. See also chap. 81, v. 8.

² Al Zamakh., al Baid.

SECTION VI.

OF THE INSTITUTIONS OF THE QURÁN IN CIVIL AFFAIRS.

THE Muhammadan civil law is founded on the precepts and determinations of the Qurán, as the civil laws of the Jews were on those of the Pentateuch; yet being variously interpreted, according to the different decisions of their civilians, and especially of their four great doctors, Abu Hanífa, Málik, al Sháfai, and Ibn Hanbal,¹ to treat thereof fully and distinctly in the manner the curiosity and usefulness of the subject deserves, would require a large volume; wherefore the most that can be expected here is a summary view of the principal institutions, without minutely entering into a detail of particulars. We shall begin with those relating to marriage and divorce.

That polygamy, for the moral lawfulness of which the Muhammadan doctors advance several arguments,² is Laws regulating polygamy. allowed by the Qurán, every one knows, though few are acquainted with the limitations with which it is allowed. Several learned men have fallen into the vulgar mistake that Muhammad granted to his followers an unbounded plurality; some pretending that a man may have as many wives,³ and others as many concubines,⁴ as he can main-

¹ See Sect. VIII.

² See ante, Sect. II., p. 72.

³ Nic. Cusanus, in *Cribrat. Alcor.*, l. 2, c. 19. Olearius, in *Itinerar. P. Greg. Tholosanus*, in *Synt. Juris*, l. 9, c. 2, § 22. *Septemcassensis* (De *Morib. Turc.*, p. 24) says the Muhammadans may have twelve lawful wives, and no more. Ricaut

falsely asserts the restraint of the number of their wives to be no precept of their religion, but a rule superinduced on a politic consideration. *Pres. State of the Ottoman Empire*, bk. iii. c. 21.

⁴ Marracc. in *Prodr. ad Refut. Alcor.*, part iv. pp. 52 and 71. Prideaux, *Life of Mah.*, p. 114.

tain: whereas, according to the express words of the Qurán,¹ no man can have more than four, whether wives or concubines;²* and if a man apprehend any inconvenience from even that number of ingenuous wives, it is added, as an advice (which is generally followed by the middling and inferior people),³ that he marry one only, or, if he cannot be contented with one, that he take up with his she-slaves, not exceeding, however, the limited number;⁴ and this is certainly the utmost Muhammad allowed his followers: nor can we urge, as an argument against so plain a precept, the corrupt manners of his followers, many of whom, especially men of quality and fortune, indulge themselves in criminal excesses;⁵ nor yet the example of the prophet himself,† who had peculiar privileges in this and other points, as will be observed hereafter. In making the above-mentioned limitation, Muhammad was directed by the decision of the Jewish

* Muir (*Life of Mahomet*, vol. iii. p. 303) says, "There is no limit, as supposed by Sale, to the number of slave-girls, with whom (irrespective of his four wives) a Moslem may, without any antecedent ceremony or any guarantee of continuance, cohabit. Female slavery, being a condition necessary to the legality of this illimitable indulgence, will never be put down, with a willing or hearty co-operation, by any Mussalman community." E. M. W.

† Surely the "peculiar privileges" of the prophet, whereby all limit as to the number of his wives and concubines was set aside, added to his example, wherein he appeared as the possessor of ten wives besides his concubines, must have gone far to weaken the

Chardin, *Voy. de Perse*, t. 1, p. 166. Du Ryer, *Sommaire de la Rel. des Turcs*, mis à la tête de sa version de l'Alcor. Ricaut, *ubi supra*. Pufendorf, *De Jure Nat. et Gent.*, l. 6, c. 1, § 18.

¹ Cap. 4, v. 3.

² Vide Gagnier, in *Notisad Abulfedæ Vit. Moh.*, p. 150. Reland, *De Rel. Moh.*, p. 243, &c., and Selden, *Ux. Hebr.*, l. 1, c. 9.

³ Vide Reland, *ubi sup.*, p. 244.

⁴ Qurán, c. 4, v. 3.

⁵ Sir J. Mandeville (who, excepting a few silly stories he tells from hearsay, deserves more credit than some travellers of better reputation), speaking of the Qurán, observes, among several other truths, that Muhammad therein commanded a man should have two wives, or three, or four; though the Muhammadans then took nine wives, and lemans as many as they might sustain. Mandev. *Travels*, p. 164.

doctors, who, by way of counsel, limit the number of wives to four,¹ though their law confines them not to any certain number.²

Divorce is also well known to be allowed by the Mu-
Law
concerning
divorce.
 hammadan law, as it was by the Mosaic, with this difference only, that, according to the latter, a man could not take again a woman whom he had divorced, and who had been married or betrothed to another;³ whereas Muhammad, to prevent his followers from divorcing their wives on every light occasion, or out of an inconstant humour, ordained that if a man divorced his wife the third time (for he might divorce her twice without being obliged to part with her, if he repented of what he had done), it should not be lawful for him to take her again until she had been first married and bedded by another, and divorced by such second husband.⁴ And this precaution has had so good an effect that the Muhammadans are seldom known to proceed to the extremity of divorce, notwithstanding the liberty given them, it being reckoned a great disgrace so to do; and there are but few, besides those who have little or no sense of honour, that will take a wife again on the condition enjoined.⁵ * It must be observed that, though

force of his explicit precepts, given for the guidance of his followers. Would not the holy precepts of Jesus, as recorded in the Sermon on the Mount, have lost much of their power over Christian hearts, had he claimed for himself the special privilege of total exemption from them, and, more so, had his example illustrated a lower grade of moral rectitude?

E. M. W.

* The large dowry, fixed on the bride by the groom before the marriage is consummated, to be paid in case of a divorce without proper cause, is more potent than the Qurán in preventing divorce.

E. M. W.

¹ Maimon, in *Halachoth Ishoth.*, c. 14.

² *Idem*, *ibid.* Vide Selden, *Uxor. Hebr.*, l. 1, c. 9.

³ Deut. xxiv. 3, 4. Jerem. iii.

I. Vide Selden, *ubi sup.*, l. 1, c.

II.

⁴ Qurán, c. 2, v. 230.

⁵ Vide Selden, *ubi sup.*, l. 3, c. 21, and Ricaut's *State of the Ottom. Empire*, bk. ii. c. 21.

a man is allowed by the Muhammadan, as by the Jewish law,¹ to repudiate his wife even on the slightest disgust, yet the women are not allowed to separate themselves from their husbands, unless it be for ill-usage, want of proper maintenance, neglect of conjugal duty, impotency, or some cause of equal import; but then she generally loses her dowry,² which she does not if divorced by her husband, unless she has been guilty of impudicity or notorious disobedience.³

When a woman is divorced, she is obliged, by the direction of the Qurán, to wait till she hath had her courses thrice, or, if there be a doubt whether she be subject to them or not, by reason of her age, three months, before she marry another; after which time expired, in case she be found not with child, she is at full liberty to dispose of herself as she pleases; but if she prove with child, she must wait till she be delivered; and during her whole term of waiting she may continue in the husband's house, and is to be maintained at his expense, it being forbidden to turn the woman out before the expiration of the term, unless she be guilty of dishonesty.⁴ Where a man divorces a woman before consummation, she is not obliged to wait any particular time,⁵ nor is he obliged to give her more than one-half of her dower.⁶ If the divorced woman have a young child, she is to suckle it till it be two years old; the father, in the meantime, maintaining her in all respects: a widow is also obliged to do the same, and to wait four months and ten days before she marry again.⁷

These rules are also copied from those of the Jews, according to whom a divorced woman or a widow cannot marry another man till ninety days be past, after the

¹ Deut. xxiv. 1. Leo Modena, *Hist. de gli Riti Hebr.*, part i. c. 6. Vide Selden, *ubi sup.*

² Vide Busbeq., *Ep.* 3, p. 184; Smith, *De Morib.*, ac *Instit. Turcar.*, *Ep.* 2, p. 52; and Chardin, *Voy. de Perse*, t. 1, p. 169.

³ Qurán, c. 4, v. 18, &c.

⁴ Qurán, c. 2, v. 228, and c. 65, v. 1, &c.

⁵ *Ibid.*, c. 33, v. 48.

⁶ *Ibid.*, c. 2, v. 237.

⁷ *Ibid.*, c. 2, vv. 233-235, and c. 65, v. 1, &c.

divorce or death of the husband;¹ and she who gives suck is to be maintained for two years, to be computed from the birth of the child, within which time she must not marry, unless the child die, or her milk be dried up.²

Whoredom, in single women as well as married, was, in the beginning of Muhammadism, very severely punished, such being ordered to be shut up in prison till they died; but afterwards it was ordained by the Sunnat that an adulteress should be stoned,³ and an unmarried woman guilty of fornication scourged with a hundred stripes and banished for a year.⁴ A she-slave, if convicted of adultery, is to suffer but half the punishment of a free woman,⁵ viz., fifty stripes and banishment for six months, but is not to be put to death. To convict a woman of adultery, so as to make it capital, four witnesses are expressly required,⁶ and those, as the commentators say, ought to be men; and if a man falsely accuse a woman of reputation of whoredom of any kind, and is not able to support the charge by that number of witnesses, he is to receive four-score stripes, and his testimony is to be held invalid for the future.⁷ Fornication, in either sex, is by the sentence of the Qurán to be punished with a hundred stripes.⁸

If a man accuse his wife of infidelity, and is not able to prove it by sufficient evidence, and will swear four times that it is true, and the fifth time imprecate GOD's vengeance on him if it be false, she is to be looked on as convicted, unless she will take the like oaths and make the like im-

Laws concerning adultery and fornication.

¹ Mishna, tit. Yabimoth, c. 4. Gemar. Babyl. ad eund. tit. Maimon. in Halach. Girushin, Shylhán Aruch, part iii.

² Mishna, and Gemara, and Maimon., ubi supra. Gem. Babyl. ad tit. Cetuboth, c. 5, and Jos. Karo, in Shylhán Aruch, c. 50, § 2. Vide Selden, Ux. Hebr., l. 2, c. 11, and l. 3, c. 10, in fin.

³ And the adulterer also, according to a passage once extant in the

Qurán, and still in force, as some suppose. See the notes to Qurán, c. 3, v. 23, and the Prel. Disc., p. III.

⁴ Qurán, c. 4, vs. 14, 15. See the notes there.

⁵ Ibid., v. 24.

⁶ Ibid., c. 4, v. 14.

⁷ Ibid., c. 24, v. 4.

⁸ Ibid., vs. 1-3. This law relates not to married people, as Selden supposes, Ux. Heb., l. 3, c. 12.

precation in testimony of her innocence; which if she do, she is free from punishment, though the marriage ought to be dissolved.¹

What the
law of the
Qurán owes
to Judaism.

In most of the last-mentioned particulars the decisions of the Qurán also agree with those of the Jews. By the law of Moses, adultery, whether in a married woman or a virgin betrothed, was punished with death; and the man who debauched them was to suffer the same punishment.² The penalty of simple fornication was scourging, the general punishment in cases where none is particularly appointed; and a betrothed bondmaid, if convicted of adultery, underwent the same punishment, being exempted from death because she was not free.³ By the same law no person was to be put to death on the oath of one witness;⁴ and a man who slandered his wife was also to be chastised, that is, scourged, and fined one hundred shekels of silver.⁵ The method of trying a woman suspected of adultery where evidence was wanting, by forcing her to drink the bitter water of jealousy,⁶ though disused by the Jews long before the time of Muhammad,⁷ yet, by reason of the oath of cursing with which the woman was charged, and to which she was obliged to say "Amen," bears great resemblance to the expedient devised by the prophet on the like occasion.

The institutions of Muhammad relating to the pollution

¹ Qurán, c. 24, vv. 6-9. See the notes there.

² Levit. xx. 10; Deut. xxii. 22. The kind of death to be inflicted on adulterers in common cases being not expressed, the Talmudists generally suppose it to be strangling, which they think is designed wherever the phrase "shall be put to death," or "shall die the death," is used, as they imagine stoning is by the expression, "his blood shall be upon him;" and hence it has been concluded by some that the woman taken in adultery mentioned in the Gospel (John viii.) was a betrothed

maiden, because such a one and her accomplice were plainly ordered to be stoned (Deut. xxii. 23, 24). But the ancients seem to have been of a different opinion, and to have understood stoning to be the punishment of adulterers in general. Vide Selden, *Ux. Heb.*, l. 3, c. 11 and 12.

³ Levit. xix. 20.

⁴ Deut. xix. 15, xvii. 6, and Numb. xxxv. 30.

⁵ Deut. xxii. 13-19.

⁶ Numb. v. 11, &c.

⁷ Vide Selden, *ubi sup.*, l. 3, c. 15; and Leon. Modena, *de' Riti Hebraici*, parte iv. c. 6.

of women during their courses,¹ the taking of slaves to wife,² and the prohibiting of marriage within certain degrees,³ have likewise no small affinity with the institutions of Moses;⁴ and the parallel might be carried farther in several other particulars.

As to the prohibited degrees, it may be observed that the pagan Arabs abstained from marrying their mothers,* daughters, and aunts, both on the father's side and on the mother's, and held it a most scandalous thing to marry two sisters, or for a man to take his father's wife;⁵ which last was, notwithstanding, too frequently practised,⁶ and is expressly forbidden in the Qurán.⁷

Before I leave the subject of marriages, it may be proper to take notice of some peculiar privileges in relation thereto which were granted by God to Muhammad, as he gave out, exclusive of all other Muslims. One of them was that he might lawfully marry as many wives and have as many concubines as he pleased, without being confined to any particular number;⁸ and this he pretended to have been the privilege of the prophets before him. Another was that he might alter the turns of his wives, and take such of them to his bed as he thought fit, without being tied to that order and equality which others are obliged to observe.⁹ A third privilege was that no man might marry any of his wives,¹⁰ either such as he should divorce during his lifetime, or such as he should leave widows at his death; which last particular exactly agrees

Prohibited degrees.

Peculiar privileges of Muhammad as to marriage.

* They, however, did permit a son to inherit his deceased father's widows, which custom Muhammad abolished. See *Muir's Life of Mahomet*, vol. ii. p. 52, and vol. iii. p. 303. E. M. W.

¹ Qurán, c. 2, v. 222.

² Ibid., c. 4, v. 24, &c.

³ Ibid., vs. 20-22.

⁴ See Levit. xv. 24, xviii. 19, and xx. 18; Exod. xxi. 8-11; Deut. xxi. 10-14; Levit. xviii. and xx.

⁵ Abulfed., Hist. Gen. al Sharis-táni, apud Poc. Spec., pp. 321, 338.

⁶ Vide Poc. Spec., p. 337, &c.

⁷ Qurán, c. 4, v. 20.

⁸ Ibid., c. 33, v. 49. See also c. 66, and the notes there.

⁹ Ibid., c. 33, v. 51. See the notes there.

¹⁰ Ibid., v. 53.

with what the Jewish doctors have determined concerning the wives of their princes; it being judged by them to be a thing very indecent, and for that reason unlawful, for another to marry either the divorced wife or the widow of a king;¹ and Muhammad, it seems, thought an equal respect, at least, due to the prophetic as to the regal dignity, and therefore ordered that his relicts should pass the remainder of their lives in perpetual widowhood.

Laws concerning inheritance.

The laws of the Qurán concerning inheritances are also in several respects conformable to those of the Jews, though principally designed to abolish certain practices of the pagan Arabs, who used to treat widows and orphan children with great injustice, frequently denying them any share in the inheritance of their fathers or their husbands, on pretence that the same ought to be distributed among those only who were able to bear arms, and disposing of the widows, even against their consent, as part of their husband's possessions.² To prevent such injuries for the future, Muhammad ordered that women should be respected, and orphans have no wrong done them; and in particular that women should not be taken against their wills, as by right of inheritance, but should themselves be entitled to a distributive part of what their parents, husbands, and near relations should leave behind them, in a certain proportion.³

The general rule to be observed in the distribution of the deceased's estate is, that a male shall have twice as much as the female;⁴ but to this rule there are some few exceptions; a man's parents, for example, and also his brothers and sisters, where they are entitled not to the whole, but a small part of the inheritance, being to have equal shares with one another in the distribution thereof,

¹ Mishna, tit. Sanhedr., c. 2, and Gemar. in eund. tit. Maimon. Halachoth Melachim, c. 2. Vide Selden, Ux. Heb., l. 1, c. 10. Prid., Life of Mah., p. 118.

² See c. 4, vs. 21, &c., and the

notes there. Vide etiam Poc. Spec., p. 337.

³ Qurán, c. 4, vs. 31, 32.

⁴ Ibid., vs. 10 and 175. Vide Chardin, Voy. de Perse, t. 2, p. 293.

without making any difference on account of sex.¹ The particular proportions, in several cases, distinctly and sufficiently declare the intention of Muhammad, whose decisions, expressed in the Qurán,² seem to be pretty equitable, preferring a man's children first, and then his nearest relations.

If a man dispose of any part of his estate by will, two witnesses, at the least, are required to render the same valid; and such witnesses ought to be of his own tribe, and of the Muhammadan religion, if such can be had.³ Though there be no express law to the contrary, yet the Muhammadan doctors reckon it very wrong for a man to give away any part of his substance from his family, unless it be in legacies for pious uses; and even in that case a man ought not to give all he has in charity, but only a reasonable part in proportion to his substance. On the other hand, though a man make no will, and bequeath nothing for charitable uses, yet the heirs are directed, on the distribution of the estate, if the value will permit, to bestow something on the poor, especially such as are of kin to the deceased and to the orphans.⁴

Law concerning wills.

The first law, however, laid down by Muhammad touching inheritances was not very equitable; for he declared that those who had fled with him from Makkah, and those who had received and assisted him at Madína, should be deemed the nearest of kin, and consequently heirs to one another, preferably to and in exclusion of their relations by blood; nay, though a man were a true believer, yet if he had not fled his country for the sake of religion and joined the prophet, he was to be looked on as a stranger;⁵ but this law continued not long in force, being quickly abrogated.⁶

It must be observed that among the Muhammadans the children of their concubines or slaves are esteemed as legitimate.

Children of concubines legitimate.

¹ Qurán, c. 4, v. 10.

³ Ibid., c. 5, v. 105.

⁵ Ibid., c. 8, v. 73.

² Ibid., and v. 175.

⁴ Ibid., c. 4, v. 7.

⁶ Ibid., and c. 33, v. 6.

equally legitimate with those of their legal and ingenuous wives, none being accounted bastards except such only as are born of common women and whose fathers are unknown.

Law concerning private contracts.

As to private contracts between man and man, the conscientious performance of them is frequently recommended in the Qurán.¹ For the preventing of disputes, all contracts are directed to be made before witnesses,² and in case such contracts are not immediately executed, the same ought to be reduced into writing in the presence of two witnesses³ at least, who ought to be Muslims and of the male sex; but if two men cannot be conveniently had, then one man and two women may suffice. The same method is also directed to be taken for the security of debts to be paid at a future day; and where a writer is not to be found, pledges are to be taken.⁴ Hence, if people trust one another without writing, witnesses, or pledge, the party on whom the demand is made is always acquitted if he denies the charge on oath, and swears that he owes the plaintiff nothing, unless the contrary be proved by very convincing circumstances.⁵

Murder and its penalty.

Wilful murder, though forbidden by the Qurán under the severest penalties to be inflicted in the next life,⁶ is yet, by the same book, allowed to be compounded for, on payment of a fine to the family of the deceased, and freeing a Muslim from captivity; but it is in the election of the next of kin, or the revenger of blood, as he is called in the Pentateuch, either to accept of such satisfaction or to refuse it; for he may, if he pleases, insist on having the murderer delivered into his hands, or be put to death in such manner as he shall think fit.⁷ In this particular

¹ Qurán, c. 5, v. 1; c. 17; c. 2, v. 282, &c.

² Ibid., c. 2, v. 282.

³ The same seems to have been required by the Jewish law, even in cases where life was not concerned. See Deut. xix. 15; Matt. xviii. 16; John viii. 17; 2 Cor. xiii. 1.

⁴ Qurán, c. 2, v. 282.

⁵ Vide Chardin, *Voy. de Perse*, t. 2, p. 294, &c., and the notes to Qurán, c. 5, v. 106.

⁶ Qurán, c. 4, vs. 91, 92.

⁷ Ibid., c. 2, v. 178; c. 17, v. 35. Vide Chardin, *ubi sup.*, p. 299, &c.

Muhammad has gone against the express letter of the Mosaic law, which declares that no satisfaction shall be taken for the life of a murderer;¹ and he seems, in so doing, to have had respect to the customs of the Arabs in his time, who, being of a vindictive temper, used to revenge murder in too unmerciful a manner,² whole tribes frequently engaging in bloody wars on such occasions, the natural consequence of their independency, and having no common judge or superior.

If the Muhammadan laws seem light in case of murder, they may perhaps be deemed too rigorous in case of manslaughter, or the killing of a man undesignedly, which must be redeemed by fine (unless the next of kin shall think fit to remit it out of charity), and the freeing of a captive; but if a man be not able to do this, he is to fast two months together by way of penance.³ The fine for a man's blood is set in the Sunnat at a hundred camels,⁴ and is to be distributed among the relations of the deceased according to the laws of inheritance; but it must be observed that though the person slain be a Muslim, yet if he be of a nation or party at enmity, or not in confederacy with those to whom the slayer belongs, he is not then bound to pay any fine at all, the redeeming a captive being, in such case, declared a sufficient penalty.⁵ I imagine that Muhammad, by these regulations, laid so heavy a punishment on involuntary manslaughter, not only to make people beware incurring the same, but also to humour, in some degree, the revengeful temper of his countrymen, which might be with difficulty, if at all, prevailed on to accept a lighter satisfaction. Among the Jews, who seem to have been no less addicted to revenge than their neighbours, the manslayer who had escaped to a city of refuge was obliged to keep himself within that city and to abide there till the death of the person who

Manslaughter and its penalty.

¹ Numb. xxxv. 31.

² This is particularly forbidden in the Qurán, c. 17, v. 35.

³ Qurán, c. 4, v. 91.

⁴ See the notes to c. 37.

⁵ Qurán, c. 4, v. 91.

was high priest at the time the fact was committed, that his absence and time might cool the passion and mitigate the resentment of the friends of the deceased; but if he quitted his asylum before that time, the revenger of blood, if he found him, might kill him without guilt;¹ nor could any satisfaction be made for the slayer to return home before the prescribed time.²

Penalty for theft.

Theft is ordered to be punished by cutting off the offending part, the hand,³ which, at first sight, seems just enough; but the law of Justinian, forbidding a thief to be maimed,⁴ is more reasonable; because stealing being generally the effect of indigence, to cut off that limb would be to deprive him of the means of getting his livelihood in an honest manner.⁵ The Sunnat forbids the inflicting of this punishment, unless the thing stolen be of a certain value. I have mentioned in another place the further penalties which those incur who continue to steal, and of those who rob or assault people on the road.⁶

Law of retaliation.

As to injuries done to men in their persons, the law of retaliation, which was ordained by the law of Moses,⁷ is also approved by the Qurán;⁸ but this law, which seems to have been allowed by Muhammad to his Arabians for the same reasons as it was to the Jews, viz., to prevent particular revenges, to which both nations were extremely addicted,⁹ being neither strictly just nor practicable in many cases, is seldom put in execution, the punishment being generally turned into a mulct or fine, which is paid to the party injured.¹⁰ Or rather, Muhammad designed the words of the Qurán relating thereto should be under-

¹ See Numb. xxxv. 26-28.

² Ibid., v. 32.

³ Qurán, c. 5, v. 42.

⁴ Novell., 134, c. 13.

⁵ Vide Pufendorf, De Jure Nat. et Gent., l. 8, c. 3, § 26.

⁶ See the notes to c. 5, v. 42.

⁷ Exod. xxi. 24, &c.; Levit. xxiv. 20; Deut. xix. 21.

⁸ Cap. 5, v. 49.

⁹ Vide Grotium, De Jure Belli et Pacis, l. 1, c. 2, § 8.

¹⁰ Vide Chardin, t. 2, p. 299. The *talio*, likewise established among the old Romans by the laws of the twelve tables, was not to be inflicted unless the delinquent could not agree with the person injured. Vide A. Gell. Noct. Attic., l. 20, c. 1, and Festum, in voce Talio.

stood in the same manner as those of the Pentateuch most probably ought to be—that is, not of an actual retaliation, according to the strict literal meaning, but of a retribution proportionable to the injury; for a criminal had not his eyes put out nor was a man mutilated according to the law of Moses, which, besides, condemned those who had wounded any person, where death did not ensue, to pay a fine only,¹ the expression “eye for eye and tooth for tooth” being only a proverbial manner of speaking, the sense whereof amounts to this, that every one shall be punished by the judges according to the heinousness of the fact.²

In injuries and crimes of an inferior nature, where no particular punishment is provided by the Qurán, and where a pecuniary compensation will not do, the Muhammadans, according to the practice of the Jews in the like case,³ have recourse to stripes or drubbing, the most common chastisement used in the East at this day, as well as formerly; the cudgel, which, for its virtue and efficacy in keeping their people in good order and within the bounds of duty, they say came down from heaven, being the instrument wherewith the judge’s sentence is generally executed.⁴

Notwithstanding the Qurán is by the Muhammadans in general regarded as the fundamental part of their civil law, and the decisions of the Sunnat among the Turks and of the Imáms among those of the Persian sect, with the explications of their several doctors, are usually followed in judicial determinations, yet the secular tribunals do not think themselves bound to observe the same in all cases, but frequently give judgment against those decisions, which are not always consonant to equity and reason; and therefore distinction is to be made between the written civil law, as administered in the ecclesiastical courts, and

Penalty
for petty
crimes.

Distinction
between
civil and
ecclesiasti-
cal law.

¹ See Exod. xxi. 18, 19, and 22.

³ See Deut. xxv. 2, 3.

² Barbeyrac, in Grot., ubi supra.
Vide Cleric. in Exod. xxi. 24, and
Deut. xix. 21.

⁴ Vide Grelot, Voy. de Constant.,
p. 220, and Chardin, ubi supra, p.
302.

the law of nature or common law (if I may so call it) which takes place in the secular courts, and has the executive power on its side.¹

The command to war against infidels.

Under the head of civil laws may be comprehended the injunction of warring against infidels, which is repeated in several passages of the Qurán,² and declared to be of high merit in the sight of God, those who are slain fighting in defence of the faith being reckoned martyrs, and promised immediate admission into paradise.³ Hence this duty is greatly magnified by the Muhammadan divines, who call the sword the key of heaven and hell, and persuade their people that the least drop of blood spilt in the way of God, as it is called, is most acceptable unto him, and that the defending the territories of the Muslims for one night is more meritorious than a fast of two months;⁴ on the other hand, desertion, or refusing to serve in these holy wars, or to contribute towards the carrying them on, if a man has ability, is accounted a most heinous crime, being frequently declaimed against in the Qurán.⁵ Such a doctrine, which Muhammad ventured not to teach till his circumstances enabled him to put it in practice,⁶ it must be allowed, was well calculated for his purpose, and stood him and his successors in great stead: for what dangers and difficulties may not be despised and overcome by the courage and constancy which these sentiments necessarily inspire? Nor have the Jews and Christians, how much soever they detest such principles in others, been ignorant of the force of enthusiastic heroism, or omitted to spirit up their respective partisans by the like arguments and promises. "Let him who has listed himself in defence of the law," says Maimonides,⁷ "rely

¹ Vide Chardin, ubi supra, p. 290, &c.

² Cap. 22; c. 2, v. 190-193; c. 4, v. 83, &c.; c. 8; c. 9; c. 47 and c. 61, &c.

³ Cap. 2, v. 155; c. 3, v. 142; c. 47; c. 61.

⁴ Reland, De Jure Milit. Moham., p. 5, &c.

⁵ Vide c. 9; c. 3, v. 143, &c.

⁶ See ante, p. 83.

⁷ Halach. Melachim, c. 7.

Jewish doctrine concerning war in defence of religion.

on him who is the hope of Israel, and the saviour thereof in the time of trouble;¹ and let him know that he fights for the profession of the divine unity: wherefore let him put his life in his hand,² and think neither of wife nor children, but banish the memory of them from his heart, having his mind wholly fixed on the war. For if he should begin to waver in his thoughts, he would not only confound himself, but sin against the law; nay, the blood of the whole people hangeth on his neck; for if they are discomfited, and he has not fought stoutly with all his might, it is equally the same as if he had shed the blood of them all; according to that saying, Let him return, lest his brethren's heart fail as his own."³ To the same purpose doth the Kabala accommodate that other passage, "Cursed be he who doth the work of the LORD negligently, and cursed be he who keepeth back his sword from blood."⁴ On the contrary, he who behaveth bravely in battle, to the utmost of his endeavour, without trembling, with intent to glorify God's name, he ought to expect the victory with confidence, and to apprehend no danger or misfortune, but may be assured that he will have a house built him in Israel, appropriated to him and his children for ever; as it is said, GOD shall certainly make my lord a sure house, because he hath fought the battles of the LORD, and his life shall be bound up in the bundle of life with the LORD his GOD."⁵ More passages of this kind might be produced from the Jewish writers, and the Christians come not far behind them. "We are desirous of knowing," says one,⁶ writing to the Franks engaged in the holy war, "the charity of you all; for that every one (which we speak not because we wish it) who shall faithfully lose his life in this warfare shall be by no means denied the kingdom of heaven." And

Opinions of
Christian
Crusaders
on the same
subject.

¹ Jer. xiv. 8.

² Job xiii. 14.

³ Deut. xx. 8.

⁴ Jer. xlviii. 10.

⁵ 1 Sam. xxv. 28, 29.

⁶ Nicolaus, in Jure Canon., c. omnium 23, quæst. 5.

another gives the following exhortation: "Laying aside all fear and dread, endeavour to act effectually against the enemies of the holy faith and the adversaries of all religions: for the Almighty knoweth if any of you die; that he dieth for the truth of the faith, and the salvation of his country, and the defence of Christians; and therefore he shall obtain of him a celestial reward."¹ The Jews, indeed, had a divine commission, extensive and explicit enough, to attack, subdue, and destroy the enemies of their religion; and Muhammad pretended to have received one in favour of himself and his Muslims in terms equally plain and full;* and therefore it is no wonder that they should act consistently with their avowed principles; but that Christians should teach and practice a doctrine so opposite to the temper and whole tenor of the Gospel seems very strange; and yet the latter have carried matters further, and shown a more violent spirit of intolerance than either of the former.

Laws of war
among Mus-
lims.

The laws of war, according to the Muhammadans, have been already so exactly set down by the learned Reland,² that I need say very little of them. I shall, therefore, only observe some conformity between their military laws and those of the Jews.

While Muhammadism was in its infancy, the opposers

* Though Muhammad undoubtedly took Moses as his pattern, and supposed himself following in his footsteps when he gave the command to fight against the infidels, yet there is no comparison between them whatever so far as warring against infidels is concerned. The Israelites were commanded to slay the Canaanites as divinely ordained instruments of *destruction*; but Muhammad inaugurated war as a means of proselytism. The Israelite was not permitted to proselytise from among the Canaanites, Exod. xxiii. 27-33; but Muslims are required to proselytise by sword-power.

E. M. W.

¹ Leo IV., op. cit., quæst. 8.

² In his treatise *De Jure Militari*

Mohammedanor, in the third vol. of his *Dissertationes Miscellanæ*.

thereof taken in battle were doomed to death without mercy; but this was judged too severe to be put in practice when that religion came to be sufficiently established, and past the danger of being subverted by its enemies.¹ The same sentence was pronounced not only against the seven Canaanitish nations,² whose possessions were given to the Israelites, and without whose destruction, in a manner, they could not have settled themselves in the country designed them, but against the Amalekites³ and Midianites,⁴ who had done their utmost to cut them off in their passage thither. When the Muhammadans declare war against a people of a different faith, they give them their choice of three offers, viz., either to embrace Muhammadism, in which case they become not only secure in their persons, families, and fortunes, but entitled to all the privileges of other Muslims; or to submit and pay tribute,⁵ by doing which they are allowed to profess their own religion, provided it be not gross idolatry or against the moral law; or else to decide the quarrel by the sword, in which last case, if the Muslims prevail, the women and children which are made [captives become absolute slaves, and the men taken in battle may either be slain, unless they turn Muhammadans, or otherwise disposed of at the pleasure of the prince.⁶ Herewith agree the laws of war given to the Jews which relate to the nations not devoted to destruction;⁷ * and Joshua is

* The difference seems to me to be very great. The Israelites might make peace with *idolaters* on condition of their becoming tributaries. The Muslims might not do so on any condition but that of conversion to Islam. With the Jew it was a case of policy—with the Muslim, of religion.

E. M. W.

¹ See Qurán, c. 47, v. 5, and the notes there; and c. 4, v. 89; c. 5, v. 38.

² Deut. xx. 16-18.

³ Ibid., c. xxv. 17-19.

⁴ Numb. xxxi. 17.

⁵ See c. 9, and the notes there.

⁶ See the notes to c. 47.

⁷ Deut. xx. 10-15.

said to have sent even to the inhabitants of Canaan, before he entered the land, three schedules, in one of which was written, "Let him fly who will;" in the second, "Let him surrender who will;" and in the third, "Let him fight who will;"¹ though none of those nations made peace with the Israelites (except only the Gibeonites, who obtained terms of security by stratagem, after they had refused those offered by Joshua), "it being of the LORD to harden their hearts, that he might destroy them utterly."²

Law regul-
ating the
division of
spoils.

On the first considerable success of Muhammad in war, the dispute which happened among his followers in relation to the dividing of the spoil rendered it necessary for him to make some regulation therein; he therefore pretended to have received the divine commission to distribute the spoil among his soldiers at his own discretion,³ reserving thereout, in the first place, one-fifth part⁴ for the uses after mentioned; and, in consequence hereof, he took himself to be authorised, on extraordinary occasions, to distribute it as he thought fit, without observing an equality. Thus he did, for example, with the spoil of the tribe Hawázín taken at the battle of Hunain, which he bestowed by way of presents on those of Makkah only, passing by those of Madína, and highly distinguishing the principal Quraish, that he might ingratiate himself

¹ Talmud Hierosol. apud Maimonid. Halach. Melachim, c. 6, § 5. R. Bechai, ex lib. Siphre. Vide Selden, De Jure Nat. et Gent. Sec. Hebr., l. 6, c. 13 and 14; and Schickardi, Jus Regium Heb., c. 5, Theor. 16.

² Josh. xi. 20. The Jews, however, say that the Gergashites, believing they could not escape the destruction with which they were threatened by God if they persisted in defending themselves, fled into Africa in great numbers. (Vide Talm. Hieros., ubi sup.) And this is assigned as the reason why the

Gergashites are not mentioned among the other Canaanitish nations who assembled to fight against Joshua (Josh. ix. 1), and who were doomed to utter extirpation (Deut. xx. 17). But it is observable that the Gergashites are not omitted by the Septuagint in either of those texts, and that their name appears in the latter of them in the Samaritan Pentateuch: they are also joined with the other Canaanites as having fought against Israel in Josh. xxiv. 11.

³ Qurán, c. 8.

⁴ Ibid.

with them after he had become master of their city.¹ He was also allowed in the expedition against those of al Nadhîr to take the whole booty to himself, and to dispose thereof as he pleased, because no horses or camels were made use of in that expedition,² but the whole army went on foot; and this became thenceforward a law;³ the reason of which seems to be, that the spoil taken by a party consisting of infantry only should be considered as the more immediate gift of God,⁴ and therefore properly left to the disposition of his apostle. According to the Jews, the spoil ought to be divided into two equal parts, one to be shared among the captors, and the other to be taken by the prince,⁵ and by him employed for his own support and the use of the public. Moses, it is true, divided one-half of the plunder of the Midianites among those who went to battle, and the other half among all the congregation;⁶ but this, they say, being a peculiar case, and done by the express order of God himself, must not be looked on as a precedent.⁷ It should seem, however, from the words of Joshua to the two tribes and a half, when he sent them home into Gilead after the conquest and division of the land of Canaan, that they were to divide the spoil of their enemies with their brethren after their return;⁸ and the half which was in succeeding times taken by the king was in all probability taken by him as head of the community, and representing the whole body. It is remarkable that the dispute among Muhammad's men about sharing the booty at Badr⁹ arose on the same occasion as did that among David's soldiers in relation to the spoils recovered

¹ Abulfed. in Vit. Moh., p. 118, &c. Vide Qurân, c. 9, and the notes there.

² Qurân, c. 59, v. 6, see the notes there.

³ Vide Abulfed., ubi sup., p. 91.

⁴ Vide Qurân, c. 59, v. 6.

⁵ Gemar. Babyl. ad tit. Sanhedr.,

c. 2. Vide Selden, De Jure Nat. et Gent. Sec. Heb., lib. 6, c. 16.

⁶ Numb. xxxi. 27.

⁷ Vide Maim. Halach. Melach.,

c. 4.

⁸ Josh. xxii. 8.

⁹ See Qurân, c. 8, and the notes there.

from the Amalekites,¹ those who had been in the action insisting that they who tarried by the stuff should have no part of the spoil; and that the same decision was given in both cases, which became a law for the future, to wit, that they should part alike.

God's fifth
of the spoils
—how to be
used.

The fifth part directed by the Qurán to be taken out of the spoil before it be divided among the captors is declared to belong to God, and to the apostle and his kindred, and the orphans, and the poor, and the traveller:² which words are variously understood. Al Sháfíi was of opinion that the whole ought to be divided into five parts; the first, which he called God's part, to go to the treasury, and be employed in building and repairing fortresses, bridges, and other public works, and in paying salaries to magistrates, civil officers, professors of learning, ministers of public worship, &c.; the second part to be distributed among the kindred of Muhammad, that is, the descendants of his grandfather Hásham, and of his great-uncle al Mutallib,³ as well the rich as the poor, the children as the adult, the women as the men, observing only to give a female but half the share of a male; the third part to go to the orphans; the fourth part to the poor, who have not wherewithal to maintain themselves the year round, and are not able to get their livelihood; and the fifth part to travellers who are in want on the road, notwithstanding they may be rich men in their own country.⁴ According to Málík Ibn Ans, the whole is at the disposition of the Imám or prince, who may distribute the same at his own discretion, where he sees most need.⁵ Abu'l Aliya went according to the letter of the Qurán, and declared his opinion to be that the whole should be divided into six parts, and that God's part should be applied to the service of the Kaabah; while others supposed God's part and the

¹ 1 Sam. xxx. 21–25.

² Qurán, c. 8.

³ Note, al Sháfíi himself was descended from this latter.

⁴ Al Baid. Vide Reland, De Jure Milit. Moham., p. 42, &c.

⁵ Idem.

apostle's to be one and the same.¹ Abu Hanífa thought that the share of Muhammad and his kindred sank at that prophet's death, since which the whole ought to be divided among the orphans, the poor, and the traveller.² Some insist that the kindred of Muhammad entitled to a share of the spoils are the posterity of Hásham only; but those who think the descendants of his brother al Mutallib have also a right to a distributive part, allege a tradition in their favour purporting that Muhammad himself divided the share belonging to his relations among both families; and when Othmán Ibn Assán and Jubair Ibn Matám (who were descended from Abd-as-shams and Naufal, the other brothers of Hásham) told him that though they disputed not the preference of the Háshamites, they could not help taking it ill to see such difference made between the family of al Mutallib and themselves, who were related to him in an equal degree, and yet had no part in the distribution, the prophet replied that the descendants of al Mutallib had forsaken him neither in the time of ignorance nor since the revelation of Islám, and joined his fingers together in token of the strict union between them and the Háshamites.³ Some exclude none of the tribe of Quraish from receiving a part in the division of the spoil, and make no distinction between the poor and the rich; though, according to the more reasonable opinion, such of them as are poor only are intended by the text of the Qurán, as is agreed in the case of the stranger; and others go so far as to assert that the whole fifth commanded to be reserved belongs to them only, and that the orphans, and the poor, and the traveller, are to be understood of such as are of that tribe.⁴ It must be observed that immovable possessions, as lands, &c., taken in war, are subject to the same laws as the movable, excepting only that the fifth part of the former is not

¹ Reland, *De Jure Milit. Moham.*, p. 42, &c.

² *Idem.*

³ *Idem.*

⁴ *Idem.*

actually divided, but the income and profits thereof, or of the price thereof, if sold, are applied to public and pious uses, and distributed once a year, and that the prince may either take the fifth part of the land itself, or the fifth part of the income and produce of the whole, as he shall make his election.

SECTION VII.

OF THE MONTHS COMMANDED BY THE QURÁN TO BE KEPT SACRED,
AND OF THE SETTING APART OF FRIDAY FOR THE ESPECIAL
SERVICE OF GOD.

It was a custom among the ancient Arabs to observe four months in the year as sacred, during which they held it unlawful to wage war, and took off the heads from their spears, ceasing from incursions and other hostilities. During these months whoever was in fear of his enemy lived in full security, so that if a man met the murderer of his father or his brother, he durst not offer him any violence.¹ "A great argument," says a learned writer, "of a humane disposition in that nation, who being, by reason of the independent governments of their several tribes, and for the preservation of their just rights, exposed to frequent quarrels with one another, had yet learned to cool their inflamed breasts with moderation, and restrain the rage of war by stated times of truce."²

The four
sacred
months.

This institution obtained among all the Arabian tribes, except only those of Tay and Khuzáah, and some of the descendants of al Hárith Ibn Kaab (who distinguished no time or place as sacred),³ and was so religiously observed, that there are but few instances in history (four, say some, six, say others⁴) of its having been transgressed; the wars which were carried on without regard thereto being there-

¹ Al Kazwini, apud Golium in notis ad Alfrag., p. 4, &c. Al Shahristáni, apud Poc. Spec., p. 311. Al Jawhari, al Firauzab.

² Golius, ubi supra, p. 5.

³ Al Shahristáni, ubi supra. See ante, p. 190.

⁴ Al Mughultaï.

fore termed impious. One of those instances was in the war between the tribes of Quraish and Qais Ailán, wherein Muhammad himself served under his uncles, being then fourteen,¹ or, as others say, twenty ² years old.

The months which the Arabs held sacred were al Muharram, Rajab, Dhu'l Qáada, and Dhu'l Hajja; the first, the seventh, the eleventh, and the twelfth in the year.³ Dhu'l Hajja being the month wherein they performed the pilgrimage to Makkah, not only that month, but also the preceding and the following, were for that reason kept inviolable, that every one might safely and without interruption pass and repass to and from the festival.⁴ Rajab is said to have been more strictly observed than any of the other three,⁵ probably because in that month the pagan Arabs used to fast;⁶ Ramadhán, which was afterwards set apart by Muhammad for that purpose, being in the time of ignorance dedicated to drinking in excess.⁷ By reason of the profound peace and security enjoyed in this month, one part of the provisions brought by the caravans of purveyors annually set out by the Quraish for the supply of Makkah,⁸ was distributed among the people; the other part being, for the like reason, distributed at the pilgrimage.⁹

The observance of the aforesaid months seemed so reasonable to Muhammad, that it met with his approba-

Their
observance
among
Muslims.

¹ Abulfeda, Vit. Moh., p. 11.

² Al Kudái, al Firauz. apud Poc. Spec., p. 174. Al Mughultai mentions both opinions.

³ Mr. Bayle (Dict. Hist. et Crit., art. la Mecque, Rem. F.) accuses Dr. Prideaux of an inconsistency for saying in one place (*Life of Mahomet*, p. 64) that these sacred months were the first, the seventh, the eleventh, and the twelfth, and intimating in another place (*ibid.*, p. 89) that three of them were contiguous. But this must be mere absence of mind in Mr. Bayle; for are not the eleventh, the twelfth, and the first months

contiguous? The two learned professors, Golius and Reland, have also made a small slip in speaking of these sacred months, which, they tell us are the two first and the two last in the year. Vide Golii, *Lex Arab.*, col. 601, and Reland, *De Jure Milit. Mohammedanor.* p. 5.

⁴ Vide Gol. in *Alfrag.*, p. 9.

⁵ Vide *ibid.*, p. 6.

⁶ Al Makizi, apud Poc., *ubi supra.*

⁷ Idem, and Auctor *Neshk al Ashár*, *ibid.*

⁸ See *Qurán*, c. 106.

⁹ Al Edrisi, apud Poc. Spec., p. 127.

tion; and the same is accordingly confirmed and enforced by several passages of the Qurán,¹ which forbid war to be waged during those months against such as acknowledge them to be sacred, but grant, at the same time, full permission to attack those who make no such distinction, in the sacred months as well as in the profane.²

One practice, however, of the pagan Arabs, in relation to these sacred months, Muhammad thought proper to reform; for some of them, weary of sitting quiet for three months together, and eager to make their accustomed incursions for plunder, used, by way of expedient, whenever it suited their inclinations or conveniency, to put off the observing of al Muharram to the following month, Safar,³ thereby avoiding to keep the former, which they supposed it lawful for them to profane, provided they sanctified another month in lieu of it, and gave public notice thereof at the preceding pilgrimage. This transferring the observation of a sacred month to a profane month is what is truly meant by the Arabic word *al Nasi*, and is absolutely condemned and declared to be an impious innovation in a passage of the Qurán⁴ which Dr. Prideaux,⁵ misled by Golius,⁶ imagines to relate to the prolonging of the year by adding an intercalary month thereto. It is true the Arabs, who imitated the Jews in their manner of computing by lunar years, had also learned their method of reducing them to solar years by intercalating a month sometimes in the third and sometimes in the second year,⁷ by which means they fixed the pilgrimage of Makkah (contrary to the original institution) to a certain season of the year, viz., to autumn, as most convenient for the pilgrims, by reason of the temperateness of the weather and the plenty of provisions;⁸ and it is also true that Mu-

Regulations
concerning
Muharram.

¹ Cap. 9; c. 2, v. 194; c. 5, v. 3; c. 5, v. 98, &c.

² Cap. 9; c. 2, v. 194.

³ See the notes to c. 9, ubi sup.

⁴ Cap. 9, ibid.

⁵ Life of Mahomet, p. 66.

⁶ In Alfrag., p. 12.

⁷ See Prid., Preface to the first vol. of his Connect., p. 6, &c.

⁸ Vide Gol., ubi supra.

hammad forbade such intercalation by a passage in the same chapter of the Qurán; but then it is not the passage above mentioned, which prohibits a different thing, but one a little before it, wherein the number of months in the year, according to the ordinance of GOD, is declared to be twelve;¹ whereas, if the intercalation of a month were allowed, every third or second year would consist of thirteen, contrary to GOD's appointment.

Friday in-
stituted as a
sacred day

The setting apart of one day in the week for the more peculiar attendance on GOD's worship, so strictly required by the Jewish and Christian religions, appeared to Muhammad to be so proper an institution, that he could not but imitate the professors thereof in that particular; though, for the sake of distinction, he might think himself obliged to order his followers to observe a different day from either. Several reasons are given why the sixth day of the week was pitched on for this purpose;² but Muhammad seems to have preferred that day chiefly because it was the day on which the people used to be assembled long before his time,³ though such assemblies were had, perhaps, rather on a civil than a religious account. However it be, the Muhammadan writers bestow very extraordinary encomiums on this day, calling it the prince of days, and the most excellent day on which the sun rises;⁴ pretending also that it will be the day whereon the last judgment will be solemnised;⁵ and they esteem it a peculiar honour to Islám that GOD has been pleased to appoint this day to be the feast-day of the Muslims, and granted them the advantage of having first observed it.⁶

Though the Muhammadans do not think themselves bound to keep their day of public worship so holy as the

¹ Qurán, c. 9. See also c. 2, v. 194.

² See c. 63, and the notes there.

³ Al Baidháwi.

⁴ Ibn al Athír et al Ghazáli, apud Poc. Spec., p. 317.

⁵ Vide ibid.

⁶ Al Ghazáli, ibid.

Jews and Christians are certainly obliged to keep theirs, there being a permission, as is generally supposed, in the Qurán,¹ allowing them to return to their employments or diversion after divine service is over; yet the more devout disapprove the applying of any part of that day to worldly affairs, and require it to be wholly dedicated to the business of the life to come.²

Since I have mentioned the Muhammadan weekly feast, I beg leave just to take notice of their two Bairáms,³ or principal annual feasts. The first of them is called in Arabic, Íd ul Fitr, *i.e.*, *The feast of breaking the fast*, and begins the first of Shawwál, immediately succeeding the fast of Ramadhán; and the other is called Íd ul Qurbán, or Íd ul Adhá, *i.e.*, *The feast of the sacrifice*, and begins on the tenth of Dhu'l Hajja, when the victims are slain at the pilgrimage of Makkah.⁴ The former of these feasts is properly the lesser Bairám, and the latter the greater Bairám;⁵ but the vulgar, and most authors who have written of the Muhammadan affairs,⁶ exchange the epithets, and call that which follows Ramadhán the greater Bairám, because it is observed in an extraordinary manner, and kept for three days together at Constantinople and in other parts of Turkey, and in Persia for five or six days, by the common people, at least, with great demonstrations of public joy, to make themselves amends, as it were, for the mortification of the preceding month;⁷ whereas, the feast of sacrifices, though it be also kept for three days, and the first of them be the most solemn day of the pilgrimage, the principal act of devotion among the Muhammadans is taken much less notice of by the generality

¹ Cap. 63, ubi supra.

² Al Ghazáli, ubi supra, p. 318.

³ The word Bairám is Turkish, and properly signifies a feast-day or holiday.

⁴ See c. 9, and ante, Sect. IV., p. 94.

⁵ Vide Reland, De Relig. Moh.,

p. 109, and D'Herbel, Bibl. Orient., art. Bairám.

⁶ Hyde, in notis ad Bobov., p. 16; Chardin, Voy. de Perse, tom. 2, p. 450; Ricaut's State of the Ottoman Empire, l. 2, c. 24, &c.

⁷ Vide Chardin and Ricaut, ubi supra.

of people, who are not struck therewith, because the ceremonies with which the same is observed are performed at Makkah, the only scene of that solemnity.*

* In India this feast is popularly known as the *Baqr Id*, or Feast of the Cow, and is celebrated with great ceremony by all Muslims. A goat or a sheep is sacrificed, and its flesh eaten by the family making the offering. For a clear account of the manner of celebrating the various feasts of the Muslims, the reader is referred to the excellent work of the Rev. Edward Sell, entitled *The Faith of Islâm*, chapter vi.

E. M. W.

SECTION VIII.

OF THE PRINCIPAL SECTS AMONG THE MUHAMMADANS, AND OF
THOSE WHO HAVE PRETENDED TO PROPHECY AMONG THE
ARABS IN OR SINCE THE TIME OF MUHAMMAD.

BEFORE we take a view of the sects of the Muhammadans, it will be necessary to say something of the two sciences by which all disputed questions among them are determined, viz., their Scholastic and Practical Divinity.

Their scholastic divinity is a mongrel science, consisting of logical, metaphysical, theological, and philosophical disquisitions, and built on principles and methods of reasoning very different from what are used by those who pass among the Muhammadans themselves for the sounder divines or more able philosophers,¹ and, therefore, in the partition of the sciences this is generally left out, as unworthy a place among them.² The learned Maimonides³ has laboured to expose the principles and systems of the scholastic divines, as frequently repugnant to the nature of the world and the order of the creation, and intolerably absurd.

Muhamma-
dan scholas-
ticism.

This art of handling religious disputes was not known in the infancy of Muhammadanism, but was brought in when sects sprang up, and articles of religion began to be called in question, and was at first made use of to defend the truth of those articles against innovators;⁴ and while

Its origin
and use.

¹ Poc. Spec., p. 196.

² Apud Ibn Sina, in Libello de Divisione Scientiar., et Nasiru'ddin al Túsi, in Præfat. ad Ethic.

³ More Nevoch., l. i, c. 71 and 73.

⁴ Al Ghazáli, apud Poc. Spec., ubi supra.

it keeps within those bounds is allowed to be a commendable study, being necessary for the defence of the faith; but when it proceeds farther, out of an itch of disputation, it is judged worthy of censure.

This is the opinion of al Gházali,¹ who observes a medium between those who have too high a value for this science, and those who absolutely reject it. Among the latter was al Sháffí, who declared that, in his judgment, if any man employed his time that way, he deserved to be fixed to a stake and carried about through all the Arab tribes, with the following proclamation to be made before him: "This is the reward of him who, leaving the Qurán and the Sunnat, applied himself to the study of scholastic divinity."² Al Ghazáli, on the other hand, thinks that as it was introduced by the invasion of heresies, it is necessary to be retained in order to quell them; but then in the person who studies this science he requires three things—diligence, acuteness of judgment, and probity of manners; and is by no means for suffering the same to be publicly explained.³ This science, therefore, among the Muhammadans, is the art of controversy, by which they discuss points of faith concerning the essence and attributes of God, and the conditions of all possible things, either in respect to their creation or final restoration, according to the rules of the religion of Islám.⁴

The other science is practical divinity or jurisprudence, and is the knowledge of the decisions of the law which regard practice, gathered from distinct proofs.

Al Ghazáli declares that he had much the same opinion of this science as of the former, its original being owing to the corruption of religion and morality; and therefore judged both sciences to be necessary, not in themselves, but by accident only, to curb the irregular imaginations and passions of mankind (as guards become necessary in

¹ Apud Poc. Spec., ubi supra.

² Ibid., p. 197.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibn al Kossá, apud eund., ibid., p. 198.

the highways by reason of robbers), the end of the first being the suppression of heresies, and of the other the decision of legal controversies, for the quiet and peaceable living of mankind in this world, and for the preserving the rule by which the magistrate may prevent one man from injuring another, by declaring what is lawful and what is unlawful, by determining the satisfaction to be given or punishment to be inflicted, and by regulating other outward actions; and not only so, but to decide of religion itself, and its conditions, so far as relates to the profession made by the mouth, it not being the business of the civilian to inquire into the heart:¹ the depravity of men's manners, however, has made this knowledge of the laws so very requisite, that it is usually called the Science, by way of excellence, nor is any man reckoned learned who has not applied himself thereto.²

The points of faith subject to the examination and discussion of the scholastic divines are reduced to four general heads, which they call the four bases, or great fundamental articles.³

Points of
faith subject
to scholastic
discussion.

The first basis relates to the attributes of GOD and his unity consistent therewith. Under this head are comprehended the questions concerning the eternal attributes, which are asserted by some and denied by others; and also the explication of the essential attributes and attributes of action, what is proper for GOD to do, and what may be affirmed of him, and what it is impossible for him to do. These things are controverted between the Ashárians, the Karámians, the Mujassamians or Corporalists, and the Mutazilites.⁴

The second basis regards predestination, and the justice thereof, which comprises the questions concerning GOD's purpose and decree, man's compulsion or necessity to act,

¹ Al Ghazáli, *Poc. Spec.*, pp. 198-204.

² Vide *ibid.*, p. 204.

³ Vide Abulfarag, *Hist. Dynast.*, p. 166.

⁴ Al Shahrístání, *apud Poc. Spec.*, ubi *supra*, p. 204, &c.

and his co-operation in producing actions by which he may gain to himself good or evil, and also those which concern God's willing good and evil, and what things are subject to his power, and what to his knowledge; some maintaining the affirmative, and others the negative. These points are disputed among the Qadriáns, the Najríans, the Jabríans, the Ashariáns, and the Karámians.¹

The third basis concerns the promises and threats, the precise acceptation of names used in divinity, and the divine decisions, and comprehends questions relating to faith, repentance, promises, threats, forbearance, infidelity, and error. The controversies under this head are on foot between the Murjians, the Wáidians, the Mutazilites, the Ashariáns, and the Karámians.²

The fourth basis regards history and reason, that is, the just weight they ought to have in matters belonging to faith and religion, and also the mission of the prophets and the office of the Imám or chief pontiff. Under this head are comprised all casuistical questions relating to the moral beauty or turpitude of actions; inquiring whether things are allowed or forbidden by reason of their own nature or by the positive law; and also questions concerning the preference of actions, the favour or grace of God, the innocence which ought to attend the prophetic office, and the conditions requisite in the office of Imám; some asserting it depends on right of succession, others on the consent of the faithful; and also the method of transferring it with the former, and of confirming it with the latter. These matters are the subjects of dispute between the Shíahs, the Mutazilites, the Karámians, and the Ashariáns.³

The sects of
Islám.

The different sects of Muhammadans may be distinguished into two sorts—those generally esteemed orthodox, and those which are esteemed heretical.

¹ Al Shahristáni, apud Poc., ubi sup., p. 205.

³ Idem, ibid.

² Idem, ibid., p. 206.

The former, by a general name, are called Sunnis or Traditionists, because they acknowledge the authority of the Sunnat, or collection of moral traditions of the sayings and actions of their prophet, which is a sort of supplement to the Qurán, directing the observance of several things omitted in that book, and in name as well as design answering to the Mishna of the Jews.¹

The Sunnis are subdivided into four chief sects, which, notwithstanding some differences as to legal conclusions in their interpretation of the Qurán and matters of practice, are generally acknowledged to be orthodox in radicals or matters of faith and capable of salvation, and have each of them their several stations or oratories in the temple of Makkah.² The founders of these sects are looked upon as the great masters of jurisprudence, and are said to have been men of great devotion and self-denial, well versed in the knowledge of those things which belong to the next life and to man's right conduct here, and directing all their knowledge to the glory of God. This is al Ghazáli's encomium of them, who thinks it derogatory to their honour that their names should be used by those who, neglecting to imitate the other virtues which make up their character, apply themselves only to attain their skill and follow their opinions in matters of legal practice.³

The first of the four orthodox sects is that of the Hanífites, so named from their founder, Abu Hanífa al Númán Ibn Thábit, who was born at Kufa in the 80th year of the Hijra, and died in the 150th, according to the more preferable opinion as to the time.⁴ He ended his life in prison at Baghdád, where he had been confined because he refused to be made qádi or judge,⁵ on which

Divisions of
the Sunnis:
the four
orthodox
sects.

The Haní-
fites.

¹ Vide Poc. Spec., p. 298. Frid., Life of Mahomet, p. 51, &c. Re-land, De Rel. Moh., p. 68, &c. Mil-lum, De Mohammedismo ante Moh., pp. 368, 369.

² See ante, p. 205.

³ Vide Poc. Spec., p. 293.

⁴ Ibn Khallikán.

⁵ This was the true cause of his imprisonment and death, and not his refusing to subscribe to the opinion of absolute predestination,

account he was very hardly dealt with by his superiors, yet could not be prevailed on, either by threats or ill-treatment, to undertake the charge, "choosing rather to be punished by them than by God," says al Ghazáli, who adds, that when he excused himself from accepting the office by alleging that he was unfit for it, being asked the reason, he replied, "If I speak the truth, I am unfit; but if I tell a lie, a liar is not fit to be a judge." It is said that he read the Qurán in the prison where he died no less than 7000 times.¹

The Hanífites are called by an Arabian writer² the followers of reason, and those of the three other sects, followers of tradition, the former being principally guided by their own judgment in their decisions, and the latter adhering more tenaciously to the traditions of Muhammad.

The sect of Abu Hanífa heretofore obtained chiefly in Irák,³ but now generally prevails among the Turks and Tartars: his doctrine was brought into great credit by Abu Yúsuf, chief-justice under the Khalífahs al Hádi and Harún al Rashíd.⁴

The second orthodox sect is that of Málík Ibn Ans, who was born at Madína in the year of the Hijra 90, 93, 94,⁵ or 95,⁶ and died there in 177,⁷ 178,⁸ or 179⁹ (for so much do authors differ). This doctor is said to have paid great regard to the traditions of Muhammad.¹⁰ In his last illness, a friend going to visit him, found him in tears, and asking him the reason of it, he answered, "How should I not weep? and who has more reason to weep

Málík Ibn
Ans and his
sect.

as D'Herbelot writes (Bibl. Orient., p. 21), misled by the dubious acceptance of the word "qadá," which signifies not only God's decree in particular, but also the giving sentence as a judge in general; nor could Abu Hanífa have been reckoned orthodox had he denied one of the principal articles of faith.

¹ Poc. Spec., pp. 297, 298.

² Al Sharistání, *ibid.*

³ *Idem.*

⁴ Vide D'Herbel., Bibl. Orient., pp. 21 and 22.

⁵ Albufeda.

⁶ Ibn Khallikán.

⁷ *Idem.*

⁸ Abulfeda.

⁹ Elmacinus, p. 114.

¹⁰ Ibn Khallikán. Vide Poc. Spec., p. 294.

than I? Would to GOD that for every question decided by me according to my own opinion I had received so many stripes! then would my accounts be easier. Would to GOD I had never given any decision of my own!"¹ Al Ghazáli thinks it a sufficient proof of Málík's directing his knowledge to the glory of GOD, that being once asked his opinion as to forty-eight questions, his answer to thirty-two of them was, that he did not know; it being no easy matter for one who has any other view than GOD's glory to make so frank a confession of his ignorance.²

The doctrine of Málík is chiefly followed in Barbary and other parts of Africa.

The author of the third orthodox sect was Muhammad Muhammad Ibn Idris al Sháfi. Ibn Idris al Sháfi, born either at Gaza or Ascalon, in Palestine, in the year of the Hijra 150, the same day (as some will have it) that Abu Hanífa died, and was carried to Makkah at two years of age, and there educated.³ He died in 204,⁴ in Egypt, whither he went about five years before.⁵ This doctor is celebrated for his excellency in all parts of learning, and was much esteemed by Ibn Hanbal, his contemporary, who used to say that "he was as the sun to the world, and as health to the body." Ibn Hanbal, however, had so ill an opinion of al Sháfi at first, that he forbade his scholars to go near him; but some time after one of them, meeting his master trudging on foot after al Sháfi, who rode on a mule, asked him how it came about that he forbade them to follow him, and did it himself; to which Ibn Hanbal replied, "Hold thy peace; if thou but attend his mule thou wilt profit thereby."⁶

Al Sháfi is said to have been the first who discoursed of jurisprudence, and reduced that science into a method;⁷ one wittily saying, that the relators of the traditions of

¹ Ibn Khallikán, *Poc. Spec.*, apud eund. *ibid.*

² Al Ghazáli, *ibid.*

³ Ibn Khallikán.

⁴ Yet Abulfeda says he lived fifty-eight years.

⁵ Ibn Khallikán.

⁶ *Idem.*

⁷ *Idem.*

Muhammad were asleep till al Shaffi came and waked them.¹ He was a great enemy to the scholastic divines, as has been already observed.² Al Ghazáli tells us that al Sháfii used to divide the night into three parts, one for study, another for prayer, and the third for sleep. It is also related of him that he never so much as once swore by God, either to confirm a truth or to affirm a falsehood; and that being once asked his opinion, he remained silent for some time, and when the reason of his silence was demanded, he answered, "I am considering first whether it be better to speak or to hold my tongue." The following saying is also recorded of him, viz., "Whoever pretends to love the world and its Creator at the same time is a liar."³ The followers of this doctor are from him called Sháfíites, and were formerly spread into Máwara'nahr and other parts eastward, but are now chiefly of Arabia and Persia.

Ahmad Ibn
Hanbal.

Ahmad Ibn Hanbal, the founder of the fourth sect, was born in the year of the Hijra 164; but as to the place of his birth there are two traditions: some say he was born at Mirú in Khurasán, of which city his parents were, and that his mother brought him from thence to Baghdád at her breast; while others assure us that she was with child of him when she came to Baghdád, and that he was born there.⁴ Ibn Hanbal in process of time attained a great reputation on account of his virtue and knowledge; being so well versed in the traditions of Muhammad in particular, that it is said he could repeat no less than a million of them.⁵ He was very intimate with al Sháfii, from whom he received most of his traditionary knowledge, being his constant attendant till his departure for Egypt.⁶ Refusing to acknowledge the Qurán to be created,⁷ he was, by order of the Khalifah al Mutasim, severely scourged and imprisoned.⁸ Ibn Hanbal died at Baghdád, in the

¹ Al Záfaráni, apud Poc. Spec., p. 296.

² See ante, p. 118.

³ Vide Poc. Spec., pp. 295-297.

⁴ Ibn Khallikán.

⁵ Ibn Khallikán.

⁶ Idem.

⁷ See ante, Sect. III., p. 111, &c.

⁸ Ibn Khallikán, Abulfarag, Hist. Dyn., p. 252, &c.

year 241, and was followed to his grave by eight hundred thousand men and sixty thousand women. It is related, as something very extraordinary, if not miraculous, that on the day of his death no less than twenty thousand Christians, Jews, and Magians embraced the Muhammadan faith.¹ This sect increased so fast and became so powerful and bold, that in the year 323, in the Khalífat of al Rádi, they raised a great commotion in Baghdád, entering people's houses, and spilling their wine, if they found any, and beating the singing-women they met with, and breaking their instruments; and a severe edict was published against them before they could be reduced to their duty;² but the Hanbalites at present are not very numerous, few of them being to be met with out of the limits of Arabia.

The heretical sects among the Muhammadans are those which hold heterodox opinions in fundamentals or matters of faith.

Heretical
sects of
Muhamma-
dans.

The first controversies relating to fundamentals began when most of the companions of Muhammad were dead;³ for in their days was no dispute, unless about things of small moment, if we except only the dissensions concerning the Imáms, or rightful successors of their prophet, which were stirred up and fomented by interest and ambition; the Arabs' continual employment in the wars during that time allowing them little or no leisure to enter into nice inquiries and subtle distinctions. But no sooner was the ardour of conquest a little abated than they began to examine the Qurán more nearly; whereupon differences in opinion became unavoidable, and at length so greatly multiplied, that the number of their sects, according to the common opinion, are seventy-three. For the Muhammadans seem ambitious that their religion should exceed others even in this respect, saying, that the Magians are

¹ Ibn Khallikán.

² Abulfar., ubi supra, p. 301, p. 194; Auctor Sharh al Mawákif, apud eund., p. 210.

³ Al Shahristáni, apud Poc Spec.,

divided into seventy sects, the Jews into seventy-one, the Christians into seventy-two, and the Muslims into seventy-three, as Muhammad had foretold; ¹ of which sects they reckon one to be always orthodox and entitled to salvation. ²

The Khárijites.

The first heresy was that of the Khárijites, who revolted from Ali in the thirty-seventh year of the Hijra; and not long after, Mábad al Johni, Ghailán of Damascus, and Jonas al Aswári broached heterodox opinions concerning predestination and the ascribing of good and evil unto GOD, whose opinions were followed by Wásil Ibn Atá. ³ This latter was the scholar of Hasan of Basra, in whose school a question being proposed, whether he who had committed a grievous sin was to be deemed an infidel or not, the Khárijites (who used to come and dispute there) maintaining the affirmative, and the orthodox the negative, Wásil, without waiting his master's decision, withdrew abruptly, and began to publish among his fellow-scholars a new opinion of his own, to wit, that such a sinner was in a middle state; and he was thereupon expelled the school; he and his followers being thenceforth called Mutazilites, or Separatists. ⁴

The several sects which have arisen since this time are variously compounded and decomposed of the opinions of four chief sects, the Mutazilites, the Sifátians, the Khárijites, and the Shiites. ⁵

The Mutazilites.

I. The Mutazilites were the followers of the before-mentioned Wásil Ibn Atá. As to their chief and general tenets: 1. They entirely rejected all eternal attributes of

¹ Vide Poc. Spec., ubi sup.

² Al Shahrístání, apud eund., p. 211.

³ Idem, and Auctor Sharh al Mawákif, ubi sup.

⁴ Idem, ibid., pp. 211, 212, and Ibn Khallikán in Vita Wásili.

⁵ Al Shahrístání, who also reduces them to four chief sects, puts the Qadarians in the place of the Mutazilites. Abulfaragius (Hist. Dyn.,

p. 166) reckons six principal sects, adding the Jabarians and the Murjians; and the author of "Sharh al Mawákif" eight, viz., the Mutazilites, the Shiites, the Khárijites, the Murjians, the Najarians, the Jabarians, the Mushábbihites, and the sect which he calls al Nájia, because that alone will be saved, being according to him the sect of the Asharians. Vide Poc. Spec., p. 209.

GOD, to avoid the distinction of persons made by the Christians, saying that eternity is the proper or formal attribute of his essence; that GOD knows by his essence, and not by his knowledge;¹ and the same they affirmed of his other attributes² (though all the Mutazilites do not understand these words in one sense); and hence this sect were also named Muattalites, from their divesting GOD of his attributes;³ and they went so far as to say that to affirm these attributes is the same thing as to make more eternals than one, and that the unity of GOD is inconsistent with such an opinion;⁴ and this was the true doctrine of Wásil their master, who declared that whoever asserted an eternal attribute asserted there were two GODS.⁵ This point of speculation concerning the divine attributes was not ripe at first, but was at length brought to maturity by Wásil's followers after they had read the books of the philosophers.⁶ 2. They believed the Word of GOD to have been created *in subjecto* (as the schoolmen term it), and to consist of letters and sound, copies thereof being written in books to express or imitate the original. They also went farther, and affirmed that whatever is created *in subjecto* is also an accident and liable to perish.⁷ 3. They denied absolute predestination, holding that GOD was not the author of evil, but of good only, and that man was a free agent;⁸ which being properly the opinion of the Qadarians, we defer what may be further said thereof till we come to speak of that sect. On account of this tenet and the first, the Mutazilites look on themselves as the defenders of

¹ Maimonides teaches the same, (in Proleg. ad Pirke Aboth., § 8) not as the doctrine of the Mutazilites, but his own. Vide More, Nev. l. I., c. 57.

² Al Shahrastáni, apud. Poc. Spec., p. 214; Abulfarag, p. 167.

³ Vide Poc. Spec., p. 224.

⁴ Sharh al Mawákif, and al Shahríst., apud Poc., p. 216. Maimonides

(in Proleg. ad Pirke Aboth., § 8) asserts the same thing.

⁵ Vide Poc. Spec., ibid.

⁶ Al Shahríst., ibid., p. 215.

⁷ Abulfarag and al Shahríst., ubi sup., p. 217. See supra, Sect. III., p. 112.

⁸ Vide Poc. Spec., p. 240.

the unity and justice of God.¹ 4. They held that if a professor of the true religion be guilty of a grievous sin and die without repentance, he will be eternally damned, though his punishment will be lighter than that of the infidels.² 5. They denied all vision of God in paradise by the corporeal eye, and rejected all comparisons or similitudes applied to God.³

Various
divisions of
this sect.

This sect are said to have been the first inventors of scholastic divinity,⁴ and are subdivided into several inferior sects, amounting, as some reckon, to twenty, which mutually brand one another with infidelity.⁵ The most remarkable of them are:—

The Hudai-
lians.

1. The Hudailians, or followers of Hamadán Abu Hudail, a Mutazilite doctor, who differed something from the common form of expression used by this sect, saying that God knew by his knowledge, but that his knowledge was his essence; and so of the other attributes: which opinion he took from the philosophers, who affirm the essence of God to be simple and without multiplicity, and that his attributes are not posterior or accessory to his essence, or subsisting therein, but are his essence itself; and this the more orthodox take to be next kin to making distinctions in the deity, which is the thing they so much abhor in the Christians.⁶ As to the Qurán's being created, he made some distinction, holding the Word of God to be partly not *in subjecto* (and therefore uncreated); as when he spake the word *Kún*, i.e., *fiat*, at the creation, and partly *in subjecto*, as the precepts, prohibitions, &c.⁷ Marracci⁸ mentions an opinion of Abu Hudail's concerning predestination, from an Arab writer,⁹ which being by him expressed in a manner not very intelligible, I choose to omit.

¹ Al Shahrist. and Sharh al Mawákif, apud Poc., ubi sup., p. 214.

² Marracc., Prodr. ad ref. Alcor., part 3, p. 74.

³ Idem, ibid.

⁴ Vide Poc. Spec., p. 213, and D'Herbel, art. Mutazilah.

⁵ Auctor al Mawákif, apud Poc., ibid.

⁶ Al Shahristáni, apud Poc., pp. 215, 216, 217.

⁷ Idem, apud eund., p. 217, &c.

⁸ In Prodr., part 3, p. 74.

⁹ Al Shahristáni.

2. The Jubbáians, or followers of Abu Ali Muhammad Ibn Abd al Waháb, surnamed al Jubbái, whose meaning when he made use of the common expression of the Mutazilites, that "GOD knows by his essence," &c., was that GOD's being knowing is not an attribute the same with knowledge, nor such a state as rendered his being knowing necessary.¹ He held GOD's Word to be created *in subjecto*, as in the preserved table, for example, the memory of Gabriel, Muhammad, &c.² This sect, if Marracci has given the true sense of his author, denied that GOD could be seen in paradise without the assistance of corporeal eyes, and held that man produced his acts by a power superadded to health of body and soundness of limbs; that he who was guilty of a mortal sin was neither a believer nor an infidel, but a transgressor (which was the original opinion of Wásil), and if he died in his sins, would be doomed to hell for eternity; and that GOD conceals nothing of whatever he knows from his servants.³

3. The Háshamians, who were so named from their master, Abu Hásham Abd al Salám, the son of Abu Ali al Jubbái, and whose tenets nearly agreed with those of the preceding sect.⁴ Abu Hásham took the Mutazilite form of expression that "GOD knows by his essence" in a different sense from others, supposing it to mean that GOD hath or is endued with a disposition which is a known property or quality posterior or accessory to his existence.⁵ His followers were so much afraid of making GOD the author of evil that they would not allow him to be said to create an infidel, because, according to their way of arguing, an infidel is a compound of infidelity and man, and GOD is not the creator of infidelity.⁶ Abu Hásham

¹ Al Shahrístání, apud Poc. Spec., p. 215.

² Idem, and Auctor al Mawákif, ibid., p. 218.

³ Marracci, ubi sup., p. 75, ex a Shahrístání.

⁴ Idem, ibid.

⁵ Al Shahríst., apud Poc., p. 215.

⁶ Idem, ibid., p. 242.

and his father, Abu Ali al Jubbái, were both celebrated for their skill in scholastic divinity.¹

The Nudhámians.

4. The Nudhámians, or followers of Ibrahim al Nudhám, who having read books of philosophy, set up a new sect, and imagining he could not sufficiently remove GOD from being the author of evil without divesting him of his power in respect thereto, taught that no power ought to be ascribed to GOD concerning evil and rebellious actions; but this he affirmed against the opinion of his own disciples, who allowed that GOD could do evil, but did not, because of its turpitude.² Of his opinion as to the Qurán's being created we have spoken elsewhere.³

The Háyatians.

5. The Háyatians, so named from Ahmad Ibn Háyat, who had been of the sect of the Nudhámians, but broached some new notions on reading the philosophers. His peculiar opinions were: 1. That Christ was the eternal Word incarnate, and took a true and real body, and will judge all creatures in the life to come:⁴ he also farther asserted that there are two GODS or Creators—the one eternal, viz., the most high GOD, and the other not eternal, viz., Christ⁵—which opinion, though Dr. Pocock urges the same as an argument that he did not rightly understand the Christian mysteries,⁶ is not much different from that of the Arians and Socinians. 2. That there is a successive transmigration of the soul from one body into another, and that the last body will enjoy the reward or suffer the punishment due to each soul;⁷ and 3. That GOD will be seen at the resurrection, not with the bodily eyes, but those of the understanding.⁸

The Jahidhians.

6. The Jahidhians, or followers of Amru Ibn Bahr, surnamed al Jahidh, a great doctor of the Mutazilites,

¹ Ibn Khallikán, in Vitis Eorem.

² Al Shahríst., ubi sup., pp. 241, 242. Vide Marracc., Prod., part 3, p. 74.

³ See supra, Sect. III., p. 113.

⁴ Al Shahríst., ubi sup., p. 218; Abulfarag, p. 167.

⁵ Al Shahríst., al Mawákif, et Ibn Kussá, apud Poc. Spec., ubi sup., p. 219.

⁶ Vide Poc. Spec., ibid.

⁷ Marracc. et al Shahríst., ubi sup.

⁸ Marracc., ibid., p. 75.

and very much admired for the elegance of his com-
posures,¹ who differed from his brethren in that he
imagined that the damned would not be eternally tor-
mented in hell, but would be changed into the nature of
fire, and that the fire would of itself attract them, without
any necessity of their going into it.² He also taught that
if a man believed God to be his Lord and Muhammad the
apostle of God, he became one of the faithful, and was
obliged to nothing farther.³ His peculiar opinion as to
the Qurán has been taken notice of before.⁴

7. The Muzdárians, who embraced the opinions of Isa The Muz-
dárians. Ibn Subaih al Muzdár, and those very absurd ones; for,
besides his notions relating to the Qurán,⁵ he went so
directly counter to the opinion of those who abridged
God of the power to do evil, that he affirmed it possible
for God to be a liar and unjust.⁶ He also pronounced
him to be an infidel who thrust himself into the supreme
government;⁷ nay, he went so far as to assert men to be
infidels while they said "There is no God but God," and
even condemned all the rest of mankind as guilty of
infidelity; upon which Ibrahim Ibn al Sandi asked him
whether paradise, whose breadth equals that of heaven
and earth, was created only for him and two or three
more who thought as he did? to which it is said he could
return no answer.⁸

8. The Basharians, who maintained the tenets of Bashar The Bash-
arians. Ibn Mutamir, the master of al Muzdár,⁹ and a principal
man among the Mutazilites. He differed in some things
from the general opinion of that sect, carrying man's free
agency to a great excess, making it even independent;
and yet he thought God might doom an infant to eternal
punishment, but granted he would be unjust in so doing.

¹ Vide D'Herbel, Bibl. Orient.,
art. Giahedh.

² Al Shahrist., ubi sup., p. 260.

³ Marracc., ubi sup.

⁴ Sect. III., p. 113.

⁵ Vide ibid., and p. 112.

⁶ Al Shahrist., apud Poc., p. 241.

⁷ Marracc., ubi sup., p. 75.

⁸ Al Shahrist., ubi sup., p. 220.

⁹ Poc. Spec., p. 221.

He taught that GOD is not always obliged to do that which is best, for if he pleased he could make all men true believers. These sectaries also held that if a man repent of a mortal sin and afterwards return to it, he will be liable to suffer the punishment due to the former transgression.¹

The Thamámians.

9. The Thamámians, who follow Thamáma Ibn Bashar, a chief Mutazilite. Their peculiar opinions were: 1. That sinners should remain in hell for ever. 2. That free actions have no producing author. 3. That at the resurrection all infidels, idolaters, atheists, Jews, Christians, Magians, and heretics shall be reduced to dust.²

The Qadarians.

10. The Qadarians, which is really a more ancient name than that of Mutazilites, Mábad al Johni and his adherents being so called, who disputed the doctrine of predestination before Wásil quitted his master;³ for which reason some use the denomination of Qadarians as more extensive than the other, and comprehend all the Mutazilites under it.⁴ This sect deny absolute predestination, saying that evil and injustice ought not to be attributed to GOD, but to man, who is a free agent, and may therefore be rewarded or punished for his actions, which GOD has granted him power either to do or to let alone.⁵ And hence it is said they are called Qadarians because they deny al Qadr, or GOD's absolute decree; though others, thinking it not so proper to affix a name to a sect from a doctrine which they combat, will have it come from *Qadr* or *Qudrat*, i.e., power, because they assert man's power to act freely.⁶ Those, however, who give the name of Qadarians to the Mutazilites are their enemies, for they disclaim it, and give it to their antagonists, the Jabarians, who likewise refuse it as an infamous appellation,⁷ because Muhammad is said to have declared

¹ Marracc, ubi sup.

² Idem, ibid.

³ Al Shahríst.

⁴ Al Firauzáb. Vide Poc. Spec., pp. 231, 232, and 214.

⁵ Al Shahríst. Vide Poc. Spec., pp. 235 and 240, &c.

⁶ Vide Poc. Spec., ibid., p. 238.

⁷ Al Mutarrízi, al Shahríst. Vide ibid., p. 232.

the Qadarians to be the Magians of his followers.¹ But what the opinion of these Qadarians in Muhammad's time was is very uncertain. The Mutazilites say the name belongs to those who assert predestination and make GOD the author of good and evil,² viz., the Jabarians; but all the other Muhammadan sects agree to fix it on the Mutazilites, who, they say, are like the Magians in establishing two principles, Light, or GOD, the author of good; and Darkness, or the devil, the author of evil; but this cannot absolutely be said of the Mutazilites, for they (at least the generality of them) ascribe men's good deeds to GOD, but their evil deeds to themselves; meaning thereby that man has a free liberty and power to do either good or evil, and is master of his actions; and for this reason it is that the other Muhammadans call them Magians, because they assert another author of actions besides GOD.³ And indeed it is a difficult matter to say what Muhammad's own opinion was in this matter; for on the one side the Qurán itself is pretty plain for absolute predestination, and many sayings of Muhammad are recorded to that purpose,⁴ and one in particular, wherein he introduces Adam and Moses disputing before GOD in this manner: "Thou," says Moses, "art Adam, whom GOD created, and animated with the breath of life, and caused to be worshipped by the angels, and placed in paradise, from whence mankind have been expelled for thy fault;" whereto Adam answered, "Thou art Moses, whom GOD chose for his apostle, and intrusted with his Word by giving thee the tables of the law, and whom he vouchsafed to admit to discourse with himself: how many years dost thou find the law was written before I was created?" Says Moses, "Forty." "And dost thou not find," replied Adam, "these words therein, 'And Adam rebelled against his Lord and transgressed'?" which

¹ Al Mutarrizi, al Shahrist., &c.,
ibid.

² Idem, ibid.

³ Vide Poc., ibid., p. 233, &c.

⁴ Vide ibid., p. 237.

Moses confessing, "Dost thou therefore blame me," continued he, "for doing that which GOD wrote of me that I should do forty years before I was created? nay, for what was decreed concerning me fifty thousand years before the creation of heaven and earth?" In the conclusion of which dispute Muhammad declared that Adam had the better of Moses.¹ On the other side, it is urged in the behalf of the Mutazilites, that Muhammad declaring that the Qadarians and Murjians had been cursed by the tongues of seventy prophets, and being asked who the Qadarians were, answered, "Those who assert that GOD predestinated them to be guilty of rebellion, and yet punishes them for it." Al Hasan is also said to have declared that GOD sent Muhammad to the Arabs while they were Qadarians or Jabarians, and laid their sins upon GOD: and to confirm the matter, this sentence of the Qurán is quoted:² "When they commit a filthy action, they say, We found our fathers practising the same, and GOD hath commanded us so to do: Say, Verily GOD commandeth not filthy actions."³

The Sifátians.

II. The Sifátians held the opposite opinion to the Mutazilites in respect to the eternal attributes of GOD, which they affirmed, making no distinction between the essential attributes and those of operation; and hence they were named Sifátians, or Attributists. Their doctrine was that of the first Muhammadans, who were not yet acquainted with these nice distinctions: but this sect afterwards introduced another species of declarative attributes, or such as were necessarily used in historical narration, as hands, face, eyes, &c., which they did not offer to explain, but contented themselves with saying they were in the law, and that they called them declarative attributes.⁴ However, at length, by giving various explanations and interpretations of these attributes, they divided

¹ Ibn al Athír, al Bokhári, apud Poc. Spec., p. 236.

² Cap. 7, v. 29.

³ Al Mutarrizi, apud eund., pp. 237, 238.

⁴ Al Shahrist., Poc. Spec., p. 223.

into many different opinions: some, by taking the words in the literal sense, fell into the notion of a likeness or similitude between GOD and created beings; to which it is said the Karaites among the Jews, who are for the literal interpretation of Moses's law, had shown them the way:¹ others explained them in another manner, saying that no creature was like GOD, but that they neither understood nor thought it necessary to explain the precise signification of the words, which seem to affirm the same of both, it being sufficient to believe that GOD hath no companion or similitude. Of this opinion was Málik Ibn Ans, who declared as to the expression of GOD's sitting on his throne, in particular, that though the meaning is known, yet the manner is unknown; and that it is necessary to believe it, but heresy to make any questions about it.²

The sects of the Sifátians are:—

I. The Ashariáns, the followers of Abu'l Hasan al Ashari, who was first a Mutazilite, and the scholar of Abu Ali al Jobbái, but disagreeing from his master in opinion as to GOD's being bound (as the Mutazilites assert) to do always that which is best or most expedient, left him and set up a new sect of himself. The occasion of this difference was the putting a case concerning three brothers, the first of whom lived in obedience to GOD, the second in rebellion against him, and the third died an infant. Al Jobbái being asked what he thought would become of them, answered, that the first would be rewarded in paradise, the second punished in hell, and the third neither rewarded nor punished. "But what," objected al Ashari, "if the third say, O LORD, if thou hadst given me longer life, that I might have entered paradise with my believing brother, it would have been better for me?" To which al Jobbái replied, "That GOD would answer, I knew that if thou hadst lived longer thou wouldst

¹ Vide Poc. Spec., *ibid.*, p. 224.

² Vide eund. *ibid.*

have been a wicked person, and therefore cast into hell." "Then," retorted al Asharí, "the second will say, O LORD, why didst thou not take me away while I was an infant, as thou didst my brother, that I might not have deserved to be punished for my sins nor to be cast into hell?" To which al Jobbái could return no other answer than that God prolonged his life to give him an opportunity of obtaining the highest degree of perfection, which was best for him; but al Asharí demanding further why he did not for the same reason grant the other a longer life, to whom it would have been equally advantageous, al Jobbái was so put to it, that he asked whether the devil possessed him. "No," says al Asharí, "but the master's ass will not pass the bridge;"¹ i.e., he is posed.

Opinions
regarding
the attri-
butes of
God.

The opinions of the Ashariáns were: 1. That they allowed the attributes of GOD to be distinct from his essence, yet so as to forbid any comparisom to be made between God and his creatures.² This was also the opinion of Ahmad Ibn Hanbal, and David al Ispaháni, and others, who herein followed Málik Ibn Ans, and were so cautious of any assimilation of GOD to created beings, that they declared whoever moved his hand while he read these words, "I have created with my hand," or stretched forth his finger in repeating this saying of Muhammad, "The heart of the believer is between two fingers of the Merciful," ought to have his hand and finger cut off;³ and the reasons they gave for not explaining any such words were, that it is forbidden in the Qurán, and that such explications were necessarily founded on conjecture and opinion, from which no man ought to speak of the attributes of GOD, because the words of the Qurán might by that means come to be understood differently from the author's meaning: nay, some have been so superstitiously scrupulous in this matter as not to allow the words hand,

¹ Auctor al Mawákif, et al Safadi, apud Poc., ubi sup., p. 230, &c. Ibn Khallikán in Vita al Jobbái, .

² Al Shahríst., apud Poc. Spec., p. 230.

³ Idem, apud eund., p. 228, &c.

face, and the like, when they occur in the Qurán, to be rendered into Persian or any other language, but require them to be read in the very original words, and this they call the safe way.¹ 2. As to predestination, they held that GOD hath one eternal will, which is applied to whatsoever he willeth, both of his own actions and those of men, so far as they are created by him, but not as they are acquired or gained by them; that he willeth both their good and their evil, their profit and their hurt, and as he willeth and knoweth, he willeth concerning men that which he knoweth, and hath commanded the pen to write the same in the Preserved Table; and this is his decree, and eternal immutable counsel and purpose.² They also went so far as to say that it may be agreeable to the way of GOD that man should be commanded what he is not able to perform.³ But while they allow man some power, they seem to restrain it to such a power as cannot produce anything new; only GOD, say they, so orders his providence that he creates, after or under, and together with every created or new power, an action which is ready whenever a man wills it and sets about it; and this action is called *Casb*, *i.e.*, Acquisition, being in respect to its creation, from GOD, but in respect to its being produced, employed, and acquired, from man.⁴ And this being generally esteemed the orthodox opinion, it may not be improper farther to explain the same in the words of some other writers. The elective actions of men, says one, fall under the power of GOD alone; nor is their own power effectual thereto, but GOD causeth to exist in man power and choice; and if there be no impediment, he causeth his action to exist also, subject to his power, and joined with that and his choice; which action, as created, is to be ascribed to GOD, but as produced, employed, or acquired, to man. So that by the acquisition of an action is properly meant a man's

¹ Vide *Poc. Spec.*, *ibid.*³ *Idem*, *ibid.*, p. 246.² *Al Shahríst.*, *apud eund.*, p. 245, &c.⁴ *Al Shahríst.*, *apud Poc. Spec.*, p. 245, &c.

joining or connecting the same with his power and will, yet allowing herein no impression or influence on the existence thereof, save only that it is subject to his power.¹ Others, however, who are also on the side of al Asharí, and reputed orthodox, explain the matter in a different manner, and grant the impression or influence of the created power of man on his action, and that this power is what is called Acquisition.² But the point will be still clearer if we hear a third author, who rehearses the various opinions, or explications of the opinion of this sect, in the following words, viz.:—Abu'l Hasan al Asharí asserts all the actions of men to be subject to the power of God, being created by him, and that the power of man hath no influence at all on that which he is empowered to do, but that both the power and what is subject thereto fall under the power of God. Al Qádhi Abu Baqr says that the essence or substance of the action is the effect of the power of God, but its being either an action of obedience, as prayer, or an action of disobedience, as fornication, are qualities of the action, which proceed from the power of man. Abdal Málik, known by the title of Imám al Haramain, Abu'l Husain of Basra, and other learned men, held that the actions of men are effected by the power which God hath created in man, and that God causeth to exist in man both power and will, and that this power and will do necessarily produce that which man is empowered to do; and Abu Isháq al Isfarayain taught that that which maketh impression or hath influence on an action is a compound of the power of God and the power of man.³ The same author observes that their ancestors, perceiving a manifest difference between those things which are the effects of the election of man and those things which are the necessary effects of inanimate agents, destitute both of knowledge and choice, and being at the same time

¹ Auctor Sharh al Mawákif, apud eund., p. 247.

² Al Shahríst., *ibid.*, p. 248.

³ Auctor Sharh al Tawáliya, apud eund. *ibid.*, p. 248, &c.

pressed by the arguments which prove that GOD is the Creator of all things, and consequently of those things which are done by men, to conciliate the matter, chose the middle way, asserting actions to proceed from the power of GOD and the acquisition of man; GOD's way of dealing with his servants being, that when man intendeth obedience, GOD createth in him an action of obedience; and when he intendeth disobedience, he createth in him an action of disobedience; so that man seemeth to be the effective producer of his action, though he really be not.¹ But this, proceeds the same writer, is again pressed with its difficulties, because the very intention of the mind is the work of GOD, so that no man hath any share in the production of his own actions; for which reason the ancients disapproved of too nice an inquiry into this point, the end of the dispute concerning the same being, for the most part, either the taking away of all precepts, positive as well as negative, or else the associating of a companion with GOD, by introducing some other independent agent besides him. Those, therefore, who would speak more accurately, use this form: There is neither compulsion nor free liberty, but the way lies between the two; the power and will in man being both created by GOD, though the merit or guilt be imputed unto man. Yet, after all, it is judged the safest way to follow the steps of the primitive Muslims, and, avoiding subtle disputations and too curious inquiries, to leave the knowledge of this matter wholly unto GOD.² 3. As to mortal sin, the

¹ Auctor Sharh al Tawāliya, *ibid.*, pp. 249, 250.

² *Idem*, *ibid.*, pp. 250, 251. I trust the reader will not be offended if, as a further illustration of what has been said on this subject (in producing of which I have purposely kept to the original Muhammadan expressions) I transcribe a passage or two from a postscript subjoined to the epistle I have quoted above (§ 4, p. 85), in which the point of

free will is treated *ex professo*. Therein the Moorish author, having mentioned the two opposite opinions of the Qadarians, who allow free will, and the Jabarians, who make man a necessary agent (the former of which opinions, he says, seems to approach nearest to that of the greater part of Christians and of the Jews), declares the true opinion to be that of the Sunnis, who assert that man hath power and will

Their views
of sin.

Ashariâns taught, that if a believer guilty of such sin die without repentance, his sentence is to be left with God, whether he pardon him out of mercy, or whether the prophet intercede for him (according to that saying recorded of him, "My intercession shall be employed for those among my people who shall have been guilty of grievous crimes"), or whether he punish him in proportion to his demerit, and afterwards, through his mercy, admit him into paradise; but that it is not to be supposed he

to choose good and evil, and can moreover know he shall be rewarded if he do well, and shall be punished if he do ill; but that he depends, notwithstanding, on God's power, and willeth, if God willeth, but not otherwise. Then he proceeds briefly to refute the two extreme opinions, and first to prove that of the Qadariâns, though it be agreeable to God's justice, inconsistent with his attributes of wisdom and power: "*Sapientia enim Dei,*" says he, "*comprehendit quicquid fuit et futurum est ab æternitate in finem usque mundi et postea. Et ita novit ab æterno omnia opera creaturarum, sive bona, sive mala, quæ fuerint creata cum potentia Dei, et ejus libera et determinata voluntate, sicut ipsi visum fuit. Denique novit eum qui futurus erat malus, et tamen creavit eum, et similiter bonum, quem etiam creavit: neque negari potest quin, si ipsi libuisset, potuisset omnes creare bonos: placuit tamen Deo creare bonos et malos, cum Deo soli sit absoluta et libera voluntas, et perfecta electio, et non homini. Ita enim Salomon in suis proverbiiis dixit, Vitam et mortem, bonum et malum, divitias et paupertatem, esse et venire à Deo. Christiani etiam dicunt S. Paulum dixisse in suis epistolis; Dicet etiam lutum figulo, quare facis unum vas ad honorem, et aliud vas ad contumeliam? Cum igitur miser homo fuerit creatus à voluntate Dei et potentia, nihil aliud potest tribui ipsi quàm ipse sensus cognoscendi et sentiendi an bene vel*

male faciat. Quæ unica causa (id est, sensus cognoscendi) erit ejus gloriæ vel pœnæ causa: per talem enim sensum novit quid boni vel mali adversus Dei præcepta fecerit." The opinion of the Jabariâns, on the other hand, he rejects as contrary to man's consciousness of his own power and choice, and inconsistent with God's justice, and his having given mankind laws, to the observing or transgressing of which he has annexed rewards and punishments. After this he proceeds to explain the third opinion in the following words: "*Tertia opinio Zunist (i.e., Sonnitarum) quæ vera est, affirmat homini potestatem esse, sed limitatam à sua causa, id est, dependentem à Dei potentia et voluntate, et propter illam cognitionem qua deliberat benè vel malè facere, esse dignum pœna vel præmio. Manifestum est in æternitate non fuisse aliam potentiam præter Dei nostri omnipotentis, e cujus potentia pendebant omnia possibilia, id est, quæ poterant esse, cum ab ipso fuerint creata. Sapientia verò Dei novit etiam quæ non sunt futura: et potentia ejus, etsi non creaverit ea, potuit tamen, si ita Deo placuisset. Ita novit sapientia Dei quæ erant impossibilia, id est, quæ non poterant esse; quæ tamen nullo pacto pendent ab ejus potentia; ab ejus enim potentia nulla pendent nisi possibilia. Dicimus enim à Dei potentia non pendere creare Deum alium ipsi similem, nec creare aliquid quod moveatur et quiescat simul eodem*

will remain for ever in hell with the infidels, seeing it is declared that whoever shall have faith in his heart but of the weight of an ant, shall be delivered from hell-fire.¹ And this is generally received for the orthodox doctrine in this point, and is diametrically opposite to that of the Mutazilites.

These were the more rational Sifátians, but the ignorant part of them, not knowing how otherwise to explain the expressions of the Qurán relating to the declarative attributes, fell into most gross and absurd opinions, making GOD corporeal and like created beings.² Such were—

2. The Mushábbihites, or Assimilators, who allowed a resemblance between GOD and his creatures,³ supposing

The Mushábbihites.

tempore, cùm hæc sint ex impossibilibus: comprehendit tamen suâ sapientiâ tale aliquid non pendere ab ejus potentiâ.—A potentiâ igitur Dei pendet solúm quod potest esse, et possibile est esse; quæ semper parata est dare esse possibilibus. Et si hoc penitus cognoscamus, cognoscemus pariter omne quod est, seu futurum est, sive sint opera nostra, sive quidvis aliud, pendere à sola potentiâ Dei. Et hoc non privatim intelligitur, sed in genere de omni eo quod est et movetur, sive in cælis sive in terrâ; et nec aliquâ potentiâ potest impediri Dei potentiâ, cùm nulla alia potentiâ absoluta sit, præter Dei; potentiâ verò nostra non est à se, nisi à Dei potentiâ: et cum potentiâ nostra dicitur esse a causa sua, ideo dicimus potentiâ nostram esse straminis comparatam cum potentiâ Dei: eo enim modo quo stramen movetur à motu maris, ita nostra potentiâ et voluntas à Dei potentiâ. Itaque Dei potentiâ semper est parata etiam ad occidendum aliquem; ut si quis hominem occidat, non dicimus potentiâ hominis id factum, sed æterna potentiâ Dei: error enim est id tribuere potentiæ hominis. Potentiâ enim Dei, cùm semper sit parata, et ante ipsum hominem, ad occidendum; si solâ hominis potentiâ id factum esse

diceremus, et moreretur, potentiâ sanè Dei (quæ antè erat) jam ibi esset frustra: quia post mortem non potest potentiâ Dei eum iterum occidere; ex quo sequeretur potentiâ Dei impediri à potentiâ hominis, et potentiâ hominis anteire et antecellere potentiâ Dei: quod est absurdum et impossibile. Igitur Deus est qui operatur æternâ suâ potentiâ: si verò homini injiciatur culpa, sive in tali homicidio, sive in aliis, hoc est quantum ad præcepta et legem. Homini tribuitur solùm opus externè, et ejus electio, quæ est a voluntate ejus et potentiâ; non verò internè.—Hoc est punctum illud indivisibile et secretum, quod à paucissimis capitur, ut sapientissimus Sidi Abo Hamet Elgaceli (i.e., Dominus Abu Hâmed al Ghazâli) affirmat (cujus spiritui Deus concedat gloriam, Amen!) sequentibus verbis: Ita abditum et profundum et abstrusum est intelligere punctum illud Liberi Arbitrii, ut neque characteres ad scribendum, neque ullæ rationes ad experimendum sufficiant, et omnes, quotquot de hac re locuti sunt, hæserunt confusi in ripa tanti et tam spaciosi maris.”

¹ Al Shahrîst., apud Poc., p. 258.

² Vide Poc., *ibid.*, p. 255, &c.; Abulfar., p. 167, &c.

³ Al Mawâkif, apud Poc., *ibid.*

him to be a figure composed of members or parts, either spiritual or corporeal, and capable of local motion, of ascent and descent, &c.¹ Some of this sect inclined to the opinion of the Hulúlians, who believed that the divine nature might be united with the human in the same person; for they granted it possible that God might appear in a human form, as Gabriel did; and to confirm their opinion they allege Muhammad's words, that he saw his LORD in a most beautiful form, and Moses talking with God face to face.² And

The Karamians or Mujassamians.

3. The Karamians, or followers of Muhammad Ibn Karam, called also Mujassamians, or Corporalists, who not only admitted a resemblance between God and created beings, but declared God to be corporeal.³ The more sober among them, indeed, when they applied the word "body" to God, would be understood to mean that he is a self-subsisting being, which with them is the definition of body; but yet some of them affirmed him to be finite, and circumscribed, either on all sides, or on some only (as beneath, for example), according to different opinions;⁴ and others allowed that he might be felt by the hand and seen by the eye. Nay, one David al Jawári went so far as to say that his deity was a body composed of flesh and blood, and that he had members, as hands, feet, a head, a tongue, eyes, and ears; but that he was a body, however, not like other bodies, neither was he like to any created being: he is also said further to have affirmed that from the crown of the head to the breast he was hollow, and from the breast downward solid, and that he had black curled hair.⁵ These most blasphemous and monstrous notions were the consequence of the literal acceptation of those passages in the Qurán which figuratively attribute corporeal actions to God, and of the words of Muhammad when he said

¹ Al Shahrist., apud eund., *ibid.*, p. 226.

² Vide Marracc., Prodr., part 3, p. 76.

³ Al Shahrist., *ubi sup.*

⁴ *Idem*, *ibid.*, p. 225.

⁵ *Idem*, *ibid.*, pp. 226, 227.

that GOD created man in his own image, and that himself had felt the fingers of GOD, which he laid on his back, to be cold. Besides which, this sect are charged with fathering on their prophet a great number of spurious and forged traditions to support their opinion, the greater part whereof they borrowed from the Jews, who are accused as naturally prone to assimilate GOD to men, so that they describe him as weeping for Noah's flood till his eyes were sore.¹ And, indeed, though we grant the Jews may have imposed on Muhammad and his followers in many instances, and told them as solemn truths things which themselves believed not or had invented, yet many expressions of this kind are to be found in their writings; as when they introduce GOD roaring like a lion at every watch of the night, and crying, "Alas! that I have laid waste my house, and suffered my temple to be burnt, and sent my children into banishment among the heathen," &c.²

The Jabarians, who are the direct opponents of the Qadarians, denying free agency in men, and ascribing his actions wholly unto GOD.³ They take their denomination from *al jabr*, which signifies necessity or compulsion; because they hold man to be necessarily and inevitably constrained to act as he does by force of GOD's eternal and immutable decree.⁴ This sect is distinguished into several species, some being more rigid and extreme in their opinion, who are thence called pure Jabarians, and others more moderate, who are therefore called middle Jabarians. The former will not allow men to be said either to act or to have any power at all, either operative or acquiring, asserting that man can do nothing, but produces all his actions by necessity, having neither power, nor will, nor choice, any more than an inanimate agent; they also declare that rewarding and punishing are also the effects of necessity; and the same they say of the imposing of

The Jabarians and their various denominations.

¹ Al Shahrīst., *ibid.*, pp. 227, 228.

³ Vide Abulfarag, p. 168.

² Talm. Berachoth, c. i. Vide Poc., *ubi sup.*, p. 228.

⁴ Al Shahrīst., *al Mawāḳif*, et Ibn al Kussā, *apud* Poc., *ibid.*, p. 238, &c.

commands. This was the doctrine of the Jahmians, the followers of Jahm Ibn Safwán, who likewise held that paradise and hell will vanish or be annihilated after those who are destined thereto respectively shall have entered them, so that at last there will remain no existing being besides GOD;¹ supposing those words of the Qurán which declare that the inhabitants of paradise and of hell shall remain therein for ever to be hyperbolical only, and intended for corroboration, and not to denote an eternal duration in reality.² The moderate Jabarians are those who ascribe some power to man, but such a power as hath no influence on the action; for as to those who grant the power of man to have a certain influence on the action, which influence is called Acquisition, some³ will not admit them to be called Jabarians, though others reckon those also to be called middle Jabarians, and to contend for the middle opinion between absolute necessity and absolute liberty, who attribute to man Acquisition or concurrence in producing the action, whereby he gaineth commendation or blame (yet without admitting it to have any influence on the action), and therefore make the Ashariáns a branch of this sect.⁴ Having again mentioned the term Acquisition, we may perhaps have a clearer idea of what the Muhammadans mean thereby when told that it is defined to be an action directed to the obtaining of profit or the removing of hurt, and for that reason never applied to any action of GOD, who acquireth to himself neither profit nor hurt.⁵ Of the middle or moderate Jabarians were the Najáriáns and the Diráriáns. The Najáriáns were the adherents of al Hasan Ibn Muhammad al Najár, who taught that GOD was he who created the actions of men, both good and bad, and that man acquired them, and also that man's power had an influence on the action, or a

¹ Al Shahrist., al Mutarizzi, et Ibn al Kussá, apud eund., pp. 239, 243, &c.

² Idem, *ibid.*, p. 260.

³ Al Shahrist.

⁴ Ibn al Kussá et al Mawákif.

⁵ Ibn al Kussá, apud Poc., ubi sup., p. 240.

certain co-operation, which he called Acquisition; and herein he agreed with al Asharí.¹ The Dirárians were the disciples of Dirár Ibn Amru, who held also that men's actions are really created by God, and that man really acquired them.² The Jabarians also say that God is absolute Lord of his creatures, and may deal with them according to his own pleasure, without rendering account to any, and that if he should admit all men without distinction into paradise, it would be no impartiality, or if he should cast them all into hell, it would be no injustice.³ And in this particular likewise they agree with the Ashariáns, who assert the same,⁴ and say that reward is a favour from God, and punishment a piece of justice; obedience being by them considered as a sign only of future reward, and transgression as a sign of future punishment.⁵

5. The Murjians, who are said to be derived from the Jabarians.⁶ These teach that the judgment of every true believer, who hath been guilty of a grievous sin, will be deferred till the resurrection; for which reason they pass no sentence on him in this world, either of absolution or condemnation. They also hold that disobedience with

The Murjians.

¹ Al Shahrist., apud eund., p. 245.

² Idem, *ibid.*

³ Abulfarag, p. 168, &c.

⁴ Al Shahristáni, *ubi sup.*, p. 252, &c.

⁵ Sharh al Tawáliya, *ibid.* To the same effect writes the Moorish author quoted above, from whom I will venture to transcribe the following passage, with which he concludes his Discourse on Freewill:—"Intellectus ferè lumine naturali novit Deum esse rectum judicem et justum, qui non aliter afficit creaturam quàm juste: etiam Deum esse absolutum Dominum, et hanc orbis machinam esse ejus, et ab eo creatam; Deum nullis debere rationem reddere, cùm quicquid agat, agat jure proprio sibi: et ita absolute poterit afficere præmio vel pœna quem vult, cùm omnis

creatura sit ejus, nec facit cuiquam injuriam, etsi eam tormentis et pœnis æternis afficiat: plus enim boni et commodi accepit creatura quando accepit esse a suo creatore, quàm incommodi et damni quando ab eo damnata est et affecta tormentis et pœnis. Hoc autem intelligitur si Deus absolute id faceret. Quando enim Deus, pietate et misericordia motus, eligit aliquos ut ipsi serviant, Dominus Deus gratiâ suâ id facit ex infinitâ bonitate; et quando aliquos derelinquit, et pœnis et tormentis afficit, ex justitia et rectitudine. Et tandem dicimus omnes pœnas esse justas quæ a Deo veniunt, et nostrâ tantum culpâ, et omnia bona esse à pietate et misericordia ejus infinita."

⁶ Al Shahrist., *ubi sup.*, p. 256.

faith hurteth not, and that, on the other hand, obedience with infidelity profiteth not.¹ As to the reason of their name the learned differ, because of the different significations of its root, each of which they accommodate to some opinion of the sect. Some think them so called because they postpone works to intention, that is, esteem works to be inferior in degree to intention and profession of the faith;² others because they allow hope, by asserting that disobedience with faith hurteth not, &c.; others take the reason of the name to be their deferring the sentence of the heinous sinner till the resurrection;³ and others their degrading of Ali, or removing him from the first degree to the fourth;⁴ for the Murjians, in some points relating to the office of Imám, agree with the Khárijites. This sect is divided into four species, three of which, according as they happen to agree in particular dogmas with the Khárijites, the Qadarians, or the Jabarians, are distinguished as Murjians of those sects, and the fourth is that of the pure Murjians, which last species is again subdivided into five others.⁵ The opinions of Muqátíl and Bashár, both of a sect of the Murjians called Thaubánians, should not be omitted. The former asserted that disobedience hurts not him who professes the unity of God and is endued with faith, and that no true believer shall be cast into hell. He also taught that God will surely forgive all crimes besides infidelity, and that a disobedient believer will be punished at the day of resurrection on the bridge⁶ laid over the midst of hell, where the flames of hell-fire shall catch hold on him, and torment him in proportion to his disobedience, and that he shall then be admitted into paradise.⁷ The latter held that if God do cast the believers guilty of grievous sins into hell, yet they will be delivered thence after they shall have been sufficiently punished; but that

¹ Abulfarag, p. 169.

² Al Firaus.

³ Ibn al Athír, al Mutarrizi.

⁴ Al Shahríst., ubi sup., p. 254, &c.

⁵ Idem, *ibid.*

⁶ See supra, Sect. IV., p. 147.

⁷ Al Shahríst., ubi sup., p. 257.

it is neither possible nor consistent with justice that they should remain therein for ever; which, as has been observed, was the opinion of al Asharí.

III. The Khárijites are they who depart or revolt from the lawful prince established by public consent; and thence comes their name, which signifies revoltors or rebels.¹ The first who were so called were twelve thousand men who revolted from Ali, after they had fought under him at the battle of Saffain, taking offence at his submitting the decision of his right to the Khalifat, which Muáwiyah disputed with him, to arbitration, though they themselves had first obliged him to it.² These were also called Muhaqqimites, or Judiciarians, because the reason which they gave for their revolt was that Ali had referred a matter concerning the religion of God to the judgment of men, whereas the judgment, in such case, belonged only unto God.³ The heresy of the Khárijites consisted chiefly in two things:—1. In that they affirmed a man might be promoted to the dignity of Imám or prince though he was not of the tribe of Quraish, or even a freeman, provided he was a just and pious person, and endued with the other requisite qualifications; and also held that if the Imám turned aside from the truth, he might be put to death or deposed; and that there was no absolute necessity for any Imám at all in the world. 2. In that they charged Ali with sin, for having left an affair to the judgment of men which ought to have been determined by God alone; and went so far as to declare him guilty of infidelity, and to curse him on that account.⁴ In the 38th year of the Hijra, which was the year following the revolt, all these Khárijites who persisted in their rebellion, to the number of four thousand, were cut to pieces by Ali, and, as several historians⁵ write, even to a

¹ Al Shahrist., ubi sup., p. 261.

⁴ Idem, ibid.

² See Ockley's Hist. of the Saracens, vol. i. p. 60, &c.

⁵ Abulfeda, al Jannábi, Elmacinus, p. 40.

³ Al Shahrist., ubi sup., p. 270.

man ; but others say nine of them escaped, and that two fled into Omán, two into Karmán, two into Sajistán, two into Mesopotamia, and one to Tel Mawrún, and that these propagated their heresy in those places, the same remaining there to this day.¹ The principal sects of the Khárijites, besides the Muhaqqimites above mentioned, are six, which, though they greatly differ among themselves in other matters, yet agree in these, viz., that they absolutely reject Othmán and Ali, preferring the doing of this to the greatest obedience, and allowing marriages to be contracted on no other terms ; that they account those who are guilty of grievous sins to be infidels ; and that they hold it necessary to resist the Imám when he transgresses the law. One sect of them deserves more particular notice, viz.—

Peculiar
views of the
Wáidians.

The Wáidians, so called from al Wáid, which signifies the threats denounced by God against the wicked. These are the antagonists of the Murjians, and assert that he who is guilty of a grievous sin ought to be declared an infidel or apostate, and will be eternally punished in hell, though he were a true believer ;² which opinion of theirs, as has been observed, occasioned the first rise of the Mutazilites. One Jaafar Ibn Mubashshar, of the sect of the Nudhámians, was yet more severe than the Wáidians, pronouncing him to be a reprobate and an apostate who steals but a grain of corn.³

The Shíahs
and their
distinguish-
ing doc-
trines.

IV. The Shíahs are the opponents of the Khárijites : their name properly signifies sectaries or adherents in general, but is peculiarly used to denote those of Ali Ibn Tálib, who maintain him to be lawful Khalífah and Imám, and that the supreme authority, both in spirituals and temporals, of right belongs to his descendants, notwithstanding they may be deprived of it by the injustice of others or their own fear. They also teach that the office

¹ Al Shahristáni. See Ockley's Hist. of the Saracens, ubi sup., p. 63.

² Abulfar., p. 169 ; Al Shahrist., apud Poc. Spec., p. 256.

³ Vide Poc., ibid., p. 257.

of Imám is not a common thing, depending on the will of the vulgar, so that they may set up whom they please, but a fundamental affair of religion, and an article which the prophet could not have neglected or left to the fancy of the common people:¹ nay, some, thence called Imámians, go so far as to assert that religion consists solely in the knowledge of the true Imám.² The principal sects of the Shíahs are five, which are subdivided into an almost innumerable number, so that some understand Muhammad's prophecy of the seventy odd sects of the Shíahs only. Their general opinions are—1. That the peculiar designation of the Imám, and the testimonies of the Qurán and Muhammad concerning him, are necessary points. 2. That the Imáms ought necessarily to keep themselves free from light sins as well as more grievous. 3. That every one ought publicly to declare who it is that he adheres to, and from whom he separates himself, by word, deed, and engagement; and that herein there should be no dissimulation. But in this last point some of the Zaidians, a sect so named from Zaid, the son of Ali surnamed Zain al Ábidín, and great-grandson of Ali, dissented from the rest of the Shíahs.³ As to other articles wherein they agreed not, some of them came pretty near to the notions of the Mutazilites, others to those of the Mushábbihites, and others to those of the Sunnis.⁴ Among the latter of these, Muhammad al Bákir, another son of Zain al Ábidín's, seems to claim a place; for his opinion as to the will of God was that God willeth something in us and something from us, and that what he willeth from us he hath revealed to us; for which reason he thought it preposterous that we should employ our thoughts about those things which God willeth in us, and neglect those which he willeth from us: and as to God's decree, he held that the way lay in the middle,

¹ Al Shahríst., *ibid.*, p. 261; Abulfarag, p. 169.

² Al Shahríst., *ibid.*, p. 262.

³ *Idem*, *ibid.* Vide D'Herbel., *Bibl. Orient.*, art. Schiah.

⁴ Vide Poc., *ibid.*

and that there was neither compulsion nor free liberty.¹ A tenet of the Khattábians, or disciples of one Abu'l Khattáb, is too peculiar to be omitted. These maintained paradise to be no other than the pleasures of this world, and hell-fire to be the pains thereof, and that the world will never decay : which proposition being first laid down, it is no wonder they went further, and declared it lawful to indulge themselves in drinking wine and whoring, and to do other things forbidden by the law, and also to omit doing the things commanded by the law.²

Their veneration of Ali and his descendants.

Many of the Shíahs carried their veneration for Ali and his descendants so far that they transgressed all bounds of reason and decency, though some of them were less extravagant than others. The Ghuláites, who had their name from their excessive zeal for their Imáms, were so highly transported therewith that they raised them above the degree of created beings, and attributed divine properties to them ; transgressing on either hand, by deifying of mortal men, and by making GOD corporeal ; for one while they liken one of their Imáms to GOD, and another while they liken GOD to a creature.³ The sects of these are various, and have various appellations in different countries. Abdallah Ibn Saba (who had been a Jew, and had asserted the same thing of Joshua the son of Nun) was the ringleader of one of them. This man gave the following salutation to Ali, viz., "Thou art Thou," i.e., thou art GOD : and hereupon the Ghuláites became divided into several species, some maintaining the same thing, or something like it, of Ali, and others of some of one of his descendants, affirming that he was not dead, but would return again in the clouds and fill the earth with justice. But how much soever they disagreed in other things, they unanimously held a metempsychosis, and what they call al Hulúl, or the descent of GOD on his creatures, meaning

¹ Al Shahrist., *ibid.*, p. 263.

² *Idem*, et Ibn al Kussá, *ibid.*, p. 260, &c.

³ *Idem*, *ibid.*

⁴ *Idem*, *ibid.*, p. 264. Vide Mar-rac., *Prodr.*, part 3, p. 80, &c.

thereby that God is present in every place, and speaks with every tongue, and appears in some individual person;¹ and hence some of them asserted their Imáms to be prophets, and at length gods.² The Nusairians and the Isháqians taught that spiritual substances appear in grosser bodies, and that the angels and the devil have appeared in this manner. They also assert that God hath appeared in the form of certain men; and since, after Muhammad, there hath been no man more excellent than Ali, and, after him, his sons have excelled all other men, that God hath appeared in their form, spoken with their tongue, and made use of their hands; for which reason, say they, we attribute divinity to them.³ * And to support these blasphemies they tell several miraculous things of Ali, as his moving the gates of Khaibar,⁴ which they urge as a plain proof that he was endued with a particle of divinity and with sovereign power, and that he was the person in whose form God appeared, with whose hands he created all things, and with whose tongue he published his commands; and therefore they say he was in being before the creation of heaven and earth.⁵ In so impious a manner do they seem to wrest those things which are said in Scripture of CHRIST by applying them to Ali. These extravagant fancies of the Shíahs, however, in making their Imáms partakers of the divine nature, and the impiety of some of those Imáms in laying claim thereto, are so far from being peculiar to this sect, that

* Talboys Wheeler, in his *History of India*, vol. iv. part i. p. 86, attributes these notions to all Shíahs. He says, "They believe in God as the Supreme Spirit; in Muhammad and his family as emanations from the Supreme Spirit." This statement is too sweeping; the views here attributed to all belong to the Súfí portion of the sect.

E. M. W.

¹ Al Shahristáni, *ibid.*, p. 265.

² Vide D'Herbel., *Bibl. Orient.*, art. Hakem Beamrillah.

³ Idem, *ibid.*, Abulfar., p. 169.

⁴ See Prid., *Life of Mah.*, p. 93.

⁵ Al Shahrist., *ubi sup.*, p. 266.

most of the other Muhammadan sects are tainted with the same madness, there being many found among them, and among the Súfis especially, who pretend to be nearly related to heaven, and who boast of strange revelations before the credulous people.¹ It may not be amiss to hear what al Ghazáli has written on this occasion. "Matters are come to that pass," says he, "that some boast of an union with God, and of discoursing familiarly with him, without the interposition of a veil, saying, 'It hath been thus said to us,' and 'We have thus spoken;' affecting to imitate Husain al Halláj, who was put to death for some words of this kind uttered by him, he having said (as was proved by credible witnesses), 'I am the Truth,'² or Abu Yazíd al Bastámi, of whom it is related that he often used the expression, 'Subháni,' *i.e.*, 'Praise be unto me!'³ But this way of talking is the cause of great mischief among the common people, insomuch that husbandmen, neglecting the tillage of their land, have pretended to the like privileges, nature being tickled with discourses of this kind, which furnish men with an excuse for leaving their occupations, under pretence of purifying their souls, and attaining I know not what degrees and conditions. Nor is there anything to hinder the most stupid fellows from forming the like pretensions and catching at such vain expressions; for whenever what they say is denied to be true, they fail not to reply that our unbelief proceeds from learning and logic; affirming learning to be a veil, and logic the work of the mind; whereas what they tell us appears only within, being discovered by the light of truth. But this is that truth the sparks whereof have flown into several countries and occasioned great mischiefs; so that it is more for the advantage of God's true religion to put to death one of those who utter such things than to bestow life on ten others."⁴

¹ Poc. Spec., p. 267.

² Vide D'Herbel., Bibl. Orient.,
art. Hallage.

³ Vide *ibid.*, art. Bastham.

⁴ Al Ghazáli, apud Poc. Spec.,
ubi sup.

Thus far have we treated of the chief sects among the Muhammadans of the first ages, omitting to say anything of the more modern sects, because the same are taken little or no notice of by their own writers, and would be of no use to our present design.¹ It may be proper, however, to mention a word or two of the great schism at this day subsisting between the Sunnis and the Shíahs, or partisans of Ali, and maintained on either side with implacable hatred and furious zeal. Though the difference arose at first on a political occasion, it has, notwithstanding, been so well improved by additional circumstances and the spirit of contradiction, that each party detest and anathematise the other as abominable heretics, and farther from the truth than either the Christians or the Jews.² The chief points wherein they differ are—1. That the Shíahs reject Abu Baqr, Omar, and Othmán, the three first Khalífahs, as usurpers and intruders; whereas the Sunnis acknowledge and respect them as rightful Imáms. 2. The Shíahs prefer Ali to Muhammad, or at least esteem them both equal, but the Sunnis admit neither Ali nor any of the prophets to be equal to Muhammad. 3. The Sunnis charge the Shíahs with corrupting the Qurán and neglecting its precepts, and the Shíahs retort the same charge on the Sunnis. 4. The Sunnis receive the Sunnat, or book of traditions of their prophet, as of canonical authority, whereas the Shíahs reject it as apocryphal and unworthy of credit. And to these disputes, and some others of less moment, is principally owing the antipathy which has long reigned between the Turks, who are Sunnis, and the Persians, who are of the sect of Ali. It seems strange that Spinoza, had he known of no other schism among the Muhammadans, should yet never have heard of one so publicly notorious as this between the Turks and Persians; but it is plain he did not, or he would

Main points
of difference
between the
Shíahs and
the Sunnis.

¹ The reader may meet with some account of them in Ricaut's *State of the Ottoman Empire*, l. 2, c. 12.

² Vide *ibid.*, c. 10, and Chardin, *Voy. de Perse*, t. 2, pp. 169, 170, &c.

never have assigned it as the reason of his preferring the order of the Muhammadan Church to that of the Roman, that there have arisen no schisms in the former since its birth.¹

Muslim
false pro-
phets.

As success in any project seldom fails to draw in imitators, Muhammad's having raised himself to such a degree of power and reputation by acting the prophet induced others to imagine they might arrive at the same height by the same means. His most considerable competitors in the prophetic office were Musailama and al Aswad, whom the Muhammadans usually call "the two liars"

Claim of
Musailama
to the
prophetic
office.

The former was of the tribe of Hunaifa, who inhabited the province of Yamáma, and a principal man among them. He headed an embassy sent by his tribe to Muhammad in the ninth year of the Hijra, and professed himself a Muslim;² but on his return home, considering that he might possibly share with Muhammad in his power, the next year he set up for a prophet also, pretending to be joined with him in the commission to recall mankind from idolatry to the worship of the true God;³ and he published written revelations in imitation of the Qurán, of which Abulfaragius⁴ has preserved the following passage, viz.: "Now hath GOD been gracious unto her that was with child, and hath brought forth from her the soul which runneth between the peritonæum and the bowels." Musailama, having formed a considerable party among those of Hunaifa, began to think himself upon equal terms with Muhammad, and sent him a letter, offering to go halves with him,⁵ in these words: "From

¹ The words of Spinoza are:—"Ordinem Romanæ ecclesiæ—politicum et plurimis lucrosum esse fateor; nec ad decipiendam plebem, et hominum animos coercendum commodiorem isto crederem, ni ordo Mahumedanæ ecclesiæ esset, qui longè eundem antecellit. Nam à

quo tempore hæc superstitio incepit, nulla in eorum ecclesia schismata orta sunt." Opera Posth., p. 613.

² Abulfed., p. 160.

³ Idem, Elmac., p. 9.

⁴ Hist. Dynast., p. 164.

⁵ Abulfed., ubi sup.

Musailama the apostle of GOD, to Muhammad the apostle of GOD. Now let the earth be half mine and half thine." But Muhammad, thinking himself too well established to need a partner, wrote him this answer: "From Muhammad the apostle of GOD, to Musailama the liar. The earth is GOD's: he giveth the same for inheritance unto such of his servants as he pleaseth; and the happy issue shall attend those who fear him."¹ During the few months which Muhammad lived after this revolt, Musailama rather gained than lost ground, and grew very formidable; but Abu Baqr, his successor, in the eleventh year of the Hijra, sent a great army against him, under the command of that consummate general, Khálid Ibn al Walíd, who engaged Musailama in a bloody battle, wherein the false prophet, happening to be slain by Wahsha, the negro slave who had killed Hamza at Ohod, and by the same lance,² the Muslims gained an entire victory, ten thousand of the apostates being left dead on the spot, and the rest returning to Muhammadism.³

Al Aswad, whose name was Aihala, was of the tribe of Ans, and governed that and the other tribes of Arabs descended from Madhhaj.⁴ This man was likewise an apostate from Muhammadism, and set up for himself the very year that Muhammad died.⁵ He was surnamed Dhu'l Hamár, or the master of the asses, because he used frequently to say, "The master of the asses is coming unto me;"⁶ and pretended to receive his revelations from two angels, named Suhaiq and Shuraiq.⁷ Having a good hand at legerdemain and a smooth tongue, he gained mightily on the multitude by the strange feats which he showed them and the eloquence of his discourse;⁸ by these means he greatly increased his power, and having

Al Aswad
the second
of "the
two liars."

¹ Al Baidháwi, in Qurán, c. 5.

² Abulfed., ubi sup.

³ Idem, ibid.; Abulfarag, p. 173; Elmac., p. 16, &c. See Ockley's Hist. of the Saracens, vol. i. p. 15, &c.

⁴ Al Suhaili, apud Gagnier, in not. ad Abulf. Vit. Moh., p. 158.

⁵ Elmac., p. 9.

⁶ Abulfeda, ubi sup.

⁷ Al Suhaili, ubi sup.

⁸ Abulfeda, ubi sup.

made himself master of Najrán and the territory of al Táyif,¹ on the death of Badhán, the governor of Yaman for Muhammad, he seized that province also, killing Shahr, the son of Badhán, and taking to wife his widow, whose father, the uncle of Firúz the Dailamite, he had also slain.² This news being brought to Muhammad, he sent to his friends and to those of Hamdán, a party of whom, conspiring with Qais Ibn Abd al Yaghúth, who bore al Aswad a grudge, and with Firúz and al Aswad's wife, broke by night into his house, where Firúz surprised him and cut off his head. While he was despatching he roared like a bull; at which his guards came to the chamber door, but were sent away by his wife, who told them the prophet was only agitated by the divine inspiration. This was done the very night before Muhammad died. The next morning the conspirators caused the following proclamation to be made, viz., "I bear witness that Muhammad is the apostle of God, and that Aihala is a liar;" and letters were immediately sent away to Muhammad, with an account of what had been done; but a messenger from heaven outstripped them, and acquainted the prophet with the news, which he imparted to his companions but a little before his death, the letters themselves not arriving till Abu Baqr was chosen Khalífah. It is said that Muhammad, on this occasion, told those who attended him that before the day of judgment thirty more impostors, besides Musailama and al Aswad, should appear, and every one of them set up for a prophet. The whole time, from the beginning of al Aswad's rebellion to his death, was about four months.³

In the same eleventh year of the Hijra, but after the death of Muhammad, as seems most probable, Tulaiha Ibn Khuwailid set up for a prophet, and Sajáj Bint al Mundár⁴ for a prophetess.

¹ Abulfeda et Elmacinus, ubi sup.

² Idem, al Jannábi, ubi sup.

³ Idem, ibid.

⁴ Ibn Sholmah and Elmacinus call her the daughter of al Hárith.

Tulaiha was of the tribe of Asad, which adhered to him, together with great numbers of the tribes of Ghatfán and Tay. Against them likewise was Khálid sent, who engaged and put them to flight, obliging Tulaiha with his shattered troops to retire into Syria, where he stayed till the death of Abu Baqr; then he went to Omar and embraced Muhammadism in his presence, and having taken the oath of fidelity to him, returned to his own country and people.¹

Sajáj, surnamed Omm Sádír, was of the tribe of Tamím, and the wife of Abu Qahdála, a soothsayer of Yamáma. She was followed not only by those of her own tribe, but by several others. Thinking a prophet the most proper husband for her, she went to Musailama, and married him; but after she had stayed with him three days, she left him and returned home.² What became of her afterwards I do not find. Ibn Shohnah has given us part of the conversation which passed at the interview between those two pretenders to inspiration, but the same is a little too immodest to be translated.

In succeeding ages several impostors from time to time started up, most of whom quickly came to nothing, but some made a considerable figure, and propagated sects which continued long after their decease. I shall give a brief account of the most remarkable of them in order of time.

In the reign of al Mahdi, the third Khalífah of the race of al Abbás, one Hakím Ibn Hásham,³ originally of Merú in Khurasán, who had been an under-secretary to Abu Muslim, the governor of that province, and afterwards turned soldier, passed thence into Mawáralnahr, where he gave himself out for a prophet. He is generally named by the Arab writers al Mukanna, and sometimes al Burkaí, that is, "the veiled," because he used to cover his face with

Hakím Ibn
Hásham
and his
practices.

¹ Elmacinus, p. 16; al Baidháwí, in Qurán, c. 5.

² Ibn Shohnah. Vide Elmacinus, p. 16.

³ Or Ibn Atá, according to Ibn Shohnah.

a veil or a gilded mask, to conceal his deformity, having lost an eye in the wars, and being otherwise of a despicable appearance; though his followers pretended he did it for the same reason as Moses did, viz., lest the splendour of his countenance should dazzle the eyes of the beholders. He made a great many proselytes at Nakhshab and Kash, deluding the people with several juggling performances, which they swallowed for miracles, and particularly by causing the appearance of a moon to rise out of a well for many nights together; whence he was also called, in the Persian tongue, Sázindah-mah, or the moonmaker. This impious impostor, not content with being reputed a prophet, arrogated divine honours to himself, pretending that the deity resided in his person; and the doctrine whereon he built this was the same with that of the Ghuláites above mentioned, who affirmed a transmigration or successive manifestation of the divinity through and in certain prophets and holy men, from Adam to these latter days (of which opinion was also Abu Muslim himself¹); but the particular doctrine of al Mukanna was that the person in whom the deity had last resided was the aforesaid Abu Muslim, and that the same had, since his death, passed into himself. The faction of al Mukanna, who had made himself master of several fortified places in the neighbourhood of the cities above mentioned, growing daily more and more powerful, the Khalifah was at length obliged to send an army to reduce him, at the approach whereof al Mukanna retired into one of his strongest fortresses, which he had well provided for a siege, and sent his emissaries abroad to persuade people that he raised the dead to life and knew future events. But being straitly besieged by the Khalifah's forces, when he found there was no possibility for him to escape, he gave poison in wine to his whole family, and all that were with him in the castle;

¹ This explains a doubt of Mr. and corrected by Bespier. Vide Bayle concerning a passage of El-Bayle, Dic. Hist., art. Abumuslimus, macinus, as translated by Erpenius vers la fin, et Rem. B.

and when they were dead he burnt their bodies, together with their clothes, and all the provisions and cattle; and then, to prevent his own body being found, he threw himself into the flames, or, as others say, into a tub of aquafortis, or some other preparation, which consumed every part of him, except only his hair, so that when the besiegers entered the place they found no creature in it, save one of al Mukanna's concubines, who, suspecting his design, had hid herself, and discovered the whole matter. This contrivance, however, failed not to produce the effect which the impostor designed among the remaining part of his followers; for he had promised them that his soul should transmigrate into the form of a grey-headed man riding on a greyish beast, and that after so many years he would return to them, and give them the earth for their possession: the expectation of which promise kept the sect in being for several ages after under the name of Mubayyidites, or, as the Persians call them, Safaid jámah-ghíán, *i.e., the clothed in white*, because they wore their garments of that colour, in opposition, as is supposed, to the Khalifahs of the family of Abbás, whose banners and habits were black. The historians place the death of al Mukanna in the 162d or 163d year of the Hijra.²

In the year of the Hijra 201, Bábík, surnamed al Khurrami and Khurramdín, either because he was of a certain district near Ardaibíl in Adhairbiján called Khurram, or because he instituted a merry religion, which is the signification of the word in Persian, began to take on him the title of a prophet. I do not find what doctrine he taught, but it is said he professed none of the religions then known in Asia. He gained a great number of devotees in Adhairbiján and the Persian Iráq, and grew powerful enough to wage war with the Khalifah al Mámún, whose troops he

Bábík and
his cruelties

¹ They were a sect in the days of Abulfaragius, who lived about five hundred years after this extraordinary event, and may, for aught I know, be so still.

² Ex Abulfarag, Hist. Dyn., p. 226; Lobb al Tawárikh Ibn Shohnah, al Tabari, and Khondamir. Vide D'Herbel, Bibl. Orient., art. Hakim Ben Haschem.

often beat, killing several of his generals, and one of them with his own hand; and by these victories he became so formidable that al Mútasim, the successor of al Mámún, was obliged to employ the forces of the whole empire against him. The general sent to reduce Bávik was Afshíd, who having overthrown him in battle, took his castles one after another with invincible patience, notwithstanding the rebels gave him great annoyance, and at last shut up the impostor in his principal fortress; which being taken, Bávik found means to escape thence in disguise, with some of his family and principal followers; but taking refuge in the territories of the Greeks, was betrayed in the following manner. Sahel, an Armenian officer, happening to know Bávik, enticed him, by offers of service and respect, into his power, and treated him as a mighty prince, till, when he sat down to eat, Sahel clapped himself down by him; at which Bávik being surprised, asked him how he dared to take that liberty unasked? "It is true, great king," replied Sahel, "I have committed a fault; for who am I, that I should sit at your majesty's table?" And immediately sending for a smith, he made use of this bitter sarcasm, "Stretch forth your legs, great king, that this man may put fetters on them." After this Sahel sent him to Afshíd, though he had offered a large sum for his liberty, having first served him in his own kind by causing his mother, sister, and wife to be ravished before his face; for so Bávik used to treat his prisoners. Afshíd having the arch-rebel in his power, conducted him to al Mútasim, by whose order he was put to an ignominious and cruel death. This man had maintained his ground against the power of the Khalifahs for twenty years, and had cruelly put to death above two hundred and fifty thousand people, it being his custom never to spare man, woman, or child, either of the Muhammadans or their allies.¹ The sectaries of

¹ Ex Abulfarag, p. 252, &c.; Elmacinus, p. 141, &c., and Khondamir. Vide D'Herbel, art. Bávik.

Bábik which remained after his death seem to have been entirely dispersed, there being little or no mention made of them by historians.

About the year 235, one Mahmúd Ibn Faraj pretended to be Moses resuscitated, and played his part so well that several people believed on him, and attended him when he was brought before the Khalífah al Mutawaqqil. That prince, having been an ear-witness of his extravagant discourses, condemned him to receive ten buffets from every one of his followers, and then to be drubbed to death; which was accordingly executed; and his disciples were imprisoned till they came to their right minds.¹

Mahmúd
Ibn Faraj.

The Karmatians, a sect which bore an inveterate malice against the Muhammadans, began first to raise disturbances in the year of the Hijra 278, and the latter end of the reign of al Mútamid. Their origin is not well known, but the common tradition is that a poor fellow, whom some call Karmata, came from Khúzistán to the villages near Kúfa, and there feigned great sanctity and strictness of life, and that God had enjoined him to pray fifty times a day, pretending also to invite people to the obedience of a certain Imám of the family of Muhammad; and this way of life he continued till he had made a very great party, out of whom he chose twelve, as his apostles, to govern the rest and to propagate his doctrines. But the governor of the province, finding men neglected their work, and their husbandry in particular, to say those fifty prayers a day, seized the fellow, and having put him into prison, swore that he should die; which being overheard by a girl belonging to the governor, she, pitying the man, at night took the key of the dungeon from under her master's head as he slept, and having let the prisoner out, returned the key to the place whence she had it. The next morning the governor found the bird flown, and the accident being publicly known, raised great admira-

The Karma-
tians and
their
founder.

¹ Ibn Shohnah. Vide D'Herbel., p. 537.

Doctrines
and prac-
tices.

tion, his adherents giving it out that GOD had taken him into heaven. Afterwards he appeared in another province, and declared to a great number of people he had got about him that it was not in the power of any to do him hurt; notwithstanding which, his courage failing him, he retired into Syria, and was not heard of any more. His sect, however, continued and increased, pretending that their master had manifested himself to be a true prophet, and had left them a new law, wherein he had changed the ceremonies and form of prayer used by the Muslims, and introduced a new kind of fast, and that he had also allowed them to drink wine, and dispensed with several things commanded in the Qurán. They also turned the precepts of that book into allegory, teaching that prayer was the symbol of obedience to their Imám, and fasting that of silence, or concealing their dogmas from strangers: they also believed fornication to be the sin of infidelity, and the guilt thereof to be incurred by those who revealed the mysteries of their religion or paid not a blind obedience to their chief. They are said to have produced a book wherein was written (among other things), "In the name of the most merciful God. Al Faraj Ibn Othmán of the town of Nasrána saith that Christ appeared unto him in a human form and said, 'Thou art the invitation: thou art the demonstration: thou art the camel: thou art the beast: thou art John the son of Zacharias: thou art the Holy Ghost.'" ¹ From the year above mentioned the Karmatians, under several leaders, gave almost continual disturbance to the Khálífahs and their Muhammadan subjects for several years, committing great disorders and outrages in Chaldea, Arabia, Syria, and Mesopotamia, and at length establishing a considerable principality, the power whereof was in its meridian in the reign of Abu Dháhir, famous for his taking of Makkah, and the indignities by him offered to the temple

¹ Apud Abulfarag, p. 275.

there, but which declined soon after his time and came to nothing.¹

To the Karmatians the Isma'ilians of Asia were very near of kin, if they were not a branch of them. For these, who were also called al Muláhidah, or the Impious, and by the writers of the history of the holy wars, Assassins, agreed with the former in many respects; such as their inveterate malice against those of other religions, and especially the Muhammadans, their unlimited obedience to their prince, at whose command they were ready for assassinations, or any other bloody and dangerous enterprise, their pretended attachment to a certain Imám of the house of Ali, &c. These Isma'ilians in the year 483 possessed themselves of al Jabál, in the Persian Iráq, under the conduct of Hasan Sabah, and that prince and his descendants enjoyed the same for a hundred and seventy-one years, till the whole race of them was destroyed by Holagu the Tartar.²

The Isma'ilians.

The Bâtinites, which name is also given to the Isma'ilians by some authors, and likewise to the Karmatians,³ were a sect which professed the same abominable principles, and were dispersed over several parts of the East.⁴ The word signifies Esoterics, or people of inward or hidden light or knowledge.

Abu'l Tayyab Ahmad, surnamed al Mutanabbi, of the tribe of Jóufa, is too famous on another account not to claim a place here. He was one of the most excellent poets among the Arabians, there being none besides Abu Tamám who can dispute the prize with him. His poetical inspiration was so warm and exalted that he either mistook it, or thought he could persuade others to believe it, to be prophetic, and therefore gave himself out to be

Abu'l Tayyab Ahmad's prophetic career.

¹ Ex Abulfar., *ibid.*; Elmacin., p. 174, &c.; Ibn Shohnah, *Khondamir*. Vide D'Herbel., art. *Carmath*.

³ Vide Elmacin., pp. 174 and 286; D'Herbel., p. 194.

² Abulfar., p. 505, &c.; D'Herbel., pp. 104, 437, 505, 620, and 784.

⁴ Vide Abulfar., pp. 361, 374, 380, 483.

a prophet indeed, and thence acquired his surname, by which he is generally known. His accomplishments were too great not to have some success; for several tribes of the Arabs of the deserts, particularly that of Qaláb, acknowledged him to be what he pretended. But Lúlú, governor in those parts for Akhshíd, king of Egypt and Syria, soon put a stop to the further progress of this new sect by imprisoning their prophet and obliging him to renounce his chimerical dignity; which having done, he regained his liberty, and applied himself solely to his poetry, by means whereof he got very considerable riches, being in high esteem at the courts of several princes. Al Mutanabbi lost his life, together with his son, on the bank of the Tigris, in defending the money which had been given him by Adad-ud-Daula, sultan of Persia, against some Arabian robbers who demanded it of him, with which money he was returning to Kúfa, his native city. This accident happened in the year 354.¹

Bába and
his sect.

The last pretender to prophecy I shall now take notice of is one who appeared in the city of Amasia, in Natolia, in the year 638, and by his wonderful feats seduced a great multitude of people there. He was by nation a Turkmán, and called himself Bába, and had a disciple called Isaac, whom he sent about to invite those of his own nation to join him. Isaac accordingly, coming to the territory of Sumaisat, published his commission, and prevailed on many to embrace his master's sect, especially among the Turkmán; so that at last he had six thousand horse at his heels, besides foot. With these Bába and his disciple made open war on all who would not cry out with them, "There is no God but God; Bába is the apostle of God;" and they put great numbers of Muhammadans as well as Christians to the sword in those parts, till at length both Muhammadans and Christians, joining together, gave them battle, and having entirely routed

¹ Præf. in Opera Motanabbis MS. Vide D'Herbel., p. 638, &c.

them, put them all to the sword, except their two chiefs, who being taken alive, had their heads struck off by the executioner.¹

I could mention several other impostors of the same kind which have arisen among the Muhammadans since their prophet's time, and very near enough to complete the number foretold by him; but I apprehend the reader is by this time tired as well as myself, and shall, therefore, here conclude this discourse, which may be thought already too long for an introduction.*

* The Wahhábís of Arabia and India have figured too prominently in history and still exercise too powerful an influence upon Islám to justify the omission of any mention of them in a work like this; accordingly we add the following account of this sect, taken by permission from Hughes' *Notes on Muhammadanism*, second edition:—

“This sect was founded by Muhammad, son of Abdul Wahháb, but as their opponents could not call them *Muhammadans*, they have been distinguished by the name of the father of the founder of their sect, and are called Wahhábís.

“Shekh Muhammad was born at Ayína, a village in the province of Arad, in the country of Najd, in the year A.D. 1691. Having been carefully instructed in the tenets of the Muslim religion according to the teachings of the Hambalí sect, he in due time left his native place, in company with his father, to perform the pilgrimage to Mecca. At Madína he was instructed by Shekh Abdullah-ibn-Ibrahím of Najd, and it is supposed that whilst sitting at the feet of this celebrated teacher the son of Abdul Wahháb first realised how far the rigid lines of Islám had been stretched, almost to breaking, in the endeavour to adapt its stern principles to the superstitions of idolatrous Arabia. He accompanied his father to Harimala, and after his father's death he returned to his native village of Ayína, where he assumed the position of a religious teacher. His teaching met with acceptance, and he soon acquired so great an influence over the people of those parts that the Governor of Hassa compelled him to leave the district, and the reformer found a friendly asylum in Deraiah, under the protection of Muhammad-ibn-Saud, a chief of considerable influence, who made the protection of Ibn-Abdul-Wahháb a pretext for war with the Shekh of Hassa. Ibn

¹ Abulfarag, p. 479; Ibn Shohnah; D'Herbel., art. Bába.

Saud married the daughter of Ibn-Abdul-Wahháb, and established in his family the Wahhábí dynasty, which, after a chequered existence of more than a hundred years, still exists in the person of the Wahhábí chief at Ryadh.¹

"The whole of Eastern Arabia has embraced the reformed doctrines of the Wahhábís, and Mr. Palgrave, in his account of his travels in those parts, has given an interesting sketch of the Wahhábí religionists, although he is not always correct as to the distinctive principles of their religious creed.

"In the great Wahhábí revival, political interests were united with religious reform, as was the case in the great Puritan struggle in England, and the Wahhábís soon pushed their conquests over the whole of Arabia. In A.D. 1803 they conquered Mecca and Madina, and for many years threatened the subjugation of the whole Turkish Empire; but in A.D. 1811, Muhammad Ali, the celebrated Pasha of Egypt, commenced a war against the Wahhábís, and soon recovered Mecca and Madina; and in 1818 his son, Ibrahim Pasha, totally defeated Abdullah, the Wahhábí leader, and sent him a prisoner to Constantinople, where he was executed in the public square of St. Sophia, December 19, 1818. But although the temporal power of the Wahhábís has been subdued, they still continue secretly to propagate their peculiar tenets, and in the present day there are numerous disciples of the sect, not only in Arabia but in Turkey and India. It is a movement which has influenced religious thought in every part of Islám."

After giving a brief account of the Wahhábí movement in India, under the leadership of Sayyid Ahmad, who was slain in battle by the Sikh general Sher Singh at Bálakot in 1831, our author describes the tenets of the Wahhábí faith as follows:—

"1. They do not receive the decisions of the four orthodox sects, but say that any man who can read and understand the Qurán and the sacred Hadís can judge for himself in matters of doctrine. They therefore reject *Ijma*² after the death of the companions of the Prophet.

"2. That no one but God can know the secrets of men, and that prayers should not be offered to any prophet, Walí, Pír, or Saint; but that God may be asked to grant a petition for the *sake* of a saint.

¹ The following are the names of the Wahhábí chiefs from the establishment of the dynasty:—Muhammad-ibn-Saud, died A.D. 1765; Abdul-Aziz, assassinated 1803; Saud-ibn-Abdul Azíz, died 1814; Abdullah-ibn-Saud, beheaded 1818;

Turkí, assassinated 1830; Fayzul, died 1866; Abdullah, still living.

² By *Ijma* is meant "the unanimous consent of the learned doctors"—"the unanimous consent of the Fathers."

"3. That at the last day Muhammad will obtain permission (*izn*) of God to intercede for his people. The Sunnis believe that permission has already been given.

"4. That it is unlawful to illuminate the shrines of departed saints, or to prostrate before them, or to perambulate (*tawárf*) round them.

"5. That women should not be allowed to visit the graves of the dead on account of their immoderate weeping.

"6. That only four festivals ought to be observed, namely, 'Id-ul-Fitr, 'Id-ul-Azhá, 'Áshúrâa, and Shab-i-Barát.

"7. They do not observe the ceremonies of Maulúd, which are celebrated on the anniversary of Muhammad's birth.

"8. They do not present offerings (*nazr*) at any shrine.

"9. They count the ninety-nine names of God on their fingers, and not on a rosary.

"10. They understand the terms 'sitting of God' and 'hand of God,' which occur in the Qurán, in their literal (*haqíqí*) sense, and not figuratively (*majázi*); but, at the same time, they say it is not revealed *how* God sits, or in what sense he has a hand, &c."

From this description it therefore appears that Wahnábism is Muslim Protestantism. It rejects everything contrary to the teaching of the Qurán and the Hadis, or inspired sayings of Muhammad. It asserts the right of private judgment in the interpretation of Scripture. Yet how different from Christian Protestantism! This delivers man from the thralldom of a priestcraft born of the dark ages of Christianity, and sweeps away that accumulation of error which had hidden for centuries the light of that Gospel which guides the world to wisdom founded on the fear of God, to civilisation based on human freedom and brotherly love. But Wahnábism, whilst reforming the religion of Islám, would sweep away the civilisation and learning which have been added to a narrow and imperfect faith, and carry the world back "to the dark age of the Arabian Prophet," and keep it there to the end of time.

E. M. W.

THE QURÁN.

THE QURÁN.

CHAPTER I.

ENTITLED SURAT UL FÁTIHAT (THE PREFACE).

Revealed at Makkah.

INTRODUCTION.

THE chapters of the Qurán are entitled *Suras*. Muir, in his *Life of Mahomet*, Introduction, p. 7, says, "Weil has a learned note (Mohammed, p. 361) on the meaning of the word *Sura* as used by Mahomet. It was probably at first employed to designate any portion of his revelation, or a string of verses; but it soon afterwards, even during Mahomet's lifetime, acquired its present technical meaning."

This chapter is held in the highest esteem among all Muslims, "who," says Sale, "give it several other honourable titles; as the chapter of *prayer*, of *praise*, of *thanksgiving*, of *treasure*, &c. They esteem it as the quintessence of the whole Qurán, and often repeat it in their devotions, both public and private, as the Christians do the Lord's Prayer."

The author of the *Tafsir-i-Ranfi* declares that "he who has read the *Fátihat* has, as it were, read the whole Qurán." According to this author, its separate clauses contain the sum of the divine attributes, ascriptions of praise, promises to believers, and threatenings of judgment against infidels, &c., as contained in the Qurán. Muslims always say *Amen* after this prayer.

The following transliteration will give the English reader an idea of the rhyming prose in which the Qurán is written:—

“Bismillá-hi'rahmánirrahím.
 Al-hamdúlilláhi Rabbi'lálumín,
 Arrahmánirrahím ;
 Máliki yomi-d-dín.
 Iyáka Nábudú, waiyáka nastáín.
 Ihdína'ssirát al mústakím ;
 Sirát alazína au niámta alaihim,
 Ghairi-'l-mághdhúbi alaihim waladháílina.”

Muir regards this as the daily prayer of Muhammad during his search for light, previous to his assumption of the prophetic office. “It was afterwards recast to suit the requirements of public worship.” —*Life of Mahomet*, vol. i. p. 59.

Muslims are here met with a difficulty as to the divine authorship of their Scriptures, arising out of the form of address in this chapter. The orthodox belief in regard to the origin of the Qurán is that it was *copied literally* from the divine original, which is engraved on the *Luh-i-Mahfúz*, or Preserved Table close by the throne of God. The speaker throughout is God. It is God's Word. But this chapter contains a prayer apparently suitable for sinful men groping after divine light and heavenly guidance. As the text stands, the chapter clearly claims a human origin, and would express very well the desire of the Makkan reformer. Muslim commentators, however, avoid this difficulty by explaining this chapter as an inspired model of prayer, revealed to instruct the faithful how to pray, and they understand it as introduced by the word “say.” Abdul Qádir says, “God has enunciated this chapter in the language of his servants, in order that they might thus address him.”

To us it seems that in the mind of a Muhammadan, boasting of the absolute perfection and purity of the text of the Qurán, and stickling for the very jots and tittles of the text, the omission of this word—a word without which the status of this whole chapter is changed—should arouse serious objection to such a mode of avoiding a difficulty.

As to the prayer itself, the Christian reader cannot but admire its spirit. It is throughout earnest and devout. Interpreting its language in a Christian manner, any one might respond to it “Amen.”

Supposing this prayer to express the feelings and aspirations of the Makkan reformer at the time it was written, we could hardly regard him as a deliberate impostor. Had he continued his search after truth in the spirit of this prayer, how different would have been his religion from that which he proclaimed in later years !

Concerning the formula, “In the name of the most merciful God,” Savary says, “It is prefixed to all the chapters (with the exception

of one). It is expressly recommended in the Qurán. The Muhammadans pronounce it whenever they slaughter an animal, and at the commencement of their reading, and of all important actions. Giaab, one of their celebrated authors, says that when these words were sent down from heaven, the clouds fled on the side of the east, the winds were lulled, the sea was moved, the animals erected their ears to listen, and the devils were precipitated from the celestial spheres."

It is almost certain that Muhammad borrowed the idea of the *Bismillah* from the Jews and Sabains. The latter introduced their writings with the words, "Banám i yazdán bakhshaishgar dádár," i.e., *In the name of God the merciful and the just.*

Rodwell says, "This formula is of Jewish origin. It was in the first instance taught to the Koreisch by Omayah of Taief, the poet, who was a contemporary with, but somewhat older than, Muhammad, and who, during his mercantile journeys into Arabia Petræa and Syria, had made himself acquainted with the sacred books and doctrines of Jews and Christians. Muhammad adopted and constantly used it."

The two terms, "*Rahmán, the merciful, and Rahím, the blessed,*" have nearly the same meaning. The *Tafsír-i-Raufi* explains the former as only applicable to God, while the latter may be applied to the creature as well as to God. Others explain the former epithet as applicable to God as *exercising* mercy towards his creatures, the latter as applicable to the mercy inherent in God.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

FIRST
MANZIL.

|| (1) Praise be to GOD, the LORD of all creatures; (2) the most merciful, (3) the king of the day of judgment. (4) Thee do we worship, and of thee do we beg assistance. (5) Direct us in the right way, (6) in the way of those

FIRST
SIPARA.

R $\frac{1}{1}$.

(1) *Lord of all creatures.* "The original words are Rabbi'lálamína, which literally signify, *Lord of the worlds*; but *álamína*, in this and other places of the Qurán, properly means the three species of rational creatures, men, genii, and angels."—Sale. Savary translates it, "Sovereign of the worlds." Rodwell has it, "Lord of worlds." Abdul Qádir of Delhi has it, "Lord of the whole world." In the Persian translation it is rendered "Cherisher of the worlds."

(5-7) "This last sentence," says Sale, "contains a petition that God would lead the supplicant into the true religion, by which is meant the Muhammadan, in the Qurán often called *the right way* :

to whom thou hast been gracious ; (7) not of those against whom thou art incensed, nor of those who go astray.

in this place more particularly defined to be *the way of those to whom God hath been gracious*, that is, of the prophets and faithful who preceded Muhammad ; under which appellations are also comprehended the Jews and Christians, such as they were in the times of their primitive purity, before they had deviated from their respective institutions ; *not the way of the modern Jews*, whose signal calamities are marks of the just *anger* of God against them for their obstinacy and disobedience ; *nor of the Christians of this age*, who have departed from the true doctrine of Jesus, and are bewildered in a labyrinth of *error* (Jaláluddín, Baidháwí, &c.) This is the common exposition of the passage, though al Zamakhshari and some others, by a different application of the negatives, refer the whole to the true believers, and then the sense will run thus : *The way of those to whom thou hast been gracious, against whom thou art not incensed, and who have not erred*, which translation the original will very well bear."

These two views really coincide, inasmuch as the claim of Islám is that all true believers among Jews and Christians were Muslims.

Abdul Qádir says that by these words we are to understand four classes—the prophets, the righteous, the martyrs, and the good ; and by "those against whom God is incensed," the Jews are indicated ; and if any other class be included, it is that of the Nazarenes.

CHAPTER II.

ENTITLED SURAT UL BAQR (THE COW).

Revealed partly at Makkah and partly at Madína.

INTRODUCTION.

"THE title of this chapter was occasioned by the story of the red heifer" (in vers. 66-73).—*Sale*.

"In this Sura are collected the passages composed in the first two or three years of Mahomet's stay at Medina. The greater part relates to the Jews, with biblical and rabbinical stories, notice of the change of the Kibla, &c. The disaffected citizens are also denounced in it. There is likewise much matter of a legislative character, produced during the first Medina stage, with additions and interpolations from the revelations of later stages."—*Muir's Life of Mahomet*, vol. iii., Appendix.

The following is a brief analysis of this chapter, based for the most part on Noeldeke's *Origine et Compositione Surarum Quranicarum ipsiusque Quráni*, showing Makkan and Madína revelations, probable date of composition, and principal topics treated.

Makkan Revelations.

These are found in verses 21-38, 164-172, and probably 254-257, 285, and 286. They belong to the period of Muhammad's *mission* previous to the Hijra.

Madína Revelations.

These make up the bulk of the chapter, and are found in verses 1-20, 39-153, 173-253, and 258-284.

As to the date of composition, verses 1-20, 39-153, 173-185, 203-253, and 258-284, belong to the interval between the Hijra and the early part of A.H. 2. Verses 154-163 were revealed soon after the battle of Badr, A.H. 2. Verses 186, 187, belong to A.H. 3, and

verses 188-202 must be referred to a period shortly before the pilgrimage to Makkah in A.H. 7.

Analysis of the Chapter as to its Teaching.

Unbelievers and hypocrites reprov'd	verses	1-20
Exhortation to the worship of the true God	"	21-38
Jews and Christians urged to accept the claim of Muhammad to be a prophet of God	"	39-102
The opposition of Jews and Christians to Muham- mad's prophetic pretensions combated	"	102-112
The doctrine of abrogation enunciated	"	113
A Qibla declared to be unnecessary	"	115
The Jews denounced and the religion of Abraham declared to be the true Islām	"	116-141
The Jews finally abandoned and the Arabs accepted by the adoption of Makkah as the Qibla of Islām	"	142-153
The bereaved friends of those slain at Badr comforted	"	154-163
Makkans exhorted to faith in God, and directed to observe the law respecting forbidden meats	"	164-172
Law concerning lawful and unlawful food (delivered at Madína)	"	173-176
The sum of Muslim duty	"	177
The law of retaliation	"	178, 179
The law concerning bequests	"	180-182
The law concerning fasting	"	183-185
The fast of Ramadhán	"	186, 187
The pilgrimage to Makkah and war for the faith	"	188-202
Hypocrites and true believers contrasted	"	203-206
Exhortation to a hearty acceptance of Islām	"	207, 208
The doom of infidels pronounced	"	209
The Jews reproached	"	210-212
Suffering to be patiently endured	"	213
— Sundry laws relating to almsgiving, war, wine, lots, orphans, marriage, women, oaths, and divorce	"	214-242
The duty of warring in defence of religion enjoined by precept, and illustrated by the history of former prophets	"	243-253
The <i>Throne Verse</i>	"	254-257
The doctrine of the resurrection illustrated	"	258-260
Exhortation and encouragement to almsgiving	"	261-274
— Usury forbidden	"	275-277
The law concerning contracts and debts	"	278-284
The prophet's confession and prayer	"	285, 286

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

|| (1) A. L. M. (2) There is no doubt in this book; it is a direction to the pious, (3) who believe in the mysteries of *faith*, who observe the appointed times of prayer, and distribute *alms* out of what we have bestowed on them, (4) and who believe in that *revelation*, which hath been sent down unto thee and that which hath been sent down

R 1.

(1) *A. L. M.* There are twenty-nine chapters which begin with certain letters, and these the Muhammadans believe to conceal profound mysteries that have not been communicated to any but the prophet; notwithstanding which, various explanations of them have been proffered (see Prelim. Disc., sec. iii.) Sale says, "None of the numerous conjectures as to the meaning of these letters is more plausible than that of Golius, who suggests the idea that they were originally inserted by the amanuensis, and that they stood for the phrase *Amar li Muhammad*, i.e., by the command of Muhammad."

(2) *There is no doubt in this book.* The author of the notes in the Roman Urdú Qurán well observes, that Muhammad has cast doubt upon his Qurán by the constant effort to show that there is no room for doubt. For where there is no consciousness of guilt, there is no anticipation of a criminal charge. The contrast between the Qurán and the Christian Scriptures in this respect is very striking.

The *Tafsir-i-Raufi* explains that when the infidels charged Muhammad with being a juggler, a poet, and a collector of *stories*, many were in doubt about the truth of the Qurán. Accordingly some said one thing, some another; wherefore God settled the minds of the faithful by the declaration of this verse. The same writer regards these words as an answer to the prayer of the previous chapter.

(3) *Mysteries of faith.* "The Arabic word is *Ghaib*, which properly signifies a thing that is *absent*, at a great distance, or *invisible*, such as the resurrection, paradise, and hell. And this is agreeable to the language of Scripture, which defines faith to be *the evidence of things not seen* (Heb. xi. 1; 2 Cor. iv. 18, and v. 7)."—Sale. Rodwell translates it "*unseen*."

Are not Muslims chargeable with disobedience to this precept of the Qurán when they refuse to believe the *mysteries* of the former Scriptures, the Trinity in unity, the Sonship of Christ, &c.?

Appointed times of prayer. See Prelim. Discourse, sec. iv. p. 169.

(4) *That which hath been sent down before thee.* "The Muhammadans believe that God gave written revelations not only to Moses, Jesus, and Muhammad, but to several prophets, though they acknowledge none of those which preceded the Qurán to be now extant except the Pentateuch of Moses, the Psalms of David, and the Gospel of Jesus, which yet they say were, even before Muhammad's time,

unto the prophets before thee, and have firm assurance of the life to come: (5) these are directed by their LORD, and they shall prosper. (6) As for the unbelievers, it will be equal to them whether thou admonish them, or do not admonish them; they will not believe. (7) GOD hath sealed up their hearts and their hearing; a dimness covereth their sight, and they shall suffer a grievous punishment.

R 2.

|| (8) There are some who say, We believe in GOD, and the last day; but are not *really* believers: (9) they seek

altered and corrupted by the Jews and Christians, and therefore will not allow our present copies to be genuine.”—Sale.

Sent down. For the Muslim belief as to the manner in which God revealed the Scriptures, see Prelim. Discourse, sec. iii. p. 108.

Firm assurance of the life to come. “The original word, *al akhīrat*, properly signifies the latter part of anything, and by way of excellence the next life, the latter or future state after death; and is opposed to *al dūnya*, this world, and *al aḥlā*, the former or present life.”—Sale. Rodwell translates, “And full faith have they in the life to come.”

The assurance predicated of the true believers is in regard to the fact of a judgment-day and a future state, not of their certain participation in the joys of heaven. Muhammadans regard anything like assurance of faith, in a Christian sense, as gross presumption, and as tending to sin by breaking down the barriers against its commission. Nevertheless, the plain teaching of the Qurān and of the traditions—see *Mishqāt-ul-Masābīh*, chap. i.—clearly assures final salvation to all Muslims. Why any Muslim should express a doubt, or rather hesitate to confess his assurance as to salvation, may be accounted for partly by his unwillingness to anticipate the divine decree, partly because of the teachings of the theologians respecting purgatory, and lastly, because of the protest of the conscience against a plan of salvation without atonement.

(6) *They will not believe.* The *Tafsīr-i-Raūfī* raises the inquiry why God sent prophets to infidels whom he knew would not believe, and in reply says they were sent (1) to pronounce condemnation against them, and (2) to deprive them of the possible excuse that no prophet had been sent to them.

(7) The doctrine of this verse is that infidels “who will not believe” have been condemned to judicial blindness, which portends the more awful punishment of hell. Sale says: “Muhammad here and elsewhere imitates the truly inspired writers in making God, by operation on the minds of reprobates, prevent their conversion.”

(8-10) The persons referred to here were probably hypocritical disciples from among the Jews. Abdul Qádir says the reference is to Ibn Abi and his friends, who, when reproached by the prophet for his hypocrisy, declared themselves to be true followers of Islām. Muslim commentators, however, never want for historical characters wherewith to illustrate the Qurān.

to deceive GOD, and those who do believe, but they deceive themselves only, and are not sensible thereof. (10) There is an infirmity in their hearts, and GOD hath increased that infirmity; and they shall suffer a most painful punishment, because they have disbelieved. (11) When one saith unto them, Act not corruptly in the earth; they reply, Verily we are men of integrity. (12) Are not they themselves corrupt doers? but they are not sensible thereof. (13) And when one saith unto them, Believe ye as others believe; they answer, Shall we believe as fools believe? Are not they themselves fools? but they know it not. (14) When they meet those who believe, they say, We do believe: but when they retire privately to their devils, they say, We really *hold* with you, and only mock *at those people*: (15) GOD shall mock at them, and continue them in their impiety; they shall wander in confusion. (16) These are *the men* who have purchased error at the price of *true* direction: but their traffic hath not been gainful, neither have they been *rightly* directed. (17) They are like unto one who kindleth a

(11) *Act not corruptly.* "Some expositors understand by this the sowing of false doctrine, and corrupting people's principles."—Sale.

(13) *Believe ye as others believe, i.e.,* as the first followers of Islám believe.

(14) *Devils.* Their leaders and friends, so *Tafsir-i-Raufi*.

(15) *Shall wander in confusion.* For the manner see next verse.

(16) *Their traffic hath not been gainful, &c.* According to the *Tafsir-i-Raufi*, the reward of their hypocrisy is that they are infidels, whilst regarding themselves as of the faithful; heretics, whilst thinking themselves sound in doctrine; ignorant, whilst thinking themselves learned; doomed to destruction, whilst fancying themselves in the way of salvation. Compare this with the teaching of Paul in 2 Thess. ii. 11, 12. Was there ever a more striking example of this very kind of reprobation than the Arabian prophet himself? The earnest reformer of Makkah becomes the cruel and sensual deceiver, and yet the apparently self-deceived politician of Madína.

(17) *Like unto one who kindleth a fire, &c.* The author of the notes in the Roman Urdú Qurán, referring to the claim that the Qurán is in every respect absolutely perfect, and therefore in itself a standing miracle, calls attention to the want of agreement in the number of the first and last parts of this verse. The first half of the sentence, and consequently the parable also, is incomplete. Sale

fire, and when it hath enlightened all around him, God taketh away their light and leaveth them in darkness, they shall not see ; (18) *they are deaf, dumb, and blind*, therefore will they not repent. (19) Or like a stormy cloud from heaven, fraught with darkness, thunder, and lightning, they put their fingers in their ears because of the noise of the thunder, for fear of death ; God encompasseth the infidels : (20) the lightning wanteth but little of taking away their sight ; so often as it enlighteneth them, they walk therein,

suggests the number may have been thus changed in affectation of the prophetic style, and that the sense " may be completed by adding the words, *he turns from it, shuts his eyes, or the like.*" " Muhammad compares those who believed not in him to a man who wants to kindle a fire, but as soon as it burns up and the flames give a light, shuts his eyes, lest he should see. As if he had said, You, O Arabians, have long desired a prophet of your own nation, and now I am sent unto you, and have plainly proved my mission by the excellence of my doctrine and revelation, you resist conviction, and refuse to believe in me ; therefore shall God leave you in your ignorance."—*Sale*.

(19, 20) *Or like a stormy cloud from heaven, &c.* " Here Muhammad compares the unbelieving Arabs to people caught in a violent storm. To perceive the beauty of this comparison, it must be observed that the Muhammadan doctors say this tempest is a type or image of the Qurán itself : the thunder signifying the threats therein contained ; the lightning, the promises ; and the darkness, the mysteries. The terror of the threats makes them stop their ears, unwilling to hear truths so disagreeable ; when the promises are read to them they attend with pleasure ; but when anything mysterious or difficult of belief occurs, they stand stock-still, and will not submit to be directed."—*Sale, Jaláluddín*.

Abdul Qádir observes that up to this point three classes have been described—true believers, infidels, and hypocrites. This latter class is referred to in this parable. They fear the difficulties of their profession as a traveller fears the thunder in a dark night. As a traveller guided by the lightning moves on, but finding himself enveloped in darkness again stops stock-still, so the hypocrite sometimes professes his faith, at other times denies it, according as his circumstances are those of peace or danger.

The *Tafsir-i-Raufi* explains the storm as symbolic of the dangers incurred in fighting against the infidels. The hypocrites through fear hid themselves, desiring to escape the danger ; but as soon as they saw the glitter of the booty, they made great professions of loyalty to Islám. " In short, while they had the hope of securing a share in the booty, they professed themselves friendly and were fulsome in praises ; but when they were confronted by the fear and toil (of the battle), they became inimical fault-finders."

but when darkness cometh on them, they stand still; and if GOD so pleased he would certainly deprive them of their hearing and their sight, for GOD is mighty.

|| (21) O men of *Makkah*, serve your LORD who hath R $\frac{3}{3}$. created you, and those who have been before you: peradventure ye will fear *him*; (22) who hath spread the earth as a bed for you, and the heaven as a covering, and hath caused water to descend from heaven, and thereby produced fruits for your sustenance. Set not up therefore any equals unto GOD, against your own knowledge. (23) If ye be in doubt concerning that *revelation* which we have sent down unto our servant, pro-

(21) *Omen of Makkah*. The passage beginning with this verse and ending with verse 38 belongs to the Makkan period of Muhammad's mission.

(22) *Set not up therefore any equals unto God, &c.* This is the rational conclusion from the considerations before mentioned. It reveals to us the grand motive-power within the bosom of the Makkan reformer. He has listened to the testimony of conscience to a Supreme Being, the Creator, Preserver, and Benefactor. He here appeals to his countrymen to come to this same source of light, and to abandon idolatry, which contradicts their own reason. The passage has something of the sublimity of similar passages in the Old Testament.

(23) *If ye be in doubt . . . produce a chapter like unto it.* In chap. xvii. ver. 90, this challenge is presented in the following boastful declaration: "Verily if men and genii were purposely assembled that they might produce a book like this Qurán, they could not produce one like unto it, although the one of them assisted the other." Will those who would exonerate Muhammad from the charge of being an impostor explain how an honest man could put these words into the mouth of God? If Muhammad be the author of the Qurán—and all apologists regard him as such—he must have known that even the most excellent human composition had no claim to be called inspired; yea, further, it is inconceivable that he should have been so self-deceived as to fancy that when he put these words into the mouth of God, he was speaking the words of God, and not those of his own invention. Which is greater, the credulity which can believe an honest man, of high intelligence and poetic genius, capable of such self-deception as this, or that which believes a wicked man and a deliberate impostor capable of feigning sincerity and honest piety? Let it be observed this claim was ever set up *at Makkah*. It was there that the question of being an honest reformer or a prophet of Arabia was decided.

"If any one has a mind to test this boastful claim, let him read

duce a chapter like unto it, and call upon your witnesses besides God, if ye say truth. (24) But if ye do *it* not, nor shall *ever be able to do it*; justly fear the fire whose fuel is men and stones, prepared for the unbelievers. (25) But bear good tidings unto those who believe, and do good works, that they shall have gardens watered by rivers; so often as they eat of the fruit thereof for sustenance, they *shall* say, This is what we have formerly eaten of; and they shall be supplied with *several sorts of fruit* having a mutual resemblance to one another. There shall they enjoy wives subject to no impurity, and there shall they continue for

the 40th chapter of Isaiah, the 145th Psalm, the 38th of Job, and a hundred other passages in the Christian Scriptures, which are in style and diction superior to the Qurán. It may be said that the beauty of the original cannot be rendered in a translation. Very well; this is equally true of the translations of the Christian Scriptures. Besides these there are hundreds of books which, in point of matter, arrangement, and instruction, are superior to the Qurán." Thus writes the author of the notes on the Roman Urdú Qurán. The same author gives the names and titles of a number of Arabic authors and books, which deny the claim of Muhammad and Muhammadans respecting the divine perfection of the Qurán, among whom are the founder of the sect of the Muzdaryans, Isa-bin-Sábiḥ, al Muzdár, and others. Gibbon describes the Qurán as an "incoherent rhapsody of fable, and precept, and declamation, which sometimes crawls in the dust, and sometimes is lost in the clouds."—*Decline and Fall of Roman Empire*, vol. i. p. 365, Milman's edition. See also Prelim. Discourse, sect. iii. p. 103.

Your witnesses besides God. Your false gods and idols—said in ridicule.

(24) *Whose fuel is men and stones.* Men and idols. The *Tafsir-i-Raufi* gives the opinion of some commentators that clouds, apparently laden with refreshing showers, will pour down torrents of stones, which will greatly increase the heat and torments of hell!

(25) *This is what we have formerly eaten of.* "Some commentators (Jalálain) approve of this sense, supposing the fruits of paradise, though of various tastes, are alike in colour and outward appearance; but others (Zamakhshari) think the meaning to be, that the inhabitants of that place will find there fruits of the same or the like kinds as they used to eat while on earth."—*Salé*.

There they shall enjoy wives subject to no impurity. "It is very remarkable that the notices in the Coran of this voluptuous paradise are almost entirely confined to a time when, whatever the tendency of his desires, Mahomet was living chaste and temperate with a single wife of threescore years of age.

"It is noteworthy that in the Medina Surás, that is, in all the

ever. (26) Moreover, GOD will not be ashamed to propound in a parable a gnat, or even a more despicable thing: for they who believe will know it to be the truth from their LORD; but the unbelievers will say, What meaneth GOD by this parable? he will thereby mislead many, and will direct many thereby: but he will not mislead *any* thereby, except the transgressors, (27) who make void the covenant of GOD after the establishing thereof, and cut in sunder that which GOD hath commanded to be joined, and act corruptly in the earth: they shall perish. (28) How *is it that* ye believe not in GOD? Since ye were dead, and he gave you life; he will hereafter cause you to die, and will again restore you to life; then shall ye return unto him. (29) It is he who hath created for you whatsoever is on earth, and then set his mind to *the creation of* heaven,

voluminous revelations of the ten years following the Hegira, women are only twice referred to as constituting one of the delights of paradise, and on both occasions in these simple words: *And to them (believers) there shall be therein pure wives.* Was it that the soul of Mahomet had at that period no longings after what he had then to satiety the enjoyment of? Or that a closer contact with Jewish principles and morality repressed the budding pruriency of the revelation, and covered with merited confusion the picture of his sensual paradise which had been drawn at Mecca?"—*Muir's Life of Mahomet*, vol. ii. p. 143.

The paradise of Islām is the garden of Eden inhabited by men and women with carnal appetites of infinite capacity, and with ability and opportunity to indulge them to the full. We strain our eyes in vain to catch a glimpse of a spiritual heaven anywhere in the Qurān.

(26) *God will not be ashamed to propound in a parable a gnat.* "God is no more ashamed to propound a gnat as a parable than to use a more dignified illustration."—*Savary*. This was revealed to refute the objection of infidels, that the employment of such parables was beneath the dignity of God.—*Abdul Qādir, Yahya, &c.*

The transgressors. Infidels and hypocrites. *The Tafsīr-i-Raūfi* says the transgressors are distinguished by three characteristics: covenant-breaking, dissolving all connection with one's relatives, and quarrelsomeness. This is, of course, a mere paraphrase of the next verse.

(28) *Ye were dead, &c.* Sale, on the authority of Jalāluddīn, paraphrases thus: "Ye were dead while in the loins of your fathers, and he gave you life in your mothers' wombs; and after death ye shall again be raised at the resurrection."

(29) *Seven heavens.* See the same expression in chapters xli. 11,

and formed it into seven heavens; he knoweth all things.

R 4.

|| (30) When thy LORD said unto the angels, I am going to place a substitute on earth; they said, Wilt thou place there one who will do evil therein, and shed blood? but we celebrate thy praise, and sanctify thee. GOD answered, Verily I know that which ye know not; (31) and he taught Adam the names of all things, and then proposed them to the angels, and said, Declare unto me the names of these things if ye say truth. (32) They answered, Praise be unto thee; we have no knowledge but what thou teachest us, for thou art knowing and wise. (33) GOD

lxv. 12, lxvii. 3, and lxxi. 14. It is probably borrowed from the Jews.

(30) *A substitute on earth.* Literally, a *khalifah*, *vicegerent*.

"Concerning the creation of Adam, here intimated, the Muhammadans have several peculiar traditions. They say the angels Gabriel, Michael, and Israfil were sent by God, one after another, to fetch for that purpose seven handfuls of earth from different depths and of different colours (whence some account for the various complexions of mankind); but the earth being apprehensive of the consequence, and desiring them to represent her fear to God that the creature he designed to form would rebel against him and draw down his curse upon her, they returned without performing God's command; whereupon he sent Azrail on the same errand, who executed his commission without remorse; for which reason God appointed that angel to separate the souls from the bodies, being therefore called *the angel of death*. The earth he had taken was carried into Arabia, to a place between Makkah and Tayif, where being first kneaded by the angels, it was afterwards fashioned by God himself into a human form, and left to dry (Qurán, chap. lv. v. 13) for the space of forty days, or, as others say, as many years, the angels in the meantime often visiting it, and Iblis (then one of the angels who are nearest to God's presence, afterwards the devil) among the rest; but he, not contented with looking on it, kicked it with his foot till it rung, and knowing God designed that creature to be his superior, took a secret resolution never to acknowledge him as such. After this God animated the figure of clay, and endued it with an intelligent soul, and when he had placed him in paradise formed Eve out of his left side (Jalálud-din, &c.)"—Sale.

They said, Wilt thou place there one, &c. This knowledge on the part of the angels, says the *Tafsír-i-Raufi*, was either derived from a divine revelation to that effect, or from a perusal of the writings on the preserved tables.

(32, 33) *God said, O Adam, tell them their names.* "This story Muhammad borrowed from the Jewish traditions, which say that the

said, O Adam, tell them their names. And when he had told them their names, GOD said, Did I not tell you that I know the secrets of heaven and earth, and know that which ye discover, and that which ye conceal? (34) And when we said unto the angels, Worship Adam; they *all* worshipped *him*, except Iblis, *who* refused, and was puffed up with pride, and became of the *number* of unbelievers.

angels having spoken of man with some contempt when God consulted them about his creation, God made answer that the man was wiser than they; and to convince them of it he brought all kinds of animals to them, and asked them their names; which they not being able to tell, he put the same question to the man, who named them one after another; and being asked his own name and God's name, he answered very justly, and gave God the name of JEHOVAH.—*Sale.*

(34) *When we said unto the angels, Worship Adam.* Sale says the angels' adoring Adam is mentioned in the Talmud. "The original word signifies properly to *prostrate oneself* till the forehead touches the ground, which is the humblest posture of adoration, and strictly due to God only; but it is sometimes, as in this place, used to express the civil worship or homage which may be paid to creatures. (Jaláluddín.)"

Except Iblis. The story of Iblis and the angels probably owes its origin to Jewish tradition. The name *Iblis*, from *balas*, a wicked person, may have been derived by translation from the *ὁ πονηρὸς* of the New Testament, Matt. xiii. 19, 38; 1 John ii. 13, 14. The *Tafsir-i-Raufi* says the name of Iblis before this disobedience was *Azazil*, and that this name was given to indicate his now hopeless condition. Muhammad probably adopted the name most familiar to his countrymen whilst relating a story derived from Jewish sources. Muslim commentators, believing the angels to be impeccable, and denying that they propagate their species, argue that Iblis is of the *genii*, and the Qurán, chap. xviii. 48, seems to prove that Muhammad regarded him as the father of the *genii*.

The whole doctrine of the Qurán concerning Iblis and the *genii*, or Satans of the Qurán, has been borrowed for the most part from the Magi of Persia, and the attempt to identify them in the Qurán with the Satan and evil spirits of the Bible is so unsuccessful as to form a plain indication of the forger's hand. A comparison of the two books on this subject will reveal more than one instance wherein the Qurán, notwithstanding its boast that it preserves and confirms the teaching of the former Scriptures, fails to attest the teaching of the Bible.

Because of the number of unbelievers. Sale says, "The occasion of the devil's fall has some affinity with an opinion which has been pretty much entertained among Christians (Irenæus, Lact., Greg. Nyssen, &c.), viz., that the angels being informed of God's intention to create man after his own image, and to dignify human nature by

(35) And we said, O Adam, dwell thou and thy wife in the garden, and eat of *the fruit* thereof plentifully wherever ye will; but approach not this tree, lest ye become of *the number* of the transgressors. But Satan caused them to forfeit *paradise*, and turned them out of *the state of happiness* wherein they had been; whereupon we said, Get ye

Christ's assuming it, some of them, thinking their glory to be eclipsed thereby, envied man's happiness, and so revolted."

(35) *Dwell thou and thy wife in the garden.* Muhammadans believe the residence of Adam and Eve before the Fall to have been paradise or heaven, the place to which all good Muslims go.

This tree. "Concerning this tree, or the forbidden fruit, the Muhammadans, as well as the Christians, have various opinions. Some say it was an ear of wheat; some will have it to have been a fig-tree, and others a vine. The story of the Fall is told, with some further circumstances, in the beginning of the seventh chapter."—Sale.

But Satan. Rodwell calls attention to the change from Iblis, the *calumniator*, to Satan, the *hater*. "They have a tradition that the devil, offering to get into paradise to tempt Adam, was not admitted by the guard; whereupon he begged of the animals, one after another, to carry him in, that he might speak to Adam and his wife; but they all refused him, except the serpent, who took him between two of his teeth, and so introduced him. They add that the serpent was then of a beautiful form, and not in the shape he now bears."—Sale.

We said, Get ye down. "The Muhammadans say that when they were cast down from paradise, Adam fell on the isle of Ceylon or Sarandib, and Eve near Jiddah (the port of Makkah) in Arabia; and that after a separation of two hundred years Adam was, on his repentance, conducted by the Angel Gabriel to a mountain near Makkah, where he found and knew his wife, the mountain being thence named Arifât, and that he afterwards retired with her to Ceylon.

"It may not be improper here to mention another tradition concerning the gigantic stature of our first parents. Their prophet, they say, affirmed Adam to have been as tall as a high palm-tree; but this would be too much in proportion, if that were really the print of his foot, which is pretended to be such, on the top of a mountain in the isle of Ceylon, thence named Pico de Adam, and by the Arab writers Rahun, being somewhat above two spans long (though others say it is seventy cubits long, and that when Adam set one foot here he had the other in the sea), and too little, if Eve were of so enormous a size, as is said, when her head lay on one hill near Makkah, her knees rested on two others in the plain, about two musket-shots asunder."—Sale.

The *Tafsîr-i-Raufi* regards these words as being addressed to the serpent as well as to Adam and Eve.

The one of you an enemy unto the other, i.e., Satan an enemy of man, or the allusion may be to enmity between Adam and Eve, typifying the enmity between the faithful and the infidels.—*Tafsîr-i-Raufi*.

down, the one of you an enemy unto the other; and there shall be a dwelling-place for you on earth, and a provision for a season. (36) And Adam learned words of prayer from his LORD, and GOD turned unto him, for he is easy to be reconciled and merciful. (37) We said, Get ye all down from hence; hereafter shall there come unto you a direction from me, and whoever shall follow my direction, on them shall no fear come, neither shall they be grieved; (38) but they who shall be unbelievers, and accuse our

(36) *Adam learned words of prayer, &c.* There is a difference of opinion among the commentators as to what these words were. The *Tafsir-i-Raufi* accepts the opinion that they were the words of the creed, "Lá-iláha-illal-láho, Muhammad-ur-Rusúl-ulláh," *God he is God, and Muhammad is the apostle of God.* But all such traditionary statements are the outgrowth of a desire to exalt Muhammad. One of the traditions makes Adam say that "As soon as the breath came into my body I opened my eyes, and saw the words, *Lá-iláha-illal-láho, Muhammad-ur-Rusúl-ulláh* written on the heavens."

The purport of the verse seems to be that God taught Adam, in a general way, the words he then revealed for the benefit of himself and his children, Adam being regarded as the prophet of God to his generation.

God turned to him, for he is easy to be reconciled. Rodwell translates, "For he loveth to turn." All the Qurán requires to secure the favour of God is to repent, *i.e.*, to submit to the will of God and ask pardon for sin.

(37, 38) *Hereafter shall cause . . . a direction.* "God here promises Adam that his will should be revealed to him and his posterity; which promise the Muhammadans believe was fulfilled at several times by the ministry of several prophets, from Adam himself, who was the first, to Muhammad, who was the last. The number of books revealed unto Adam they saw was ten" (Jaláluddín).—*Sale.*

And whoever shall follow my direction, &c. The *Tafsir-i-Raufi* conceives the idea that the story of Adam was placed at the very beginning of the Qurán as a warning to all his posterity. He says, "God has narrated the story of Adam before he tells of others, in order that by showing his people how they were adored by the angels, through Adam, in whose loins they were hidden, and yet, instead of being drawn to him by his goodness, they have turned from him, broken his commandments, and have not been ashamed. Then in the expulsion of Adam from paradise, as here related, he intimates that notwithstanding the nearness of Adam to himself, and the adoration of angels bestowed upon him, yet, for one act of disobedience, was expelled from paradise. Wherefore he says, Fear me, and dare not to disobey my commands, lest I refuse to receive you into paradise at the judgment-day."

And accuse our signs of falsehood. Concerning the word here trans-

signs of falsehood, they shall be the companions of *hell-fire*, therein shall they remain for ever.

R $\frac{5}{5}$.

|| (39) O children of Israel, remember my favour where-with I have favoured you; and perform *your* covenant with me, and I will perform *my* covenant with you; and revere me: (40) and believe in the *revelation* which I have sent down, confirming that which is with you, and be not the first who believe not therein, neither exchange my signs for a small price; and fear me. (41) Clothe not the truth with vanity, neither conceal the truth against your own know-

lated *signs* Sale says, "This word has various significations in the Qurán; sometimes, as in this passage, it signifies *divine revelation* or *Scripture* in general, sometimes the *verses* of the Qurán in particular, and at other times *visible miracles*. But the sense is easily distinguished by the context."

They shall be the companions of hell-fire, therein shall they remain for ever. The sufferings of the damned are described in chap. xiv. 19-21, xxv. 11-15, xxxvii. 61-71, and lvi. 40-56. This punishment is eternal, and varies in intensity according to the heinousness of sin.

Hell is divided into seven apartments. For description of each see Preliminary Discourse, sec. iv. p. 148.

(39, 40) *O children of Israel, . . . believe in the revelation which I have sent down confirming that which is with you.* "The Jews are here called upon to receive the Qurán, as verifying and confirming the Pentateuch, particularly with respect to the unity of God and the mission of Muhammad. And they are exhorted not to conceal the passages of their law which bear witness to those truths, nor to corrupt them by publishing false copies of the Pentateuch, for which the writers were but poorly paid."—Sale, *on the authority of Yahya and Jaláluddín*.

For passages of the Qurán attesting the genuineness of the Christian and Jewish Scriptures, see Index under the word QURÁN.

A careful consideration of the import of such passages as this ought to convince every honest Muslim of the fact that Muhammad certainly did regard the Scriptures *then current* among Jews and Christians as the pure Word of God. If he did not, then the Qurán attests, verifies, and confirms a lie! See chap. iii. 93, v. 70, vi. 90, 91, x. 97, and xlvi. 11.

(41) *Clothe not the truth with vanity, neither conceal the truth against your own knowledge.* Rodwell translates the latter part of the verse thus: *Hide not the truth when ye know it.* On this he writes as follows: "Muhammad rarely accused the Jews and Christians of corrupting, but often of misrepresenting, their sacred books, in order to evade his claims. His charges, however, are always very vaguely worded, and his utterances upon this subject are tantamount to a strong testimony in favour of the unimpeachable integrity of the

ledge; (42) observe the stated times of prayer, and pay your legal alms, and bow down yourselves with those who bow down. (43) Will ye command men to do justice, and forget your own souls? yet ye read the book of the law: do ye not therefore understand? (44) Ask help with perse-

sacred books, both of the Jews and Christians, so far as he knew them." The *Tafstr-i-Rauḡ* confirms the position taken above. It paraphrases thus: "Do not mingle with the truth that the praise of Muhammad is recorded in the Pentateuch the lie of a denial, and do not hide the truth that he is the prophet of the last times, for you know that this prophet is a prophet indeed. Why then do ye deliberately hide his praise and title (of prophet), and make yourselves the prisoners of hell?"

The whole force of this exposition rests on the admission that the Jews were in possession of the uncorrupted Scriptures.

Again, it is noteworthy that the corruption charged is not directed against the Scriptures, but against their *interpretation* of those Scriptures. The author of the notes on the Roman Urdú Qurán calls attention to the fact, that while Muhammad would conciliate Jews and Christians by the pretence that his Qurán confirms their Scriptures, he constantly misrepresents and falsifies them. This is true of both their doctrinal teaching and historical statement. It must, however, be observed that this inconsistency was not always due to the *intention* of the Arabian prophet, but generally to his ignorance.

(42) *Stated times of prayer . . . legal alms.* The prayer (*sulāt*) of the Muslim differs from what the Christian calls prayer in that it consists invariably of the repetition of ascriptions of praise to God and of petitions for divine blessing uttered in the Arabic language, and is almost entirely mechanical. The mind and the heart of the worshippers are alike shut up to the words and forms of the stereotyped prayer. The Arabic *dūa* expresses more nearly the Christian idea of prayer. This, too, probably corresponded more nearly to Muhammad's own idea of *sulāt*.

Legal alms (*zikāt*) are levied on money, grain, fruit, cattle, and merchandise. The object for which it is levied is the support of the poor. It amounts to about two and a half or three per cent. on annual profits.

Although these words are addressed to Jews, the prayer and alms, concerning which exhortation is made, are Muslim, *i.e.*, of the kind and form belonging to the *last* dispensation of the one true religion.

For nearly all the rites and forms of religion, Islām finds sanction in the volume of traditions. This fact affords a strong argument against the Qurán as the inspired Scripture of a new dispensation.

(43) *Ye read the book of the law, i.e., the Pentateuch.* This verse affords another proof that Muhammad believed the Jewish Scriptures then extant to be the genuine Word of God.

(44, 45) *Ask help with perseverance and prayer, &c.* Abdul Qádir translates, "Get strength by toil and prayer," &c., and paraphrases, "Make it (prayer) a habit, and the duties of religion will become easy."

R 6.

verance and prayer; this indeed is grievous unless to the humble, (45) who *seriously* think they shall meet their LORD, and that to him they shall return.

|| (46) O children of Israel, remember my favour wherewith I have favoured you, and that I have preferred you above all nations; (47) dread the day *wherein one* soul shall not make satisfaction for *another* soul, neither shall any intercession be accepted from them, nor shall any compensation be received, neither shall they be helped. (48) *Remember* when we delivered you from the people of Pharaoh, who grievously oppressed you, they slew your male children, and let your females

The humble, who seriously think they shall meet their Lord, and that to him they shall return. Sentiments like these exhibit the vast moral superiority of Muhammad's teaching with regard to God and man's relation to him over that of his idolatrous countrymen and of idolaters of any country. The influence of passages like this must be taken into account if we would understand the power which the Qurán exerts over Muslims.

(46) *O children of Israel, remember my favour, &c.* The object of passages like this was to conciliate the Jews by appeals to their national pride, and by an attempt to imitate the style of their prophets in his exhortations to them. Passages of the Qurán like this concerning the children of Israel evince considerable knowledge of the history of the chosen people. And yet the error which is here mixed up with the truth, without any apparent design, would seem to show that Muhammad had not access to the Jewish Scriptures directly. It is therefore most probable that he obtained his information from Jewish friends, who had themselves an imperfect knowledge of their own Scriptures. See on this subject Muir's *Life of Mahomet*, vol. ii., supplement to chap. v.

(47) *Dread the day wherein one soul shall not make satisfaction for another soul.* "This verse, often repeated, contradicts the notion of Muhammad as an intercessor, and, of course, contradicts Scripture also, unless understood thus:—'The guilty shall not atone for the guilty.'"—*Brinckman's Notes on Islám.*

The author of the *Tafsír-i-Raufi* thinks this versé is addressed to unbelievers, and regards it as teaching the certain damnation of all who have not secured the intercession of Muhammad.

(48) *They slew your male children.* The *Tafsír-i-Raufi* gives a story which illustrates the habit of Muslim commentators of *inventing history* to explain the indefinite statements of the Qurán. The story is that Pharaoh had a dream, in which he saw a fire issue forth from the Temple at Jerusalem. The fire consumed him and his people. Calling his wise men, he asked the meaning of his dream. They told him that a person would be born from among

live: therein was a great trial from your LORD. (49) And when we divided the sea for you and delivered you, and drowned Pharaoh's people while ye looked on. (50) And when we treated with Moses forty nights; then ye took the calf *for your God*, and did evil; (51) yet afterwards we forgave you, that peradventure ye might give thanks. (52) And when we gave Moses the book *of the law*, and

the children of Israel who would destroy both him and his nation. Accordingly he ordered all the male children of the Israelites to be destroyed. When some twelve thousand—according to others seventy thousand—infants had been destroyed, his subjects interfered, and so far modified Pharaoh's intention that he spared the children born every alternate year. During one of these years Aaron was born; but Moses, being born the following year, was placed in a basket and allowed to float down the Nile. On its reaching the palace, Pharaoh drew the basket to shore and found the infant Moses in it. His wife at once declared that the child did not belong to the Jews, and proposed to adopt it as their own, inasmuch as they had no children. Thus Moses was preserved by his enemy. See also Qurán, chaps. vii., xx., and xxvi., &c.

“(50) *Then took ye the calf for your God, and did evil.* “The person who cast this calf, the Muhammadans say, was (not Aaron, but) al Sámairi, one of the principal men among the children of Israel, some of whose descendants, it is pretended, still inhabit an island of that name in the Arabian Gulf. It was made of the rings and bracelets of gold, silver, and other materials which the Israelites had borrowed of the Egyptians; for Aaron, who commanded in his brother's absence, having ordered Sámairi to collect those ornaments from the people, who carried on a wicked commerce with them, and to keep them together till the return of Moses, al Sámairi, understanding the founder's art, put them all together into a furnace to melt them down into one mass, which came out in the form of a calf. The Israelites, accustomed to the Egyptian idolatry, paying a religious worship to this image, al Sámairi went further, and took some dust from the footsteps of the horse of the Angel Gabriel, who marched at the head of the people, and threw it into the mouth of the calf, which immediately began to low, and became animated; for such was the virtue of that dust.”—Sale, on authority of *Jaláluddín*.

Some writers explain that Sámairi discovered the virtue of this dust of the footsteps of Gabriel's horse by observing that wherever such footsteps were there green grass immediately appeared. Others account for the voice in the golden calf by referring it to Satan, who, entering it, began to say to the people, “I am your preserver, wherefore worship me.”

(51) *Yet afterwards we forgave you, i.e.,* those who did not actually worship the golden calf. See ver. 53.

(52) *When we gave Moses the book.* We have here one instance, of

the distinction *between good and evil*, that peradventure ye might be directed. (53) And when Moses said unto his people, O my people, verily ye have injured your own souls, by your taking the calf *for your God*; therefore be turned unto your Creator, and slay those among you *who have been guilty of that crime*; this will be better for you

which this chapter furnishes many, wherein the Qurán shows the ignorance of Muhammad with respect to the history of the Jews as contained in the books of Moses. The "Book" of the law (the Torah or Pentateuch) is here represented as given to Moses *in the Mount*, whereas the story refers to the giving of the two tables (*Arabic*, Alwáh, meaning *tablets*) containing the ten commandments only. See Exod. xxxiv. 28.

For further exposition of discrepancy between the Qurán and the Pentateuch, see comments on chap. vii., vers. 104-163, where is recorded the most detailed account of the exodus of Israel from Egypt and God's dealings with them in the wilderness to be found in the Qurán.

And the distinction between good and evil. Rodwell translates, "and the illumination," chap. xxi. 49.

The Arabic word here translated *distinction* is *Furqán*, a name which, among Muslims, is given solely to the Qurán. The author of the notes on the Roman Urdú Qurán argues from the use of this word, which is derived from the Syraic, that Muhammad must have had access to the writings of Syrian Christians, and especially to the commentary of the Old and New Testaments by Ephraim, a Syrian, in which a great many stories similar to those of the Qurán are said to be recorded, and in which the Pentateuch is uniformly called the *Furqán*.

That this word may have been introduced into Muhammad's vocabulary from Syrian sources is altogether probable, but the stories of the Qurán bear no traces of having been copied from, or even learned from, any written record. On the contrary, they everywhere bear the marks of having been recorded in the Qurán from hearsay sources. Any written record in the hands of Muhammad would have enabled him to give more accurate statements of fact, and thus would have better confirmed his claim that the Qurán attests the former Scriptures.

The meaning of the term *Furqán*, as applied to Scripture, is not "that which is divided into sections" (Hughes' *Notes on Muhammadanism*, p. 11), but *that which divides between good and evil*, "that peradventure ye might be directed."

(53) *Ye have injured your own souls.* Rodwell has it, "Ye have sinned to your own hurt." The allusion is to the slaying of certain of their number for the sin of idolatry.

Slay those among you, &c. Lit. slay one another.

"In this particular the narration agrees with that of Moses, who ordered the Levites to slay *every man his brother*; but the Scripture

in the sight of your Creator: and *thereupon* he turned unto you, for he is easy to be reconciled, and merciful. (54) And when ye said, O Moses, we will not believe thee, until we see GOD manifestly; therefore a punishment came upon you, while ye looked on; (55) then we raised you to life after ye had been dead, that peradventure ye might give thanks. (56) And we caused clouds to overshadow you, and manna and quails to descend upon you, *saying*, Eat of the good things which we have given you for food: and they injured not us, but injured

says *there fell of the people that day about three thousand* (the Vulgate says 23,000) *men*; whereas the commentators of the Qurán make the number of the slain to amount to 70,000; and add, that God sent a dark cloud which hindered them from seeing one another, lest the sight should move those who executed the sentence to compassion.”—*Sale and Jaláluddín.*

(54) *When ye said, O Moses, we will not believe thee, until we see God manifestly.* “The persons here meant are said to have been seventy men, who were made choice of by Moses, and heard the voice of God talking with him. But not being satisfied with that, they demanded to see God; whereupon they were all struck dead by lightning.”—*Sale, Ismaíl ibn Ali, Tafsír-i-Raufi.*

As this statement is nowhere corroborated in the Bible, it is probably derived from Jewish tradition.

(55) *Then we raised you to life.* The *Tafsír-i-Raufi* states that Moses, seeing his seventy companions stricken dead, immediately interceded for their restoration to life, on the ground that the people might suspect him of their murder. God then, on Moses’ intercession, restored them to life. See also Rodwell’s note on this passage.

(56) *We caused clouds to overshadow you.* The pillar of cloud, and may be the pillar of fire also (Exod. xiii. 21, 22). Some commentators say that the cloud was as a canopy over the Israelites to shield them from the heat of the sun (*Tafsír-i-Raufi*).

Manna and quails. “The Eastern writers say these quails were of a peculiar kind, to be found nowhere but in Yaman, from whence they were brought by a south wind in great numbers to the Israelites’ camp in the desert. The Arabs call these birds *Salwá*, which is plainly the same with the Hebrew *Salwim*, and say they have no bones, but are eaten whole.”—*Sale.*

A great variety of opinions have been entertained among Muslim commentators as to what manna represents, *e.g.*, flour, honey, heavenly gifts bestowed secretly, &c. As to the quails, some have it that they were dressed in the air and baked by the heat of the sun before they fell on the ground.

As to the *Salwá* having no bones (see *Sale’s* note above), the fact is, their bones are so tender that many eat them along with the flesh.

their own souls. (57) And when we said, Enter into this city, and eat of the provisions thereof plentifully as ye will; and enter the gate worshipping, and say, Forgiveness! we will pardon you your sins, and give increase unto the well-doers. (58) But the ungodly changed the expression into another, different from what had been spoken unto them; and we sent down upon the ungodly indignation from heaven, because they had transgressed.

R 7.

(59) And when Moses asked drink for his people, we said, Strike the rock with thy rod; and there gushed thereout twelve fountains according to the number of the tribes, and

And they injured not us, but injured their own souls. Savary translates this passage, "Your murmurs have been injurious only to yourselves."

The *Tafsir-i-Raufi* seems to refer the injury spoken of in this verse to the wandering in the wilderness.

(57) *Enter this city.* Some commentators suppose this city to be Jericho, others Jerusalem.—Sale.

The author of the notes on the Roman Urdú Qurán takes the allusion to be to a "city of refuge." This mixing up of events, some of which happened in the wilderness, others in the Holy Land, and still others which happened nowhere, added to which is the narration of events as occurring successively, whose chronological order is widely different, shows the ignorance of the Arabian prophet.

Say forgiveness. "The Arabic word is *Hittaton*, which some take to signify that profession of the unity of God so frequently used by the Muhammadans, *Lá iláha illa 'lláho*, *There is no God but God.*"—Sale, Jaláluddín.

(58) *But the ungodly changed the expression, &c.* "According to Jaláluddín, instead of *Hittaton*, they cried *Habbat fi sha'irat*, i.e., *a grain in an ear of barley*; and in ridicule of the divine command to enter the city in an humble posture, they indecently crept in upon their breech."—Sale, Yahya.

Indignation from heaven. "A pestilence which carried off near seventy thousand of them."—Sale.

(59) *Strike the rock.* "The commentators say this was a stone which Moses brought from Mount Sinai, and the same that fled away with his garments which he had laid upon it one day while he washed.

"They describe it to be a square piece of white marble, shaped like a man's head; wherein they differ not much from the accounts of European travellers, who say this rock stands among several lesser ones, about a hundred paces from Mount Horeb, and appears to have been loosened from the neighbouring mountains, having no coherence with the others; that it is a huge mass of red granite, almost

all men knew their *respective* drinking-place. Eat and drink of the bounty of God, and commit not evil on the earth, acting unjustly. (60) And when ye said, O Moses, we will by no means be satisfied with one *kind of food*; pray unto thy LORD therefore for us, that he would produce for us of that which the earth bringeth forth, herbs and cucumbers, and garlic, and lentils, and onions; Moses answered, Will ye exchange that which is better, for that which is worse? Get ye down into Egypt, for *there* shall ye find what ye desire: and they were smitten with vileness and misery, and drew on themselves indignation from God. This *they suffered*, because they believed not in the signs of God, and killed the prophets unjustly; this, because they rebelled and transgressed.

|| (61) Surely those who believe, and those who Judaize, R ^s.

round on one side, and flat on the other, twelve feet high, and as many thick, but broader than it is high, and about fifty feet in circumference."—Sale, *Jaláluddín*.

Twelve fountains. "Marracci thinks this circumstance looks like a Rabbinical fiction, or else that Muhammad confounds the water of the rock at Horeb with the twelve wells at Elim."—Sale.

All men knew their drinking-place. Rodwell translates, "all men," but understands "each tribe." He adds, "This incident is perhaps inadvertently borrowed from Exod. xv. 27."

(60) *We will by no means be satisfied with one kind of food.* This refers to the second murmuring of the Israelites. See Num. xi. 5, &c.

Moses answered . . . Get ye down to Egypt. According to the Pentateuch, this is not only not what Moses said, but what he would not have said. Cf. Exod. xxxii. 9-14, with Num. xiv. 13, &c.

This they suffered, because they . . . killed the prophets. Muslim commentators, following the anachronism of this passage, instance John Baptist and Zachariah as being among the martyred prophets referred to here!

(61) *Surely those who believe, &c.* "From these words, which are repeated in the fifth chapter, several writers have wrongly concluded that the Muhammadans hold it to be the doctrine of their prophet that every man may be saved in his own religion, provided he be sincere and lead a good life. It is true some of their doctors do agree this to be the purport of the words; but then they say the latitude hereby granted was soon revoked, for that this passage is abrogated by several others in the Qurán, which expressly declare that none can be saved who is not of the Muhammadan faith; and particularly by those words of the third chapter (ver. 84), *Whoever*

and Christians, and Sabians, whoever believeth in God, and the last day, and doth that which is right, they shall have their reward with their LORD; *there shall come* no fear on

followeth any other religion than Islâm (i.e., the Muhammadan), it shall not be accepted of him, and at the last day he shall be of those who perish. However, others are of opinion that this passage is not abrogated, but interpret it differently, taking the meaning of it to be, that no man, whether he be a Jew, a Christian, or a Sabian, shall be excluded from salvation, provided he quit his erroneous religion and become a Muslim, which they say is intended by the following words, *Whoever believeth in God and the last day, and doth that which is right.* And this interpretation is approved by Mr. Reland, who thinks the words here import no more than those of the apostle, *In every nation he that feareth God and worketh righteousness is accepted of him* (Acts x. 35); from which it must not be inferred that the religion of nature, or any other, is sufficient to save, without faith in Christ (*Relig. Moham.*, p. 128).—*Sale.*

Rodwell identifies the Sabeites with the so-called Christians of St. John. See his note on this passage.

Brinckman thinks the fairest interpretation of this passage to be as follows :—"Jews, Christians, Sabians, whoever become Moslems, shall be saved *if* they become Moslems, and they shall be safe no matter what was their previous religion."—*Notes on Islâm*, p. 53.

Abdul Qâdir and the *Tafsîr-i-Raufi* render the passage as making faith in God and the last day and the performance of required duty the condition of salvation, no matter what a man's infidelity may have consisted in before he believed. They agree in regarding Jews and Christians as infidels.

The true explanation of this passage, so often quoted in controversy, will be made evident from the following considerations :—

(1.) The passage is addressed to the People of the Book (*Ahl-i-kitâb*), as appears from the context. Rodwell describes the "Sabeans" correctly.

(2.) Muhammad did not regard *all* Jews and Christians as infidels (chap. iii. 113 and 199). He everywhere describes Islâm as the one only true religion given by God to men through the medium of the prophets. It was the religion of Adam, of Noah, of Abraham, of Moses, and of Jesus. Jews and Christians, &c., therefore, who believed "in God and the last day," and did "that which was right," *were true Muslims*. Only those Jews and Christians who *rejected* Muhammad as the prophet of God are stigmatised as infidels. In this passage and passages of similar purport Muhammad assumes that he is the prophet of the true faith, and really strives to conciliate Jews and Christians by endorsing their religion as true. He would have them abjure the *errors* into which they had fallen, and return to the simple faith and practice of *their*, or rather God's religion, as now taught by the prophet of God.

It follows from this, that as a true Jew must receive Jesus Christ, and hence become a Christian, if he would be saved, so a true Chris-

them, neither shall they be grieved. (62) *Call to mind* also when we accepted your covenant, and lifted up the mountain of *Sinai* over you, *saying*, Receive the law which we have given you, with a resolution to *keep it*, and remember that which is contained therein, that ye may beware. (63) After this ye again turned back, so that if it had not been for GOD's indulgence and mercy towards you, ye had certainly been destroyed. (64) Moreover ye know *what befell* those of your nation who transgressed on the Sabbath day; We said unto them, Be ye *changed into* apes, driven away *from the society of men*. (65) And we

tian must receive Muhammad, and hence become a Muhammadan, if he would be saved.

Granting, as Muslims do, that Muhammad is the prophet he claimed to be, there is nothing in this passage inconsistent with his usual teaching as to the way of salvation.

(62) *Lifted up the mountain of Sinai over you*. "The Muhammadan tradition is, that the Israelites refusing to receive the law of Moses, God tore up the mountain by the roots, and shook it over their heads to terrify them into a compliance."—*Sale and Abdul Qâdir*.

Rodwell has clearly demonstrated the Jewish origin of this statement.

(63) *After this ye again turned back*. Some commentators (*Tafsîr-i-Raufi*) think these words refer to the rejection of Jesus, but more probably they refer to the rebellion at Kadesh-Barnea, or some similar event connected with the journey in the wilderness.

(64, 65). *Be ye changed into apes, &c.* "The story to which this passage refers is as follows:—In the days of David some Israelites dwelt at Ailah or Elath, on the Red Sea, where on the night of the Sabbath the fish used to come in great numbers to the shore, and stay there all the Sabbath to tempt them; but the night following they returned into the sea again. At length some of the inhabitants, neglecting God's command, caught the fish on the Sabbath, and dressed and ate them; and afterwards cut canals from the sea for the fish to enter, with sluices, which they shut on the Sabbath, to prevent their return to the sea. The other part of the inhabitants, who strictly observed the Sabbath, used both persuasion and force to stop this impiety, but to no purpose, the offenders growing only more and more obstinate; whereupon David cursed the Sabbath-breakers, and God transformed them into apes. It is said that one going to see a friend of his that was among them, found him in the shape of an ape, moving his eyes about wildly, and asking him whether he was not such a one, the ape made a sign with his head that it was he: whereupon the friend said to him, 'Did not I advise you to desist?' at which the ape wept. They add that these unhappy

made them an example unto those who were contemporary with them, and unto those who came after them, and a warning to the pious. (66) And when Moses said unto his people, Verily GOD commandeth you to sacrifice a cow; they answered, Dost thou make a jest of us! Moses said, GOD forbid that I should be *one* of the foolish.

people remained three days in this condition, and were afterwards destroyed by a wind which swept them all into the sea.”—*Salé*.

Rodwell says there is no trace of this legend in the Talmudists. Comp. chap. vii. 164.

The *Tafsir-i-Raufi* says the number thus changed into apes was seventy thousand, a number very commonly assigned by Muslim writers to every display of divine judgment.

(66) *Verily God commandeth you to sacrifice a cow.* “The occasion of this sacrifice is thus related:—A certain man at his death left his son, then a child, a cow-calf, which wandered in the desert till he came to age, at which time his mother told him the heifer was his, and bid him fetch her and sell her for three pieces of gold. When the young man came to the market with his heifer, an angel in the shape of a man accosted him, and bid him six pieces of gold for her; but he would not take the money till he had asked his mother’s consent, which when he had obtained, he returned to the marketplace, and met the angel, who now offered him twice as much for the heifer, provided he would say nothing of it to his mother; but the young man refusing, went and acquainted her with the additional offer. The woman perceiving it was an angel, bid her son go back and ask him what must be done with the heifer; whereupon the angel told the young man that in a little time the children of Israel would buy that heifer of him at any price. And soon after it happened that an Israelite, named Hammiel, was killed by a relation of his, who, to prevent discovery, conveyed the body to a place considerably distant from that where the fact was committed. The friends¹ of the slain man accused some other persons of the murder before Moses; but they denying the fact, and there being no evidence to convict them, God commanded a cow, of such and such particular marks, to be killed; but there being no other which answered the description except the orphan’s heifer, they were obliged to buy her for as much gold as her hide would hold; according to some, for her full weight in gold, and as others say, for ten times as much. This heifer they sacrificed, and the dead body being, by divine direction, struck with a part of it, revived, and standing up, named the person who had killed him, after which it immediately fell down dead again. The whole story seems to be

¹ The *Tafsir-i-Raufi* has it that compensation against his neighbour the murderer himself became the bours. accuser, and set up a claim for

(67) They said, Pray for us unto thy LORD, that he would show us what *cow* it is. Moses answered, He saith, She is neither an old cow, nor a young heifer, but of a middle age between both: do ye therefore that which ye are commanded. (68) They said, Pray for us unto thy LORD, that he would show us what colour she is of. Moses answered, He saith, She is a red cow, intensely red, her colour rejoiceth the beholders. (69) They said, Pray for us unto thy LORD, that he would *further* show us what *cow* it is, for *several* cows with us are like one another, and we, if GOD please, will be directed. (70) Moses answered, He saith, She is a cow not broken to plough the earth, or water

borrowed from the red heifer, which was ordered by the Jewish law to be burnt, and the ashes kept for purifying those who happened to touch a dead corpse (Num. xix.), and from the heifer directed to be slain for the expiation of a certain murder. See Deut. xxi. 1-9." —*Sale, on authority of Abulfeda.*

The *Tafsir-i-Raufi*, dilating on this story at great length, gives it with some variations from the version given above, yet substantially the same story.

This piece of history is manifestly manufactured by the commentators to explain a very obscure passage. The substance of the story is gathered from the Qurán (see succeeding verses). The passage is an additional proof that Muhammad was not in possession of a copy of the Jewish Scriptures. His information must have been received from some one who was himself ignorant of the Scriptures. Certainly Muhammad could not have garbled the Mosaic account to make his Qurán appear as a new revelation, as has been charged upon him (*Notes on Roman Urdú Qurán*). A deliberate garbler, with the Pentateuch before him, would have done better work. The passage is perfectly incoherent, as the *invented history* of the Muslim commentators shows.

(68) *She is a red cow, intensely red.* "The original is *yellow*, but this word we do not use in speaking of the colour of cattle."—*Sale.*

It seems to me the peculiar colour is here intended as a sign to indicate *what* cow. The succeeding question, as well as the preceding, desiring that Moses should pray for them, is presented to show the *unbelief* and hardness of heart on the part of the Jews. They doubt the inspiration of Moses, wherefore these numerous questions. See *Tafsir-i-Raufi, in loco.*

(70) *Moses answered, He saith, &c.* Muhammad here presents Moses as a prophet of God like himself. He, like Muhammad, the inspired prophet, delivers the precise message of God *word for word*. But the inspiration here and elsewhere attributed to the prophets in the Qurán is a very different thing from that attributed to them

R 2.

the field, a sound one, there is no blemish in her. They said, Now hast thou brought the truth. Then they sacrificed her; yet they wanted but little of leaving it undone.

|| (71) And when ye slew a man, and contended among yourselves concerning him, GOD brought forth *to light* that which ye concealed. (72) For we said, Strike *the dead body* with part of *the sacrificed cow*: so GOD raiseth the dead to life, and showeth you his signs, that peradventure ye may understand. (73) Then were your hearts hardened after this, even as stones, and exceeding *them* in hardness: for from some stones have rivers bursted forth, others have been rent in sunder, and water hath issued from them, and others have fallen down for fear of GOD. But GOD is not regardless of that which ye do. (74) Do

in the Bible. This fact affords another instance of the falsehood of the claim that the Qurán attests the Christian Scriptures (ch. xii. 111).

They wanted but little of leaving it undone. "Because of the exorbitant price which they were obliged to pay for the heifer."—Sale, and the *Tafsír-i-Raufi*.

(71) *When ye slew a man, &c.* The commentators are troubled to reconcile this charge of murder against the whole nation, when, according to their history of the transaction, it was the act of only one man. The *Tafsír-i-Raufi* conceives the Jews generally as becoming partners in crime with the one guilty person by their unwillingness to use the divine instrumentality to discover the murderer, and their readiness to charge the crime upon one another.

(72) *Strike the dead body with part of the sacrificed cow.* There is considerable learning displayed in the discussion as to what part of the cow was used for this purpose. The weight of learning is pretty well divided between the tongue and the end of the tail!

(73) *Hardened after this, i.e., after the sacrifice of the cow,* the restoration to life of the murdered, and the conviction of the murderer. The events here alluded to are not, for a wonder, described by the commentators. From what follows, it appears to me the allusion is to their rejection of the prophets, and especially of Muhammad (ver. 74).

Others have fallen down for fear of God. Some think the allusion here to be to the tottering of the rocks from the mountain-side under an earthquake shock. Others have quoted much tradition to show the literal fulfilment of this in connection with the prophet, stones doing obeisance to him. See *Tafsír-i-Raufi*.

(74) *Do ye therefore desire the Jews should believe you?* Rodwell translates, "Desire ye then that for your sakes (i.e., to please you, O Muslims) the Jews should believe?"

The negative here suggested as an answer to this question throws

ye therefore desire that *the Jews* should believe you? yet a part of them heard the word of God, and then perverted it, after they had understood it, against their own conscience. (75) And when they meet the true believers, they say, We believe: but when they are privately assembled together, they say, Will ye acquaint them with what God hath revealed unto you, that they may dispute with you concerning it in the presence of your LORD? Do ye not therefore understand? (76) Do not they know that God knoweth that which they conceal as well as that which they publish? || (77) But there are illiterate men Nisf.

some light on the various examples of Jewish unbelief related in the preceding context, the narration of which closes with the preceding verse. The object of these statements is primarily to show the similarity of Arabia's prophet to Moses, and, secondarily, to arouse in Arab minds that fanatical hatred of the Jews which was soon to vent itself on the Bani Quraidha and other tribes. See Muir's *Life of Mahomet*, vol. iii. pp. 255-291.

Yet a part of them heard . . . then perverted it. They listened with apparent interest to the words of the Qurán, and gave Muhammad reason to believe they received it as the Word of God, but afterwards were led to change their minds, probably through the influence of their more stable-minded brethren.

(75) *And when they meet the true believers, they say, We believe.* These are the *hypocrites* referred to in ver. 74. More likely they were ignorant Jews, who were really drawn toward Muhammad when in his presence and under his influence, but who were drawn away again by the influence of other Jews who were adverse to Muhammad. Failure to ally themselves to him was quite sufficient to put them under the ban of hypocrisy.

The *Tafsír-i-Raufi* instances Qáb, who was assassinated about this time by the order or consent of Muhammad, on account of his opposition to Islám, as one of these hypocrites.

When they are privately assembled together, they say, &c. Abdul Qádir translates "one says to another," instead of "they say." He comments as follows:—"The hypocrites were in the habit of telling the Muslims, in order to win their favour, what was written in their books concerning Muhammad; but his enemies, finding fault with them, objected to their placing such proofs in their hands," i.e., of the Muslims. Does not this verse throw some light on the source from which Muhammad obtained the garbled accounts of the history and experience of the prophets found in his Qurán? Ignorant Jews related the stories imperfectly to the followers of Muhammad, who repeated them still more imperfectly to their prophet, who embodied them in the Qurán.

(77) *Illiterate men . . . who know not the book.* "Among them the

among them, who know not the book of the law, but only lying stories, although they think otherwise. (78) And woe unto them, who transcribe *corruptly* the book of the Law with their hands, and then say, This is from GOD: that they may sell it for a small price. Therefore woe unto them because of that which their hands have written; and woe unto them for that which they have gained. (79) They say, The fire of hell shall not touch us but for a *certain* number of days. Answer, Have ye received any promise from GOD to that purpose? for GOD will not act contrary to his promise: or do ye speak concerning GOD that which ye know not? (80) Verily whoso doeth evil, and

vulgar know the Pentateuch only by tradition. They have but a blind belief."—*Savary*.

The author of the notes to the Roman Urdú Qurán well observes that this passage implies that, in Muhammad's estimate, the Jewish Scriptures were extant and entirely credible, and that they were read and understood by their doctors.

(78) *Woe unto them, who transcribe corruptly the book of the Law with their hands, and then say, This is from God.* "These are they who form sentences as they please for the people, and then ascribe them to God or his prophet."—*Abdul Qádir*.

The inference drawn by modern Muslims from passages like this, that, according to the Qurán, the Jewish and Christian Scriptures have been corrupted, and are therefore no longer credible, is entirely unjustifiable. Admitting the charge made here against certain Jews to be true (and the Christian need not deny it), it proves nothing concerning the text of present copies. On the contrary, the charge implies the existence, at that date, of genuine copies.

That they may sell it for a small price. This formula occurs repeatedly in the Qurán. Its meaning is, that the gain arising from such a course would be small compared with the loss of the soul in hell.

The *Tafsír-i-Raufi* relates a story to the effect that certain Jews were bribed to pervert the Mosaic description of Antichrist or Dajjál, so as to make him correspond in size, complexion, and otherwise to Muhammad.

(79) *A certain number of days.* "That is, says Jaláluddín, forty, being the number of days that their forefathers worshipped the golden calf, after which they gave out that their punishment should cease. It is a received opinion among the Jews at present that no person, be he ever so wicked, or of whatever sect, shall remain in hell above eleven months, or at most a year, except Dathan and Abiram and atheists, who will be tormented there to all eternity."—*Sale*.

(80) *Whoso doeth evil.* "By *evil* in this case the commentators generally understand polytheism or idolatry, which sin, the Mu-

is encompassed by his iniquity, they *shall be* the companions of *hell-fire*, they shall remain therein forever: (81) but they who believe and do good works, they shall be the companions of paradise, they shall continue therein forever.

|| (82) *Remember* also, when we accepted the covenant R 10.
of the children of Israel, *saying*, Ye shall not worship *any other* except God, and *ye shall show* kindness to *your* parents and kindred, and to orphans, and to the poor, and speak that which is good unto men, and be constant at prayer, and give alms. Afterwards ye turned back,

hammadans believe, unless repented of in this life, is unpardonable, and will be punished by eternal damnation; but all other sins they hold will at length be forgiven."—*Sale*.

The final pardon of sin, however, is true only of Muslims. For the *kāfir* or infidel, *i.e.*, any one who rejects Islām, there is eternal burning (chaps. xi. 53 and xli. 28).

Companions of fire. The Qurán everywhere represents the pains of hell as being those produced by fire. Everywhere the prophet seems to gloat over the horrors of the punishment meted out to the lost in perdition. See references in Index under the word HELL.

(81) *But they who believe and do good works, i.e.*, Muslims performing the duties required by their profession.

The statement made in these verses would seem to contradict that of such passages as speak of salvation by the grace of God, *e.g.*, chap. xxiv. 21. But there is not necessarily any more contradiction here than in similar passages of the Bible, where the doctrines of faith and works seem to be inconsistent with each other. The grace of God is bestowed upon the ground of faith, which is inseparable from good works.

(82) *The covenant of the children of Israel, &c.* It is noteworthy that the Qurán nowhere makes allusion to the ceremonial rites of sacrifice *as a sin-offering*, when narrating the religious duties of the Jews. Even the famous passage in chap. xxii. 36-40, where sacrifice is recognised as a rite appointed by God unto every nation, and the story of the "Yellow Cow" (vers. 66-70), do not indicate a sacrifice in any Jewish sense as having atoning efficacy. Muhammad could hardly have known so much of Judaism as is manifest in the Qurán—could not have met with so many Jews as he did in Madína, without knowing something at least of their ideas of sacrifice. The conclusion would seem well founded that he deliberately eliminated the whole idea of atonement from what he declared to be the Word of God, and, therefore, never permitted the doctrine of salvation by atonement to appear as having divine sanction *in any dispensation*. With facts like this before us, it is very difficult to exonerate the author of the Qurán from the charge of deliberate forgery and conscious imposture.

except a few of you, and retired afar off. (83) And when we accepted your covenant, *saying*, Ye shall not shed your *brother's* blood, nor dispossess one another of your habitations; then ye confirmed it, and were witnesses *thereto*. (84) Afterwards ye were they who slew one another, and turned several of your *brethren* out of their houses, mutually assisting each other against them with injustice and enmity; but if they come captives unto you, ye redeem them: yet it is *equally* unlawful for you to dispossess them. Do ye therefore believe in part of the *book of the law*, and reject other part thereof? But whoso among you doth this, shall have no other reward than shame in this life, and on the day of resurrection they shall be sent to a most grievous punishment; for GOD is not regardless of that which ye do. (85) These are they who have purchased this present life, at the price of that which is to come; wherefore their punishment shall not be mitigated, neither shall they be helped.

R 11.

|| (86) We formerly delivered the *book of the law* unto

(83) *Shall not shed your brother's blood.* Rodwell translates, "your own blood," and explains as follows: "The blood of those who are as your own flesh."

(84) *Yet it is equally unlawful for you to dispossess them.* "This passage was revealed on occasion of some quarrels which arose between the Jews of the tribes of Quraidha, and those of al Aws, al Nadhir, and al Khazraj, and came to that height that they took arms and destroyed one another's habitations, and turned one another out of their houses; but when any were taken captive, they redeemed them. When they were asked the reason of their acting in this manner, they answered, that they were commanded by their law to redeem the captives, but that they fought out of shame, lest their chiefs should be despised."—Sale, on authority of Jalāluddīn.

(85) *Who have purchased this present life, &c.* This clear recognition of the importance of seeking happiness in the life to come, together with the personal character given to the Judge of all men, have not been the least potent factors in gaining influence for Islām among its votaries.

Shall not be helped. By the intercession of prophets and angels to save them from wrath on the judgment-day.

(86) *And caused apostles to succeed him.* "It is recorded that there were four thousand prophets, more or less, between Moses and Jesus, all of whom obeyed the precepts of the Pentateuch, e.g., Joshua, Simeon, Job, David, Solomon, Elijah, Zacharaya, and John Baptist. They

Moses, and caused apostles to succeed him, and gave evident miracles to Jesus the son of Mary, and strengthened him with the holy spirit. Do ye therefore, whenever an apostle cometh unto you with that which your souls desire not, proudly reject *him*, and accuse

were sent in order to proclaim and enforce the law, for the corruptions (of the text of the Word of God) made by Jewish doctors had been spread abroad. Wherefore these apostles were, so to speak, divine teachers and renewers of the true religion. Such are referred to in this verse.”—*Tafsir-i-Raufi*.

This authority states, in this same connection, that a prophet was sent at the beginning of every century, and that at the beginning of each millennium a great prophet (Nabi ul Azim) was sent. This state of things continued until the coming of Muhammad, who, being the last of the prophets, closed the book of inspiration and established the true faith in perfection. He does not, however, seem to see the inconsistency of this theory with the fact of the four thousand prophets belonging to the Mosaic dispensation before mentioned, nor does he show by what process the disposition of doctors of divinity to corrupt the text of Scripture has been changed in the last dispensation. If the former Scriptures were corrupted in spite of the four thousand prophets, how about the Qurán in a dispensation devoid of prophets?

And gave evident miracles to Jesus the son of Mary. These were—(1) speaking when an infant in his mother's arms; (2) making birds of clay when a child, and causing them to fly away; (3) healing the blind-born; (4) cleansing lepers; and (5) raising the dead. See chaps. iii. 48 and v. 110.

These passages, while recognising Jesus as a worker of miracles, everywhere ascribe them to divine power external to him. He is only “the son of Mary.”

And strengthened him with the holy spirit. “We must not imagine Muhammad here means the Holy Ghost in the Christian acceptation. The commentators say this spirit was the angel Gabriel, who sanctified Jesus and constantly attended on him.”—*Sale, Jaláluddín*.

In chap. iv. 169, Jesus is said to be “a spirit proceeding from God,” so that he would appear, according to the Qurán, to be the Holy Ghost. Muslims even accord to his followers the creed, “There is one God, and Jesus is the Spirit of God,” as expressive of the truth. In chap. xxi. 91, Mary's conception is said to have been due to the *breathing by God of his spirit into her*. And in chap. iii. 45, Jesus is called the “*Word proceeding from Himself*,” i.e., God. Now, while it is certain that these expressions, and many others of a similar import in the Qurán, do express the doctrine of the divinity of Jesus, as well as of the Holy Ghost, it is perfectly clear that *Muhammad never intended* to express that idea. For instance, in chap. iii. 47, it is evident that Muhammad regarded Jesus as a *creature*. And in chap. iv. 169, 170, where Jesus is called the “word which he (God) conveyed into Mary, and a spirit proceeding from him,” this very expression, which is one of the strongest in the

some of imposture, and slay others? (87) *The Jews* say, Our hearts are uncircumcised: but GOD hath cursed them with their infidelity; therefore few shall believe. (88) And when a book came unto them from GOD, confirming *the scriptures* which were with them, although they had before prayed for assistance against those who believed not, yet when that came unto them which they knew to be from God, they would not believe therein: therefore the curse of GOD shall be on the infidels. (89) For a vile price have they sold their souls, that they should not

Qurán, is followed by the command, "Say not, there are three Gods," which is evidently intended to deny the idea of the divinity of Jesus as well as of Mary. Nevertheless, the fact of such expressions being used in the Qurán can only be explained on the ground that they were in use among the Arabs in Muhammad's time in a Christian sense, and that Muhammad either used them, while explaining away their meaning, in order to commend his doctrine to Christians, or, as is more probable, he used them without understanding their Christian import himself. See Muir's *Life of Mohamet*, vol. ii. p. 138.

The unintentional testimony of Muhammad to the character of Jesus is a subject worthy the study of the Christian controversialist.

The *Tafsír-i-Husaini* gives four opinions of Muslim commentators as to the import of the expression "holy spirit:" (1.) The holy soul of Jesus; (2.) the angel Gabriel; (3.) a potent name whereby he was able to raise the dead; and (4.) the Gospel.

And accuse some of imposture. The prophet of Arabia, as is his wont, here likens the treatment he received at the hands of the Jews to that endured by Jesus, whom they rejected as an impostor. The passage shows that Muhammad was regarded as an impostor by the Jews of Madína at least.

(87) *But God hath cursed them with their infidelity, therefore few shall believe.* Rodwell renders it, "God hath cursed them in their infidelity: few are they who believe."

Savary has it: "God cursed them because of their perfidy. Oh, how small is the number of the true believers!"

(88) *And when a book came unto them from God.* The Qurán, which Muhammad here distinctly claims to be the Word of God.

They had before prayed, &c. "The Jews, in expectation of the coming of Muhammad (according to the tradition of his followers), used this prayer: *O God, help us against the unbelievers by the prophet who is to be sent in the last times.*"—Sale.

Which they knew to be from God. Another charge of deliberate rejection of his claims.

(89) *Out of envy, because God sendeth down his favours to such of his servants as he pleaseth.* Envious of "the gift of the prophetic office, &c., to a pagan Arab, and not to a Jew."—Rodwell.

believe in that which GOD hath sent down; out of envy, because GOD sendeth down his favours to such of his servants as he pleaseth: therefore they brought on themselves indignation on indignation; and the unbelievers shall suffer an ignominious punishment. (90) When one saith unto them, Believe in that which GOD hath sent down; they answer, We believe in that which

“It is remarkable that Muhammad accuses the Jews of rejecting him for the same reason their elders and priests had refused Christ, namely, for envy.”—*Brinckman, Notes on Islām.*

This assumption of Muhammad, like that of deliberate rejection of him whom they knew to be the prophet of God, and of that which they knew to be the Word of God (*i.e.*, the Qurán, see ver. 88), is purely gratuitous. He had failed to give his Jewish hearers one single good reason for believing him to be sent of God as a prophet.

R. Bosworth Smith (*Mohammed and Mohammedianism*, p. 14, second edition) is surprised “that the avowed relation of Christianity to Judaism has not protected Islām from the assaults of Christian apologists, grounded on its no less explicitly avowed relation to the two together.” But surely “avowed” relationship can afford no protection to any religion against assault. The avowed relationship must be proven to be genuine. Mere assertions on the part of Jesus never could have established any relationship between Christianity and Judaism. This relationship is only established by showing Christianity to be a development of Judaism—a development demanded by Judaism itself. Until it can be shown that Islām is a further development of both Judaism and Christianity, all “avowed” relationship counts for nothing. The ground of assault on the part of Christian apologists is the manifest disagreement between Islām and its “avowed relation” to Christianity.

(90) *That which God hath sent down.* The Qurán. The *Tafsir-i-Raufi* understands the allusion to be to the Gospel also, but this opinion is not well founded. The latter part of the verse undoubtedly refers to the Qurán alone, and the allusion here must be to the same thing.

That which hath been sent down to us. The Pentateuch.

They reject . . . the truth, confirming that which is with them. See note on ver. 40. This statement, so frequently reiterated, is one of the chief of the points inviting attack upon the Qurán. The question to be decided is one of *fact*. Does the Qurán confirm the doctrine, the history, and the plan of salvation by atonement set forth in the writings of Moses? If not, then the Qurán is a forgery, and Muhammad an impostor, the Qurán being witness.

Muslims are so thoroughly convinced of the force of this argument against them that they see no way of evading it except in the claim that the Pentateuch now in use among Jews and Christians is either in whole or in part a forgery.

Say, Why therefore have ye slain the prophets of God? See Matt. xxiii.

37. So Rodwell; but see also notes on ver. 60.

hath been sent down unto us: and they reject what *hath been revealed* since, although it be the truth, confirming that which is with them. Say, Why therefore have ye slain the prophets of God in times past, if ye be true believers? (91) Moses formerly came unto you with evident signs, but ye afterwards took the calf *for your god* and did wickedly. (92) And when we accepted your covenant, and lifted the mountain of *Sinai* over you, *saying*, Receive *the law* which we have given you, with a resolution *to perform it*, and hear; they said, We have heard, and have rebelled: and they were made to drink down the calf into their hearts for their unbelief. Say, A grievous thing hath your faith commanded you, if ye be true believers? (93) Say, If the future mansion with God be *prepared* peculiarly for you, exclusive of the rest of mankind, wish for death, if ye say truth; (94) but they will never wish for it, because of that which their hands have sent before them; GOD knoweth the wicked-doers;

(91) *The calf.* See notes on ver. 50.

(92) *Lifted the mountain of Sinai over you.* See note on ver. 62.

We have heard and rebelled. Muslim commentators express a variety of opinions in regard to these words, e.g., they cried aloud "we have heard," but said softly "and rebelled," or "we have heard" with our ears "and rebelled" with our hearts, or that their fathers heard and they rebelled; or that some said "we have heard," and others "and rebelled;" or, finally, that two different occasions are referred to, one of obedience and another of rebellion. See *Tafsir-i-Raufi*.

Say, A grievous thing, &c. "Muhammad here infers from their forefathers' disobedience in worshipping the calf, at the same time that they pretended to believe in the law of Moses, that the faith of the Jews in his time was as vain and hypocritical, since they rejected him, who was foretold therein, as an impostor."—*Sale, Yahya, Baidhawí.*

(93) *If the future mansion . . . wish for death, if ye say truth.* This same claim can be set up with equal justice against Muslims, who hold out no hope of salvation to such as reject Islám. The *Tafsir-i-Raufi* regards the words as being addressed to believers as a test of their faith. Tried by such a test, there are indeed very few true Muslims.

(94) *That which their hands have sent before them.* "That is, by reason of the wicked forgeries which they have been guilty of in respect to the Scriptures. An expression much like that of St. Paul

(95) and thou shalt surely find them of all men the most covetous of life, even *more* than the idolaters: one of them would desire his life to be prolonged a thousand years, but none shall reprieve himself from punishment, that his life may be prolonged: GOD seeth that which they do.

|| (96) Say, Whoever is an enemy to Gabriel (for he hath caused the *Qurán* to descend on thy heart, by the permission of GOD, confirming that which was before *revealed*, a direction, and good tidings to the faithful); (97) whosoever is an enemy to GOD, or his angels, or his apostles, or to Gabriel, or Michael, verily GOD is an enemy to the unbelievers. (98) And now we have sent down unto thee evident

R 12.

where he says, *that some men's sins are open beforehand, going before to judgment.*—Sale.

God knoweth the wicked-doers. This, with a multitude of similar passages in the *Qurán*, clearly emphasises the truth of God's omniscience. It is one of those truths which has given Islám so much moral power, and which asserts its superiority over the various forms of heathenism with which it comes in contact. Such truths regarding God account in great measure for its influence as a "missionary religion."

(96) *Whoever is an enemy to Gabriel.* "The commentators say that the Jews asked what angel it was that brought the divine revelations to Muhammad; and being told that it was Gabriel, they replied that he was their enemy, and the messenger of wrath and punishment; but if it had been Michael, they would have believed on him, because that angel was their friend, and the messenger of peace and plenty. And on this occasion, they say, this passage was revealed.

That Michael was really the protector or guardian angel of the Jews we know from Scripture (Dan. xii. 1); and it seems that Gabriel was, as the Persians call him, *the angel of revelations*, being frequently sent on messages of that kind (Dan. viii. 16; ix. 21; Luke i. 19, 26); for which reason it is probable Muhammad pretended he was the angel from whom he received the *Qurán*."—Sale, *Jaláluddín, Yahya*.

(98) *Evident signs*, "i.e., the revelations of this book."—Sale. "The *Qurán* and miracles."—*Tafsír-i-Raufi*. The word *Ayát*, here translated *signs*, is that which is used to denote the various sections or verses of the *Qurán*. As these verses were claimed to be a standing miracle, and were for this reason called *signs*, the allusion of the passage is to the *revelations* of the *Qurán*, as Sale has it.

As to the claim of Muslim tradition and of modern Muhammadans that Muhammad wrought miracles, it is sufficient to say that such a claim is made directly in opposition to the repeated declaration of the *Qurán* to the contrary. See vers. 118, 119; chap. iii. 184, 185; chap. vii. 34-36, 109, 111; chap. x. 21, &c.

signs, and none will disbelieve them but the evil-doers. (99) Whenever they make a covenant, will some of them reject it? yea, the greater part of them do not believe. (100) And when there came unto them an apostle from God, confirming that *scripture* which was with them, some of those to whom the scriptures were given cast the book of God behind their backs, as if they knew it not: (101) and they followed *the device* which the devils devised against the kingdom of Solomon, and Solomon was not an unbeliever; but the devils believed not; they taught men sorcery, and that which was sent down to the two angels at Babel, Hárút and Márút: yet those two taught no man until they had said, Verily we are a temptation, therefore be not an

(100) *An apostle from God, confirming that scripture which was with them.* Muhammad here reiterates his claim to be an apostle confirming the Jewish Scriptures. He would also be recognised as an apostle of God *because* he confirms the Jewish Scriptures. He therefore attests the divine character of the Scriptures *extant in his time*. See also note on ver. 90.

(101) *The device which the devils devised.* "The devils having, by God's permission, tempted Solomon without success, they made use of a trick to blast his character. For they wrote several books of magic, and hid them under that prince's throne, and after his death told the chief men that if they wanted to know by what means Solomon had obtained his absolute power over men, genii, and the winds, they should dig under his throne; which having done, they found the aforesaid books, which contained impious superstitions. The better sort refused to learn the evil arts therein delivered, but the common people did; and the priests published this scandalous story of Solomon, which obtained credit among the Jews, till God, say the Muhammadans, cleared that king by the mouth of their prophet, declaring that Solomon was no idolater."—*Sale, Yahya, Jaláluddín.*

"Babel is regarded by the Muslims as the fountain-head of the science of magic. They suppose Hárút and Márút to be two angels who, in consequence of their want of compassion for the frailties of mankind, were sent down to earth to be tempted. They both sinned; and being permitted to choose whether they would be punished now or hereafter, chose the former, and are still suspended by the feet at Babel in a rocky pit, and are the great teachers of magic."—*Lane* on chap. iii., note 14, of the *Thousand and One Nights*. See also Rodwell's note.

Hárút and Márút. "Some say only that these were two magicians or angels sent by God to teach men magic and to tempt them; but others tell a longer fable, that the angels expressing their surprise at the wickedness of the sons of Adam, after prophets had been sent

unbeliever. So men learned from those two *a charm* by which they might cause division between a man and his wife; but they hurt none thereby, unless by GOD's permission, and they learned that which would hurt them, and not profit them; and yet they knew that he who bought that *art* should have no part in the life to come, and woful *is the price* for which they have sold their souls, if they knew it. (102) But if they had believed, and feared God, verily the reward *they would have had* from God would have been better, if they had known it.

|| (103) O true believers, say not *to our apostle*, "Raina;" R $\frac{1}{13}$. but say "Undhúrna;" and hearken: the infidels shall suffer a grievous punishment. (104) It is not the desire of the un-

to them with divine commissions, God bid them choose two out of their own number to be sent down to be judges on earth. Whereupon they pitched upon Hárút and Márút, who executed their office with integrity for some time, till Zuharah, or the planet Venus, descended and appeared before them in the shape of a beautiful woman, bringing a complaint against her husband (though others say she was a real woman). As soon as they saw her they fell in love with her, and endeavoured to prevail on her to satisfy their desires; but she flew up again to heaven, whither the two angels also returned, but were not admitted. However, on the intercession of a certain pious man, they were allowed to choose whether they would be punished in this life or in the other; whereupon they chose the former, and now suffer punishment accordingly in Babel, where they are to remain till the day of judgment. They add that if a man has a fancy to learn magic, he may go to them, and hear their voice, but cannot see them.

"The Jews have something like this of the angel Shamhozai, who having debauched himself with women, repented, and by way of penance hung himself up between heaven and earth. (See Bereshit Rabbah in Gen. vi. 2)."—Sale, *Yakya, Jaláluddín, &c.*

(103) Say not to our apostle, "Raina;" but say "Undhúrna." "Those two Arabic words have both the same signification, viz., *Look on us*, and are a kind of salutation. Muhammad had a great aversion to the first, because the Jews frequently used it in derision, it being a word of reproach in their tongue. They alluded, it seems, to the Hebrew verb רוע, *rua*, which signifies to be bad or mischievous."—Sale, *Jaláluddín.*

"Raina," as pronounced, means in Hebrew, "our bad one;" but in Arabic, "look on us."—Rodwell, *Abdul Qádir.*

(105) Whatever verse we shall abrogate, or cause thee to forget, we will bring a better than it, or one like unto it. "Imám Baghawí says, that the number of abrogated verses has been variously estimated

believers, either among those unto whom the scriptures have been given, or among the idolaters, that any good should be sent down unto you from your LORD: but God will appropriate his mercy unto whom he pleaseth; for God is exceeding beneficent. (105) Whatever verse we shall abrogate, or cause *thee* to forget, we will bring a better than

from five to five hundred.”—*Hughes' Introduction to the Roman Urdú Qurán*, 1876, p. xix.

The *Tafsir Fatah-ul-Aziz* describes three classes of abrogated passages: (1.) where one verse or passage is *substituted* for another; (2.) where the meaning and force of a passage is abrogated by the *addition* of another passage, both passages being retained in the book; and (3.) where the passage is removed entirely from both the book and the memory of those who may have heard it. See on this subject Introduction to Muir's *Life of Mahomet*, pp. xxii. and xxvi, also Preliminary Discourse, p. 110.

Brinckman, in his *Notes on Islám*, draws from this passage the following conclusion:—“If God gave verses to Muhammad and then cancelled them, it utterly destroys the notion that the original of the present Qurán, as we now have it, was written on the preserved table from all eternity by God. If it be said that God thought it better to withdraw some verses after declaring them, it looks as if God, like man, did not know the future; and as we do not know for a certainty what words were cancelled, we cannot tell which verse it is best for us to attend to.”

The doctrine of abrogation, as taught in this passage and others (xiii. 39 and xvi. 103), sprang up during Muhammad's prophetic career as a matter of necessity. The prophetic passages being delivered piecemeal, and generally as the religious or political circumstances of the prophet demanded, it came to pass that some of the later deliverances were contradictory to former ones. The Jews, ever alert in their opposition to the pretensions of the new religion, pointed out the discrepancies already manifest in the so-called revelations. Objections of this order could not but seriously influence the popularity of the prophet among his countrymen, and even jeopardise his credit in the eyes of his own followers. Under circumstances like these Muhammad promulgated the doctrine of abrogation, a doctrine which not only secured the allegiance of those whose faith had been shaken by Jewish objections, but which has served to strengthen his followers in all ages in their controversy with Jews and Christians.

The claim of the commentators is: (1.) That God is a sovereign, and is therefore at liberty to change or abolish his laws at his own discretion; (2.) that abrogation on his part does not imply any imperfection in the laws changed or abolished, as Jews and Christians had declared, but that circumstances of time, place, &c., called forth new laws, rites, and ceremonies. All God's laws, rites, and ceremonies, ordained for the guidance of his creatures, are good and

it, or one like unto it. Dost thou not know that God is almighty? (106) Dost thou not know that unto God belongeth the kingdom of heaven and earth? neither have ye any protector or helper except God. (107) Will ye require of your apostle according to that which was formerly required of Moses? but he that hath exchanged faith

true for the time and under the circumstances in which they were given and for which they were intended.

Now, while it may be admitted that the abrogated passages of the Qurán may thus be upheld against the objection that they militate against the perfection of the divine character, *assuming*, as Muslims do, the inspiration of the Qurán, yet this doctrine will not serve their purpose when applied to the alleged abrogation of the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments.

On this point it becomes us to admit freely that God has abrogated in one age rites, ceremonies, and laws which were commanded in another. We claim this much in our controversy with Jews concerning the rites and ordinances of the Mosaic dispensation relating to clean and unclean meats, sacrifices and offerings, the observance of certain feasts, holy days, pilgrimages, &c. This doctrine is clearly maintained by the Apostle Paul in his Epistle to the Galatians and by the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews.

But when the Muslim seeks to apply this principle of abrogation to the great cardinal doctrines of the Christian faith, as taught consistently throughout the whole Bible, and thus attempts to reconcile the former Scriptures with the contradictory teachings of the Qurán concerning the being and attributes of God, the Trinity, the Sonship of Christ, the Holy Spirit, and the Atonement, not to mention historical facts and the spirit of prophecy, the Christian does fairly take exception to this doctrine of abrogation. No amount of argument can ever so reconcile the Qurán with the former Scriptures, which it professes to confirm, as to make it possible to accept both as the Word of God. If the Bible be acknowledged to be the Word of God (and every Muslim is bound to do so), then, all reasonable concession to the doctrine of abrogation being made, the Qurán must still be rejected.

Dost not thou know that God is Almighty? This is given as the reason why God may abrogate any portion of his Word. It is the reason given by all Muslim commentators. "He can do as he pleases." But God cannot lie. He cannot deny eternal truth, historical facts, and his own nature. "He cannot deny himself." Compare the teaching of Jesus in Matt. v. 17.

(107) *That which was formerly required of Moses?* "Jaláluddín says that what the Jews required of Moses was that they might see God manifestly. The *Tafsír Husaini*, however, has it that they demanded that Muhammad should show them such a complete book, given at one time, as was given to Moses. Whatever the allusion may be, one thing is evident, viz., that Muhammad was troubled

SOULS.

for infidelity, hath already erred from the straight way. (108) Many of those unto whom the scriptures have been given, desire to render you again unbelievers, after ye have believed; out of envy from their souls, even after the truth is become manifest unto them; but forgive *them*, and avoid *them*, till GOD shall send his command; for GOD is omnipotent. (109) Be constant in prayer, and give alms; and what good ye have sent before for your souls, ye shall find it with GOD; surely GOD seeth that which ye do. (110) They say, Verily none shall enter paradise, except they who are Jews or Christians: this is their wish. Say, Produce your proof *of this*, if ye speak truth. (111) Nay, but he who resigneth himself to GOD, and doth that which is right, he shall have his reward

and displeased at the disposition of his followers to require of him similar evidence of his prophetic mission to that given by Moses."—*Notes on Roman Urdū Qurān.*

(108) *Out of envy from their souls, &c.* See notes on ver. 89.

But forgive them, and avoid them. These words indicate the policy of Muhammad, so long as he was too weak to use the more convincing argument of the sword in the controversy with the powerful Jewish tribes of Madīna. The faithful were not to wage war against them, but to forgive them, and to prevent their exercising any evil influence, they were to be avoided. The *Tafsīr-i-Raufi* paraphrases this passage thus: "Forgive and pass them by, until God reveal his command concerning their slaughter or their payment of tribute."

(109) *Be constant in prayer.* Prayer is the first of the five principal duties of the Muslim. It consists in the offering of ascriptions of praise to the deity with supplication for divine blessing five times a day. The times for prayer are: (1.) In the evening at four minutes after sunset; (2.) just after nightfall; (3.) at daybreak in the morning; (4.) at noon, as soon as the sun begins to decline from the meridian; (5.) midway between noon and sunset. See also note on ver. 42.

And alms. The giving of *zakāt*, or legal and obligatory alms, is another of the five duties. The idea was probably borrowed from the Jewish tithes. See note on ver. 42, and Preliminary Discourse, p. 172.

(110) *They say, Verily none shall enter paradise, except they who are Jews or Christians.* "This passage was revealed on occasion of a dispute which Muhammad had with the Jews of Madīna and the Christians of Najrān, each of them asserting that those of their religion only should be saved."—*Sale, Jalāluddīn.* See note on ver. 61.

(111) *Nay, but he who resigneth himself to God, and doth that which*

with his LORD : there shall *come* no fear on them, neither shall they be grieved.

|| (112) The Jews say, The Christians are *grounded* on nothing; and the Christians say, The Jews are *grounded* on nothing; yet they *both* read the scriptures. So likewise say they who know not *the scripture*, according to their saying. But GOD shall judge between them on the day of the resurrection, concerning that about which they *now* disagree. (113) Who is more unjust than he who prohibiteth the temples of GOD, that his name should be remembered therein, and who hasteth to destroy them? Those men cannot enter therein, but with fear: (114) they shall

R $\frac{14}{14}$.

is right, &c. Here we have first a denial of the teaching of Jews and Christians that a profession of, and obedience to, the requirements of their religion is necessary to salvation. As this is also the teaching of the Muslims, the force of this denial of it by Muhammad can only be evaded by the convenient doctrine of abrogation. Secondly, we have here a declaration that resignation to the will of God and right doing, which Jaláluddín interprets as "asserting the unity of God," are the sole conditions of salvation. If so, then men are still under the law, and so cannot be saved, seeing none can fulfil its requirements. If so, then the Gospel of Jesus, which the Qurán claims to have attested, is untrue.

(112) *The Jews say, The Christians are grounded on nothing, &c.* "The Jews and Christians are here accused of denying the truth of each other's religion, notwithstanding they read the Scriptures; whereas the Pentateuch bears testimony to Jesus, and the Gospel bears testimony to Moses."—Sale, *Jaláluddín*.

Yet they both read the Scriptures. This is further testimony to the Jewish and Christian Scriptures, as not only extant and in general use among Jews and Christians, but also to their credibility. The plain inference from this passage is that Muhammad regarded them as genuine. Whence then the ground for the charge made by him that the Jews and Christians changed and corrupted their Scriptures (ver. 41)? The answer is, that he did not charge upon them the crime of corrupting the *text*, but of *perverting and concealing the meaning* of their Scriptures.

The charge made by modern Muslims as to the corruption of the Bible text cannot be justified by any fair interpretation of the Qurán. This is an arrow borrowed from the quiver of Christian infidelity.

They who know not the Scripture. The heathen Arabs, who sided with Jews and Christians in their debates.

(113, 114) *Who is more unjust than he who prohibiteth the temples of God, &c.* "Or hindereth men from paying their adorations to

have shame in this world, and in the next a grievous punishment. (115) To God *belongeth* the east and the west; therefore whithersoever ye turn yourselves to pray, there is the face of God; for God is omnipresent and omniscient. (116) They say, God hath begotten children: God forbid! To him *belongeth* whatever is in heaven, and on earth; (117) all is possessed by him, the Creator of

God in those sacred places. This passage, says Jaláluddín, was revealed on news being brought that the Romans had spoiled the temple of Jerusalem; or else when the idolatrous Arabs obstructed Muhammad's visiting the temple of Makkah in the expedition of al Hudaibiya, which happened in the sixth year of the Hijra."—Sale.

But Rodwell points out that this verse is misplaced here, in case it has reference to the Makkans who obstructed Muhammad's visit to the Kaabah in the sixth year of the Hijra.

"Muhammad little thought how this verse foreshadowed his successors. The Mosque of Omer at Jerusalem and the Mosque of St. Sophia will occur to the reader."—Brinckman's *Notes on Islám*.

Those men cannot enter therein but with fear. This verse is referred to as authority for excluding Christians from the Musjid, especially from the Kaabah.

(115) *Whithersoever ye turn yourselves to pray, there is the face of God.* This verse is regarded by all commentators as abrogated by ver. 145. It is said to have been revealed in the interval between the abrogation of the command to pray toward Jerusalem and the final command to turn toward Makkah. A multitude of stories have been invented to explain the verse, but their recital would be unprofitable.

For God is omnipresent and omniscient. This is given as the reason for requiring no Qibla. Even the Muslim must be struck with the very strange inconsistency between this reasonable statement and the reason assigned in ver. 145 for the command to turn to Makkah as the Qibla.

(116) *They say, God hath begotten children.* "This is spoken not only of the Christians and of the Jews (for they are accused of holding Uzair or Ezra to be the Son of God), but also the pagan Arabs, who imagined the angels to be daughters of God."—Sale, *Tafsir-i-Raufi*.

This charge indicates the ignorance of the Arabian prophet. Neither Jews nor Christians ever said God begot children in the sense here ascribed. The charge was probably due to an inference drawn from the language used by Christians, and perhaps by Jews, in speaking of Christ and his people as the "Son of God" and "the children of God." The charge against the Jews that they called Ezra the Son of God (chap. x. 30) is entirely without proof, and altogether beyond the region of probability.

(117) *Be, and it is.* The doctrine that God creates out of nothing is here clearly recognised. Also his entire sovereignty over all things.

heaven and earth; and when he dreceeth a thing, he only saith unto it, Be, and it is. (118) And they who know not *the scriptures* say, Unless GOD speak unto us, or thou show us a sign, *we will not believe*. So said those before them, according to their saying: their hearts resemble each other. We have already shown manifest signs unto people who firmly believe; (119) we have sent thee in truth, a bearer of good tidings and a preacher; and thou shalt not be questioned concerning the companions of hell. (120) But the Jews will not be pleased with thee, neither the Christians, until thou follow their religion; say, The direction of GOD is the *true* direction. And verily if thou follow their desires, after the knowledge which hath been given thee, thou shalt find no patron or protector against GOD. (121) They to whom we have

(118) *Or thou show us a sign.* This passage points to the strong pressure brought to bear upon Muhammad, not only by Jews and Christians, but also by the Arabs, in their constant demand for miracles. Such passages also clearly show that Muhammad wrought no miracles.

We have already shown manifest signs. Muhammad here probably alludes to the *verses* (*Ayāt*, signs) of the Qurán as manifest signs to believers.

(119) *We have sent thee . . . a preacher.* This is Muhammad's claim concerning himself. He ever sets himself forth as a preacher, yet as a messenger of God, an apostle, by whom the Qurán was to be conveyed to and enforced upon the world. The power by which it was to be enforced, at the time this passage was written, was *persuasion*. The pains consequent on unbelief were the pains of hell-fire. Believers were not yet made by the power of the sword.

Thou shalt not be questioned concerning the companions of hell. The *Tafsír Husaini* says these words were spoken in reply to the inquiry of Muhammad concerning his parents, who had died in idolatry. The meaning, however, seems to be that the prophet was not to dispute, but simply to *proclaim the truth*. If men would not believe, the responsibility rested with them. They thereby proved themselves to be companions of hell.

(120) *Until thou follow their religion.* We learn from this passage the growing division between the Jews and Christians and Muhammad, who is now regarded as teaching doctrine which is far from attesting the faith of Abraham, Moses, and Jesus. Even Muhammad recognises "their religion" as different from his own, but yet different only as heresy differs from orthodoxy.

(121) *They to whom we have given the book.* Sale, in his translation,

given the book *of the Qurán*, and who read it with its true reading, they believe therein; and whoever believeth not therein, they shall perish.

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|| (122) O children of Israel, remember my favour wherewith I have favoured you, and that I have preferred you before all nations; (123) and dread the day wherein *one* soul shall not make satisfaction for *another* soul, neither shall any compensation be accepted from them, nor shall any intercession avail, neither shall they be helped. (124) *Remember* when the LORD tried Abraham by *certain* words, which he fulfilled: GOD said, Verily I will constitute thee a model of religion unto mankind; he answered, And also of my posterity; GOD said, My covenant doth not comprehend the ungodly.

supplies the words "*of the Qurán*" after this sentence. Some Muslim commentators understand the passage in the same way; but the sentiment of the whole passage, as well as the interpretation of most Muslim commentators, is against it. The reference is to the Jewish and Christian Scriptures, and the meaning of the passage then is, "The direction of God is the true direction," *i.e.*, Islám, and those Jews and Christians who read their own Scriptures "with its true reading," *i.e.*, who do not change or twist the evident import thereof, "they believe therein."

We have in this passage a distinct witness of Muhammad himself to the genuineness and credibility of the Scriptures extant in his own time, and in use among Jews and Christians.

(122) *O children of Israel. . . I have preferred you before all nations, i.e.*, "until the time of Muhammad. Then the descendants of Ishmael were not so approved by God."—*Brinckman's Notes on Islám.*

This verse and the next are identical with vers. 46 and 47.

(124) *Remember when the Lord tried Abraham.* "God tried Abraham chiefly by commanding him to leave his native country and to offer his son. But the commentators suppose the trial here meant related only to some particular ceremonies, such as circumcision, pilgrimage to the Kaabah, several rites of purification, and the like."—*Sale.*

Which he fulfilled. Which Abraham fulfilled by leaving his home and country, and, as Muslims believe, by offering up Ismael as a sacrifice. See chap. xxxvii. 101-107.

Verily I will constitute thee a model of religion. "I will establish thee the leader of the people."—*Savary.*

"I have rather expressed the meaning than truly translated the Arabic word *Imám*, which answers to the Latin *Antistes*. This title the Muhammadans give to their priests who begin the prayers in their mosques, and whom all the congregation follow."—*Sale.*

(125) And when we appointed the *holy* house of *Makkah* to be a place of resort for mankind, and a place of security; and *said*, Take the station of Abraham for a place of prayer; and we covenanted with Abraham and Ismaïl, that they should cleanse my house for those who should compass *it*, and those who should be devoutly assiduous *there*, and those who should bow down and worship. (126)

(125) *The holy house.* "That is, the Kaabah, which is usually called, by way of eminence, *the house*. Of the sanctity of this building and other particulars relating to it, see the Preliminary Discourse, p. 180."—*Sale*.

The station of Abraham. "A place so called within the inner enclosure of the Kaabah, where they pretend to show the print of his foot in a stone."—*Sale*.

According to the *Tafsîr-i-Raufi*, Abraham visited the house of Ismaïl in his absence, but not liking the treatment he received from his wife, left with her a message for his son, which was understood by Ismaïl to express a desire that he should divorce his wife. This he did, when he married another. Abraham came again in the absence of his son, and being urged by his daughter-in-law to descend from his camel and to permit her to wash his head, he declared that, owing to a vow not to leave his camel till he had completed his journey, he could not get down. Being pressed, however, he so far consented, that with one foot on his camel and the other on a stone he had his head washed! This is "the place of Abraham."

And we covenanted with Abraham and Ismaïl, &c. The purpose of this passage seems to have been: (1.) To confirm in Arab minds their own traditions respecting Abraham and Ismaïl as the founders of the temple at Makkah, and (2.) to present the prophet of Arabia as a reformer of Makkan idolatry, as Abraham was said to have been.

Throughout the Qurân Muhammad endeavours very adroitly on the one hand to imitate the Old Testament prophets, and on the other to make it appear that the circumstances of trial and opposition under which the Old Testament prophets laboured were precisely similar to those under which he laboured.

For most satisfactory reasons for regarding this whole Muslim history of Abraham and Ismaïl as utterly unworthy of the least credit, see Introduction to Muir's *Life of Mahomet*, pp. xciii., xciv., and ccix. note.

The adoption of Arab and Jewish legend current in his day as true, and the promulgation of it as of divine authority, might be reconciled with the theory that Muhammad, though self-deceived, yet was honest in his prophetic character. But when we add to this his vacillation between the temples at Makkah and Jerusalem, fixing on the latter first, then expressing himself indifferent to either, and finally settling on Makkah, the inconsistency is a little too striking to tally with such a theory.

And when Abraham said, LORD, make this a territory of security, and bounteously bestow fruits on its inhabitants, such of them as believe in GOD and the last day; GOD answered, And whoever believeth not, I will bestow on him little; afterwards I will drive him to the punishment of *hell-fire*; an ill journey shall it be! (127) And when Abraham and Ismaël raised the foundations of the house, *saying*, LORD, accept it from us, for thou art he who heareth and knoweth: (128) LORD, make us also resigned unto thee, and of our posterity a people resigned unto thee, and show us our holy ceremonies, and be turned unto us, for thou art easy to be reconciled, and merciful. (129) LORD, send them likewise an apostle from among them, who may declare thy signs unto them, and teach them the book of the *Qurán* and wisdom, and may purify them; for thou art mighty and wise.

(127) *And when Abraham and Ismaël raised the foundations of the house, &c.* Muir, in his *Life of Mahomet*, Introduction, pp. cxc. and cxcii., shows the whole story to be most clearly a legendary fiction.

(128) *Lord, make us also resigned.* "The Arabic word is *Muslimuna*, in the singular *Muslim*, which the Muhammadans take as a title peculiar to themselves. The Europeans generally write and pronounce it *Musalman*."—Sale.

Rodwell has greatly improved the translation by retaining the original form of the word, "Lord, make us also Muslims, and our posterity a Muslim people," &c.

(129) *Lord, send them likewise an apostle from among them, who may declare thy signs unto them, &c.* If these words had been put into the mouth of Moses, we might regard them as an allusion to Deut. xviii. 15. As they stand, and regarded in the light of Muhammad's prophetic pretensions, the resemblance is probably accidental.

Underlying these words there is the claim of the Quraish to be the children of Abraham, a claim which has little positive evidence in its favour. The negative proof derived from the fact that the Jews never denied it is, after all, very much weakened when we consider that a claim to be an Ishmaelite would be a matter of small interest to a Jew; besides, the general ignorance of Arabia and its people prevalent everywhere would naturally lead them to regard *all* Arabs as Ishmaelites. Under such circumstances, the silence of the Jews carries little weight with it.

"*And wisdom, i.e., the meaning of the Qurán, or its declarations as to things required and forbidden, as to things clean and unclean, and thus through the law to purify them.*"—*Tafsir-i-Raufi*.

|| (130) Who will be averse to the religion of Abraham, but he whose mind is infatuated? Surely we have chosen him in this world, and in that which is to come he shall be one of the righteous. (131) When his LORD said unto him, Resign thyself *unto me*; he answered, I have resigned myself unto the LORD of all creatures. (132) And Abraham bequeathed this *religion* to his children, and Jacob *did the same, saying*, My children, verily GOD hath chosen this religion for you, therefore die not, unless ye also be resigned. (133) Were ye present when Jacob was at the point of death? when he said to his sons, Whom will ye worship after me? They answered, We will worship thy GOD, and the GOD of thy fathers Abraham, and Ismaël, and Isaac, one GOD, and to him will we be resigned. (134) That people are now passed away, they have what they have gained, and ye shall have what ye gain; and ye shall not be questioned concerning that which they have done. (135) They say, Become Jews or Christians that ye may be directed. Say,

(130) *The religion of Abraham, i.e., Islâm.* Whilst such language was intended to serve the purpose of winning the Jews, it expresses no real concession to them. In so far as they differed from Islâm, just so far *had they departed from* "the religion of Abraham."

(132) *And Abraham bequeathed this religion to his children, and Jacob did the same, &c.* That the religion referred to here is Islâm is evident from the latter part of the verse. Understood in the sense intended by Muhammad, viz., that the Muslim faith was the religion of Abraham and the patriarchs, this statement is false. Accordingly, we have here a statement, which, if overthrown, carries with it the whole fabric of Muhammadanism built upon it. Either the religion of Islâm was the religion of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, or it was not. If it was, let us have the evidence of the former Scriptures, the witness of the former prophets. Failure here must stigmatise the whole system as a forgery.

(134) *They have what they have gained.* "Or, deserved. The Muhammadan notion, as to the imputation of moral actions to man, which they call *gain* or *acquisition*, is sufficiently explained in the Preliminary Discourse," p. 156.—*Sale.*

Ye shall not be questioned concerning that which they have done. Neither their virtues nor their vices will be accredited to you. Every man shall answer for his own sin. See chap. xxxv. 19.

(135) *They say, Become Jews or Christians, that ye may be directed. Say, Nay, &c.* We here learn the estimate which Muhammad put

Nay, *we follow* the religion of Abraham the orthodox, who was no idolater. (136) Say, We believe in God, and that which hath been sent down unto us, and that which hath been sent down unto Abraham, and Ismaël, and Isaac, and Jacob, and the tribes, and that which was delivered unto Moses, and Jesus, and that which was delivered unto the prophets from their LORD: We make no distinction

upon the Judaism and Christianity of his day. They were systems of idolatry: the Jews regarding Ezra as the Son of God, as the commentators allege; the Christians holding to a Trinity which, with Muhammad, consisted of *God, Mary, and Jesus*. See chap. iv. 169; comp. chap. v. 116, and chap. xix. 36. The Muslim is taught to regard himself as a follower of that faith from which both Jew and Christian had wandered, the faith of Abraham, "who was no idolater."

The *orthodox*, Arabic *Hanîf*, meaning *one who has turned* from good to bad, or from bad to good. Here the meaning is one who has turned from idolatry to the worship of the true God. See Rodwell's note on chap. xvi. 121.

(136) Say, *We believe in God, and that which hath been sent down to us, &c.* No passage in the Qurân sets forth more clearly than this the claims of Islâm. *It is the one true religion of all the prophets and apostles of God.* It was the religion of Abraham, of Moses, and of Jesus. Upon this foundation the whole structure of Islâm stands. The controversy between the Christian and the Muslim is, mainly, one as to *fact*. The principal question is, *Does Islâm conserve within itself the system of spiritual truth, the historical facts, and the plan of salvation set forth in the teachings of the patriarchs and prophets of the Old Testament dispensation, and of Jesus and his Apostles in the New?* This is the point which Muslims ever seek to evade, and yet this is the point which, above all others, they are bound to establish (see also above on ver. 132).

That which hath been sent down unto Abraham, &c., . . . we make no distinction between any of them. Two points of importance in the controversy with Muslims may be noted here:—First, it is here asserted that written revelations (books) like unto the Qurân were "sent down" from God "unto Abraham, and Ismaël, and Isaac, and Jacob." Where is the evidence of the truth of these statements? Where the proof that Ismaël was a prophet at all? The Muslim will say that the testimony of the Qurân is sufficient evidence. This is the argument of Muhammad himself in the next verse. But this same statement declares that the writings of Moses and Jesus are, equally with the Qurân, to be regarded as the inspired Word of God. This is our second point. If, now, the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments contradict or fail to corroborate these assertions of the Qurân, then the Qurân points to the evidence which refutes its own statements. The assertion of *modern* Muslims, that these books, the writings of Moses and Jesus included, are no longer

between any of them, and to GOD are we resigned. (137) Now if they believe according to what ye believe, they are surely directed, but if they turn back, they are in schism. GOD shall support thee against them, for he is the hearer, the wise. (138) The baptism of GOD *have we received*, and who is better than GOD to baptize? him do

extant, and that the books in the hands of Jews and Christians are either forgeries or old copies of the Scripture so full of corruptions as to be no longer credible, is itself evidence of the desperation of the Muslim apologist. Such an assertion is, of course, incapable of proof. Notwithstanding, it is marvellous with what pertinacity the assertion continues to be made.

(137) *If they turn back, they are in schism.* This last clause is translated in Rodwell, "*they cut themselves off from you*," in the *Tafsir-i-Raufi*, "are in opposition and enmity to you," in Abdul Qádir's translation, "are opposed to you."

On his entry into Madína, Muhammad courted the favour of the Jews. Hoping to bring them over to acknowledge his prophetic pretensions, he expressed much reverence for the patriarchs of the Jews, and especially for Abraham, "the orthodox." A similar desire to win the influence of the Abyssinian "Najáshi," and the Christian tribes of Yaman, drew forth from him similar expressions of respect for Jesus. His was the religion of Abraham, Moses, and Jesus. Why should they not acknowledge him, seeing he had been sent to confirm the Scriptures of both Jew and Christian? His neighbours and fellow-townsmen, the Jews, demanded of him the proof of his claim. Failing to satisfy this very reasonable demand, he soon found the Jews to be his keenest opponents, whose objections he could not silence, save by the assassin's knife and the fanatic's sword. This verse marks the growing antipathy towards these. Failure to obey the "prophet" was now evident apostasy from God; refusal to accept the doctrines of Islám, evidence of enmity toward the Muslims.

God will support thee against them. The bloody triumph over the Bani Quraidha and the Bani Nadhír is here foreshadowed. Argument and miracle being denied him, Muhammad still relies on God. With this faith he instigates the assassination of Abu Afak, of Káb, and Ibn Sanína; exiles the Bani Nadhír and Qainucáa; and orders the slaughter of eight hundred men of the Bani Quraidha in cold blood.

It is said that the blood of the Khalifah Othmán, which was shed by an assassin's hand while reading the Qurán, fell upon the words of this verse. See Rodwell *in loco*.

(138) *The baptism of God have we received.* Rodwell translates this passage, "Islam is the baptism of God," but says, "The original simply has '*Baptism of God*.' This may be understood either of Islám generally, or, with Ullman, in the more restricted sense of circumcision."

Sale says, "By *baptism* is to be understood the religion which God

we worship. (139) Say, Will ye dispute with us concerning GOD, who is our LORD, and your LORD? we have our works, and ye have your works, and unto him are we sincerely devoted. (140) Will ye say, truly Abraham, and Ismaël, and Isaac, and Jacob, and the tribes were Jews or Christians? Say, are ye wiser, or GOD? And who is more unjust than he who hideth the testimony which he hath *received* from GOD? But GOD is not regardless of that which ye do. (141) That people are passed away, they have what they have gained, and ye shall have what ye gain, nor shall ye be questioned concerning that which they have done.

|| (142) The foolish men will say, What hath turned them from their Qibla, towards which they formerly *prayed*? Say, Unto GOD *belongeth* the east and the west: he directeth whom he pleaseth into the right

instituted in the beginning; because the signs of it appear in the person who professes it, as the signs of water appear in the clothes of him that is baptized."

Abdul Qádir translates it "The Colour of God," and comments thus in the margin: "The Christians had a custom that when any one was introduced into their religion, they prepared a yellow colouring matter with which they coloured the man's clothes and person. This verse was spoken in opposition to this practice." The *Tafsír-i-Raufi* gives the same translation, and refers it to the baptism of infants by immersion in water coloured yellow, which was used for their purification. He understands the verse to mean, "that purification of Muslims from the contamination of idols by faith in God."

(139) *Will ye dispute with us concerning God, &c.?* "These words were revealed because the Jews insisted that they first received the Scriptures, that their Qibla was more ancient, and that no prophets could arise among the Arabs; and therefore if Muhammad was a prophet, he must have been of their nation."—Sale, *Jaláluddín*.

(140) *Jews or Christians.* The author of the notes on the Roman Urdú Qurán calls attention to the anachronism of applying the names "Jew" and "Christian" to those who were dead centuries before these titles had any existence.

Who hideth the testimony, &c. "The Jews are again accused of corrupting and suppressing the prophecies in the Pentateuch relating to Muhammad."—Sale.

On this subject see further Prelim. Disc., p. 106, and notes on verse 74.

(142) *What hath turned them from their Qibla, &c.?* "At first, Muhammad and his followers observed no particular rite in turning

way. (143) Thus have we placed you, *O Arabians*, an intermediate nation, that ye may be witness against *the rest of mankind*, and that the apostle may be a witness

their faces towards any certain place or quarter of the world when they prayed, it being declared to be perfectly indifferent (ver. 115). Afterwards, when the prophet fled to Madîna, he directed them to turn towards the temple of Jerusalem (probably to ingratiate himself with the Jews), which continued to be their Qibla for six or seven months; but either finding the Jews too intractable, or despairing otherwise to gain the pagan Arabs, who could not forget their respect to the temple of Makkah, he ordered that prayers for the future should be towards the last. This change was made in the second year of the Hijra, and occasioned many to fall from him, taking offence at his inconstancy."—*Sale, Jalâluddîn.*

The "foolish men" were the Jews and the disaffected among the people of Madîna. Their folly consisted in their inability to reconcile the statement of Muhammad in ver. 115, and his practice, for fifteen months, in turning towards Jerusalem, with the new command to turn towards the temple of the idolaters. Every appeal to reason was deprecated, and those claiming the right of private judgment were stigmatised as fools. All who failed to acquiesce in every proposal of the "prophet" were disaffected. Islâm then, as now, demanded *the entire submission* of the intellect, as well as the will, to the dictum of the infallible prophet of an unattested revelation.

Say, Unto God belongeth the east and the west. This is used as an argument to justify the change of Qibla. God may do as he pleaseth with his own. The same statement is used in ver. 115 to show that no Qibla was necessary on the ground that God is everywhere present. "Whithersoever ye turn yourselves to pray, there is the face of God." It is a very convenient argument that will both prove the rationality of turning from one Qibla to another, and at the same time disprove the necessity for a Qibla at all!

(143) *Thus have we placed you, O Arabians, an intermediate nation, &c.* Savary translates thus: "We have established you, O chosen people, to bear witness against the rest of the nation, as your apostle will bear it against you."

Rodwell says, "A central people," instead of "intermediate nation."

Sale says, "The commentators (Jalâluddîn, Yahya, &c.) will have the meaning to be, that the Arabians are here declared to be a most *just and good nation.*"

The idea intended seems to me to be this: Makkah with the Kaabah being now constituted the sacred city of Islâm, as Jerusalem with the temple was the sacred city of the Jews, Arabia was thereby made, so to speak, the centre of the world in matters of religion, and, consequently, the Arabians were constituted witnesses for the true religion against the rest of mankind, even as Muhammad was a witness for Islâm against them, or, as Rodwell translates, "in regard to them."

against you. (144) We appointed the Qibla, towards which thou didst formerly *pray*, only that we might know him who followeth the apostle, from him who turneth back on the heels; though this *change* seem a great matter, unless unto those whom GOD hath directed. But GOD will not render your faith of none effect; for GOD is gracious and merciful unto man. (145) We have seen thee turn about thy face towards heaven *with uncertainty*, but we will cause thee to turn thyself towards a Qibla that will please thee. Turn, therefore, thy face towards the holy temple of *Makkah*; and wherever ye be, turn your faces towards that *place*. They to whom the scripture hath been given, know this to be truth from their LORD.

Thus early we see the idea of a universal Islām developed in the mind of Muhammad.

(144) *We appointed the Qibla, . . . only that we might know him who followeth the apostle, from him who turneth back on the heels.* Many of Muhammad's followers, especially those who had come out from among the Jews, were offended at the manifest inconsistency of changing the Qibla from Jerusalem to the idolatrous city of Makkah with its pantheon. They naturally apostatised and returned to the faith of their fathers. Muhammad now pretends that the change was made as a test of their faith, whereas nothing is clearer than the fact, that, failing in his attempt to win over the Jews by the deference he had shown to their religion and the holy city, he now adopts a similar policy in recognising the Kaabah as the holy place, towards which prayer is to be made, in order to conciliate the favour of the Arabians. The duplicity and worldly policy of the "prophet" was too manifest to escape the notice of even many of his own disciples. These are the "fools" and "disaffected." When facts were against the prophet of Arabia, it was only so much the worse for the facts!

But God will not render your faith of none effect. "Or will not suffer it to go without its reward, while ye prayed towards Jerusalem."—Sale.

(145) *Turn, therefore, thy face towards the holy temple, &c.* Abdul Qādir says that whilst Jerusalem was the Qibla, Muhammad desired to turn toward the Kaabah, and accordingly prayed "toward heaven," hoping for the command to change the Qibla to Makkah!

They to whom the Scripture hath been given know this to be truth from their Lord; i.e., the Jews know that this change of Qibla is in accordance with the divine command. The *Tafsir-i-Ranfi* understands Christians to be also alluded to under the expression "they to whom the Scripture hath been given;" but the circumstances under which the passage was written, viz., the final breach between Muhammad and Judaism, would limit the application here to the Jews.

GOD is not regardless of that which ye do. (146) Verily although thou shouldest show unto those to whom the scripture hath been given all kinds of signs, yet they will not follow thy Qibla, neither shalt thou follow their Qibla; nor will one part of them follow the Qibla of the other. And if thou follow their desires, after the

Of course, the words have an equally fit application to Christians. In this verse we find distinct traces of deliberate deception and falsehood on the part of Muhammad. (a.) In his pretending to have been displeased with Jerusalem as the Qibla. He had been praying toward it for fifteen months, had taught others to pray in like manner, and had even built the first mosque of Islām with the pulpit towards Jerusalem. His "displeasure," therefore, evidently grew out of his failure to win over the Jews, coupled with his desire to gain influence among the Arabs by constituting their sacred city the Qibla of his religion. (b.) Again, the assertion that the Jews knew by the teaching of their Scriptures that such a change was from the Lord, is so plainly false as to render it impossible to account for it on any rational ground other than that of deliberate fabrication.

It may be said that Muhammad was deceived by the representations of his converts from Judaism. If so, it would truly show him to be the "ignorant prophet." But it must be remembered that this is not the word of Muhammad, but, according to Muhammad's claim, the Word of God. He it is who is here made to sanction "the representations" of such converts. But regarding these statements as made by Muhammad, we think his character, his shrewdness, his profound knowledge of the men he had to deal with, all combine to make the theory of his being himself deceived exceedingly improbable.

(146) *Verily although thou shouldest show . . . all kinds of signs, &c.* The opposition of the Jews had become so decided as to leave no hope of a reconciliation. They now charged him with worshipping toward a heathen temple, and with fickleness. These objections he now strives to meet by such "revelations" as this. "But it was the victory at Badr, one or two months after, and the subsequent hostilities against the Jews, which furnished the only effective means for silencing their objections."—*Muir's Life of Mahomet*, vol. iii. p. 45.

Nor will one part of them follow the Qibla of the other. "That is, each religion has its own (appointed) Kibla; he refers, apparently, to Christians turning towards the east, and Jews towards Jerusalem; whence Mahomet would argue a propriety in his having a peculiar and distinctive Kibla for Islām."—*Muir's Life of Mahomet*, vol. iii. p. 45, note.

Muslim commentators refer the words to the Jews and Christians. I think the reference is to the Jews entirely. The preceding and succeeding context seems to demand this limitation. The history of the passage seems also to demand it. The reference, then, may be to one of three possible differences of opinion among the Jews: (a.) Some may have questioned the propriety of worshipping

knowledge which hath been given thee, verily thou wilt become *one* of the ungodly. (147) They to whom we have given the scripture know *our* *apostle*, even as they know their own children; but some of them hide the truth, against their own knowledge. (148) Truth is from thy LORD, therefore thou shalt not doubt.

R $\frac{18}{2}$.

|| (149) Every sect hath a certain tract of *heaven* to which they turn themselves *in prayer*; but do ye strive to run after good things; wherever ye be, GOD will bring you all back *at the resurrection*, for GOD is almighty. (150) And from what place soever thou comest forth, turn thy face towards the holy temple; for this is truth from thy LORD; neither is GOD regardless of that which ye do. (151) From what place soever thou comest forth, turn thy face towards the holy temple; and wherever ye be, thitherward turn your faces, lest men have matter of dispute against you; but as for those among them who are unjust doers, fear them not,

towards any Qibla, seeing the holy temple was destroyed; or (b.) the allusion may be to those who had espoused the cause of Islám; or, (c.) what is most probable, reference may be had to the ancient difference in the holy mounts of Jew and Samaritan (John iv. 20 and references).

(147) *They to whom we have given the Scripture know our apostle, even as they know their own children.* "That is, the Jews are really convinced of the truth of Muhammad's mission."—*Rodwell*.

Is not the allusion to those who had now become the converts of Islám? Such a view is favoured by the concluding sentence, "but some of them hide the truth," &c., referring to the unbelieving Jews. If it do not have such a reference, then we must place this statement in the catalogue of deliberate fabrications. See note on ver. 145.

According to Abdul Qádir's translation, the reference is not to Muhammad but to the propriety of the change of Qibla. The passage then merely reiterates the statement of ver. 145.

(148) *Truth is from thy Lord.* The "truth" referred to here is the new doctrine of the Qibla. See the same expression in vers. 145 and 150.

(151) *Lest men have matter of dispute against you.* Muhammad had acquired sufficient experience of the injury likely to be inflicted upon his religion by disputes concerning the proper Qibla to allow the possibility of any such disputes in the future. All must hereafter turn toward Makkah in prayer.

Unjust doers; i.e., Jews and disaffected Arabs.

but fear me, that I may accomplish my grace upon you, and that ye may be directed. (152) As we have sent unto you an apostle from among you, to rehearse our signs unto you, and to purify you, and to teach you the book of the *Qurán* and wisdom, and to teach you that which ye knew not: (153) therefore remember me, and I will remember you, and give thanks unto me, and be not unbelievers.

(152) *An apostle from among you.* The former nations, thus distinguished, having rejected their prophets, are here regarded as apostates. Compare with chap. x. 14. The Arabs are now declared to be the chosen people of God, and, by implication, the Jews are stigmatised as rejected of God. The policy of the "prophet" is now to flatter the national pride of his countrymen, and to quicken their zeal for religion by the doctrine that they are now, as believers, the favourites of Heaven.

To rehearse our signs, i.e., the verses of the *Qurán*, regarded as self-evidently divine.

To purify you from idolatry and ceremonial defilement. The *Tafsir-i-Raufi* adds, "He (the apostle) asks pardon for you, that you may be pure from your sins." Muhammad, however, never claimed any such mediatorial office. In the *Qurán* he repeatedly rejects the idea of a mediator altogether. See chap. vi. 50; vii. 188; xxxix. 42, &c. Islám requires no mediator; Muslims will be saved *because they are Muslims*.

The fact, however, that Muhammad has been constituted a mediator by his followers, notwithstanding the teaching of the *Qurán*, constitutes a powerful argument against Islám. Muslims, like other fallen men, feel their need of a mediator. They chose Muhammad for their intercessor; but the *Qurán* rejects the idea altogether. See chap. xlv. 41, 42, and references noted above. Islám, therefore, fails to satisfy the felt wants of sinful men everywhere.

The book of the Qurán. The term *book*, which is here used to describe the collection of passages of Muhammad's revelation, gives us reason to believe that the *Qurán* was recorded in book form in the days of Muhammad himself. It is so often referred to under this appellation—the same as is applied to the writings of Moses—as to leave the impression that numerous copies were extant among the Muslims.

(153) *Remember me, and I will remember you.* The *Tafsir-i-Raufi* comments on this as follows:—"Remember me with gifts, that I may remember you with favours; or remember me with worship, that I may remember you with benefits; or remember me with prayer, that I may remember you with blessings; or remember me among the people, that I may remember you among the angels."

This passage, with the commentary, expresses the legal spirit of Muhammadanism, notwithstanding the constant declaration that God is "merciful and gracious."

R $\frac{19}{3}$.

|| (154) O *true* believers, beg assistance with patience and prayer, for GOD is with the patient. (155) And say not of those who are slain in fight for the religion of GOD, that *they are* dead; yea, *they are* living: but ye do not understand. (156) We will surely prove you *by afflicting you* in some measure with fear, and hunger, and decrease of wealth, and *loss* of lives, and *scarcity* of fruits: but bear good tidings unto the patient, (157) who, when a misfortune befalleth them, say, We are GOD's, and unto him shall we surely return. (158) Upon them shall be

(155) *And say not of those who are slain in fight for the religion of God, that they are dead.* Rodwell renders "in fight" by the phrase "on God's path."

"The original words are literally, *who are slain in the way of God*; by which expression, frequently occurring in the Qurán, is always meant war undertaken against unbelievers for the propagation of the Muhammadan faith."—Sale.

Abdul Qádir says "that believers are here encouraged to labour and gather strength for the crusade."

Yea, they are living. "The souls of martyrs (for such they esteem those who die in battle against infidels), says Jaláluddín, are in the crops of green birds, which have liberty to fly wherever they please in paradise, and feed on the fruits thereof."—Sale.

(156) *We will surely prove you by afflicting you in some measure with fear and hunger, &c.* This passage, beginning with ver. 154, was intended to comfort those who had lost friends among the slain at the battle of Badr, and also those of the companions who, having suffered loss of property and health in the emigration from Makkah, had not yet enriched themselves by the plunder of the caravans of the unbelievers.

(157) *We are God's, and unto him shall we surely return.* "An expression frequently in the mouths of the Muhammadans when under any great affliction or in any imminent danger."—Sale.

This sentence is believed to be laden with merit to those who use it in circumstances of trial and affliction. Even when the trial is past, if the pious repeat it at the remembrance of their grief, it is said to bestow great merit. The commentators have drawn from this verse and the one following the doctrine that sin is washed away from the souls of believers by means of suffering. The *Tafsír-i-Raufi* declares, on the authority of Tirmuzi and others, that the man who has lost three sons by death may be absolutely certain of entering paradise; the gates of hell, or rather purgatory, are closed against him, and much more to the same effect. Affliction is therefore submitted to by the Muslim in the perfect assurance that he will be the recipient of blessing hereafter. Thus it is robbed of its uses as a warning or as a judgment from God on account of sin.

blessings from their LORD and mercy, and they are the rightly directed. (159) Moreover Safá and Marwah are two of the monuments of GOD : whoever therefore goeth on pilgrimage to the temple of *Makkah* or visiteth it, it shall be no crime in him, if he compass them both. And as for him who voluntarily performeth a good work ; verily GOD

(159) *Moreover Safá and Marwah are two of the monuments of God, &c.* Savary translates this verse as follows :—"He who shall have performed the pilgrimage of *Makkah*, and shall have visited the holy house, shall be exempted from offering an expiatory victim, provided that he maketh the circuit of those two mountains. He who goeth beyond what the precept requireth shall experience the gratitude of the Lord."

"Safá and Marwa are two mountains near *Makkah*, whereon were anciently two idols, to which the pagan Arabs used to pay a superstitious veneration (Prelim. Disc., p. 42). Jaláluddín says this passage was revealed because the followers of Muhammad made a scruple of going round these mountains, as the idolaters did. But the true reason of his allowing this relic of ancient superstition seems to be the difficulty he found in preventing it. Abu'l Qásim Hibatullah thinks these last words are abrogated by those other, *Who will reject the religion of Abraham, except he who hath infatuated his soul?* (ver. 130). So that he will have the meaning to be quite contrary to the letter, as if it had been, *it shall be no crime in him if he do not compass them.* However, the expositors are all against him, and the ceremony of running between these two hills is still observed at the pilgrimage" (Prelim. Disc., p. 187).—Sale.

The *Tafsír-i-Raufi* and *Tafsír Fatah al aziz* relate that in former times two pillars were erected on these two hills to commemorate the judgment of God upon two notable sinners, Asáf, a man, and Náila, a woman, who had committed adultery in the holy Kaabah. When the people fell into idolatry they worshipped these as images of God. This worship Muhammad abolished, whereupon some doubted the propriety of going round these hills. This verse was revealed to remove their scruples.

The true reason for this "revelation" is given by Sale in his note quoted above. Muhammad found it easier to break the idols of his countrymen than to overcome their superstitions, hence the toleration of an idolatrous custom, which the commentators would have us believe to be a relic of the religion of Abraham.

God is grateful. The author of the notes on the Roman Urdú Qurán says, "The teaching of this verse is that whoever performs the pilgrimage to the Kaabah, according to the commandment, has great merit ; but he who of his own accord makes the circuit of these two mountains, has such great reward that God becomes *grateful* and *obligated* to him !" He then compares with this the contrary teaching of the Bible (see Job xxii. 3, and Luke xvii. 10).

But surely gratitude may be ascribed to God on the same principle that repentance is attributed to him in the Bible.

is grateful and knowing. (160) They who conceal any of the evident signs, or the direction which we have sent down, after what we have manifested unto men in the scripture, God shall curse them; and they who curse shall curse them. (161) But as for those who repent and amend, and make known *what they concealed*, I will be turned unto them, for I am easy to be reconciled and merciful. (162) Surely they who believe not, and die in their unbelief, upon them shall be the curse of God, and of the angels, and of all men; (163) they shall remain under it forever, their punishment shall not be alleviated, neither shall they be regarded. (164) Your God is one God; there is no God but He, the most merciful.

R $\frac{20}{4}$.

|| (165) Now in the creation of heaven and earth, and

(160) *They who conceal any of the evident signs, &c.; i.e., the Jews.* See note on ver. 145.

In the Scripture. Rodwell says, "in the Book," the allusion being to the Jewish Scriptures.

They who curse. The *Tafsir-i-Raufi* understands the reference to the "angels, men, and genii." He also promulgates the strange doctrine that when Muslims curse one another, seeing that curses cannot affect one of the faithful, they fall upon the Jews and others, who are justly exposed to a curse.

"Yahya interprets it of the curses which will be given to the wicked, when they cry out because of the punishment of the sepulchre (see Prelim. Disc., p. 127), by all who hear them, that is, by all creatures except men and genii."—*Sale*.

(161) *Make known what they concealed.* Rodwell translates "make known the truth," i.e., of Islām.

(162, 163) *Upon them shall be the curse of God.* These verses clearly teach that all are lost except Muslims. Their punishment is also eternal.

Neither shall they be regarded. "God will not wait for their repentance."—*Jalāluddīn*.

(164) *Your God is one God.* The passage beginning with this verse and ending with verse 172 is probably Makkan. The truth here enunciated is taught with equal clearness in the Bible (Deut. vi. 4, Mark xii. 29). It might have been addressed to Jews at Madīna, but the verses following, being addressed to idolaters, decide against this view. The idolaters of the Madīna period of Muhammad's ministry were spoken of in different terms.

(165) This verse, says the *Tafsir-i-Raufi*, contains eight signs of divine power, thereby demonstrating the superiority of the one true

the vicissitude of night and day, and in the ship which saileth in the sea, *laden* with what is profitable for mankind, and in the *rain* water which GOD sendeth from heaven, quickening thereby the dead earth, and replenishing the same with all sorts of cattle, and in the change of winds, and the clouds that are compelled to do service between heaven and earth, are signs to people of understanding: (166) yet some men take idols beside GOD, and love them as with the love *due* to GOD; but the true believers are more fervent in love towards GOD. Oh, that they who act unjustly did perceive, when they behold their punishment, that all power belongeth unto GOD, and that he is severe in punishing. (167) When those who have been followed shall separate themselves from

GOD over the three hundred and sixty idols which the Makkans worshipped. The Christian will be reminded of a similar style of argument used by the Apostle Paul at Lystra, and also at Athens (Acts xiv. 15-17, and xviii. 24-29).

Compelled to do service. "The original word signifies properly *that are pressed or compelled to do personal service without hire*, which kind of service is often exacted by the Eastern princes of their subjects, and is called by the Greek and Latin writers *angaria*. The Scripture often mentions this source of compulsion or force, Matt. v. 41, xxvii. 32, &c."—*Sale*.

(166) *True believers are more fervent in love towards GOD.* Love towards GOD is here recognised as a characteristic of believers. And yet this is a doctrine rarely taught in the Qurán. In the Christian Scriptures this doctrine may be compared to Jordan, flowing continually in an ever-widening stream through the length of the Holy Land; but, in the Qurán, it is like the occasional spring in the desert. The love of GOD is rarely presented as a motive to obedience.

Oh, that they who act unjustly did perceive. "Or it may be translated, *Although the ungodly will perceive*, &c. But, some copies, instead of *yara*, in the third person, read *tara*, in the second; and then it must be rendered, *Oh, if thou didst see when the ungodly beheld their punishment*, &c."—*Sale*.

We have here an illustration of the fact that the Qurán, in its original text, is not entirely pure, as some writers seem to think. It has its various readings, like other ancient writings. A critical examination of any considerable number of old manuscripts would probably reveal a great many more such readings than are now known. Yet it may be safely asserted that the text of the Qurán is the purest of all works of a like antiquity.

(167) *Those who have been followed*, &c. "That is, when the

their followers, and shall see the punishment, and the cords of relation between them shall be cut in sunder; (168) the followers shall say, If we could return to life, we would separate ourselves from them, as they have now separated themselves from us. So God will show them their works; they shall sigh grievously, and shall not come forth from the fire of hell.

R $\frac{21}{5}$.

|| (169) O men, eat of that which is lawful and good on the earth; and tread not in the steps of the devil, for he is your open enemy. (170) Verily he commandeth you evil and wickedness, and that you should say that of God which ye know not. (171) And when it is said unto them who believe not, Follow that which God hath sent down; they answer, Nay, but we will follow that which we found our fathers practise. What? though their fathers knew nothing, and were not rightly directed? (172) The unbelievers are like unto one who crieth aloud to that which heareth not so much as his calling, or the sound of his voice. They are deaf, dumb, and blind, therefore do they

broachers or heads of new sects shall at the last day forsake or wash their hands of their disciples, as if they were not accomplices in their superstitions."—Sale.

(168) *The followers shall say, &c.* There shall be mutual antipathy between the leaders of false systems of religion and their followers. They shall spend an eternity of sighing and regret in the flames of hell.

(169) *Eat of that which is lawful.* Addressed to the Makkans, who, in the "times of ignorance," had departed from the religion of Abraham, and being idolaters, ate things forbidden, especially swine's flesh. So faithfully do Muslims obey this command that they regard even the name of the forbidden meat as polluting.

The devil. Satan is the avowed enemy of mankind; and the instigator to idolatry and blasphemy. See chap. vii. 16, 17.

(171) *We will follow that which we found our fathers practise.* The reproof here administered contains an important rule which may well be urged upon modern Muslims themselves. Nothing is more manifest than their perfect satisfaction with the religion of their fathers, and their unwillingness to consider even the possibility of their fathers having been mistaken. Such texts as this are very useful for those who would arouse them to examine the grounds of their faith.

(172) *Like one who crieth aloud, &c.* Abdul Qádir paraphrases thus: "Teaching infidels is like calling to wild animals, who may hear a sound, but who do not understand."

not understand. (173) O true believers, eat of the good things which we have bestowed on you for food, and return thanks unto GOD, if ye serve him. (174) Verily he hath forbidden you *to eat* that which dieth of itself, and blood and swine's flesh, and that on which any other name but GOD's hath been invoked. But he who is forced by necessity, not lusting, nor returning to *transgress*, it shall be no crime in him *if he eat of those things*, for GOD is gracious and merciful. (175) Moreover they who conceal *any part* of the scripture which GOD hath sent down unto them, and sell it for a small price, they shall swallow into

(173) *A true believer.* Addressed to the people of Madína. See Rodwell on ver. 21. The exhortation corresponds with that of ver. 169, addressed to the Makkans. The teaching here is, however, more explicit, detailing the articles forbidden.

The redundancy found here is probably due to the judgment of those who compiled the Qurán under the direction of Othmán. Had this portion of the chapter been recited by Muhammad himself, we should not have this medley of Makkan and Madína passages. A tradition, on the authority of Hudhaifah, relates that Muhammad was in the habit of repeating the chapter of the Cow several times during a single night, besides other portions of the Qurán (Matthews' *Mishqât-ul-Masâbih*, chap. xxxii.) Such an exercise, in addition to ordinary sleep, would be impossible. It is therefore probable that much additional matter was added to these chapters by the compilers of the volume now called the Qurán, though the names of the chapters and some portions of them were undoubtedly in use in the days of Muhammad. To these were added other revelations gathered from the contents of the box in Hafza's keeping and from the memories of men.

(174) *He hath forbidden, &c.* Godfrey Higgins, in his *Apology for the Life and Character of Mahomet*, p. 33, expresses the belief that these prohibitions were made for sanitary reasons. But it is much more likely that he adopted them from the religion of the Jews. Sanitary considerations would have required the prohibition of camel's flesh as well as that of swine. Yet modifications were made out of deference to Arab prejudice, as was done in the changing of the Qibla. An illustration of this is found in the permission to eat camel's flesh, already alluded to.

On which any other name, &c. "For this reason, whenever the Muhammadans kill any animal for food, they always say *Bismillah*, or, In the name of God; which, if it be neglected, they think it not lawful to eat of it."—Sale.

Forced by necessity. That is, if forbidden meats be eaten under compulsion, or to save one's life.—*Abdul Qádir, Tafsír-i-Raufi.*

(175) See notes on ver. 160.

their bellies nothing but fire; GOD shall not speak unto them on the day of resurrection, neither shall he purify them, and they shall suffer a grievous punishment. (176) These are they who have sold direction for error, and pardon for punishment: but how great will their suffering be in the fire! This *they shall endure*, because GOD sent down the book of the *Qurán* with truth, and they who disagree concerning that book are certainly in a wide mistake.

RUBA.

R $\frac{22}{6}$.

|| (177) It is not righteousness that ye turn your faces *in prayer* towards the east and the west, but righteousness is of him who believeth in GOD and the last day, and the angels, and the scriptures, and the prophets; who giveth money for GOD's sake unto his kindred, and unto orphans, and the needy, and the stranger, and those who ask, and for redemption of captives; who is constant at prayer, and giveth alms; and of those who perform their covenant,

(176) *Sold direction for error, &c.* An exposition of the phrase, "Selling for a small price," ver. 175.

God sent down the book of the Qurán. Many Muslim commentators agree in referring the "book" to the Pentateuch. The meaning then would be that the Jews shall be accounted worthy of the punishment above described, because, having the Pentateuch by them, with its prophecies concerning Muhammad, they have "concealed the Scriptures which God hath sent down unto them." The passage is not explicit, and may refer also to the *Qurán*. The former view agrees best with the preceding context, the latter with what follows. Modern Muslims, by their "concealment of the former Scriptures," and their constant disputing "concerning that Book," bring themselves under the condemnation of their own prophet.

(177) *Righteousness is of him who believeth in God, &c.* This is one of the noblest verses in the *Qurán*. It clearly distinguishes between a formal and a practical piety. Faith in God and benevolence towards man is clearly set forth as the essence of religion. It contains a compendium of doctrine to be believed as well as of precept to be practised in life.

The Scriptures. Not only the *Qurán*, but the "former Scriptures," accepted by Jews and Christians, besides the writings (*Sahife*) of Adam, ten, of Seth, fifty, of Enoch (*Idrís*), thirty, and of Abraham, ten, in all one hundred and four books.

The prophets. This word being in the masculine plural, Muslim commentators generally agree that there were no prophetesses. For doctrine and practice set forth here, see Preliminary Discourse, p. 117.

when they have covenanted, and who behave themselves patiently in adversity, and hardships, and in time of violence; these are they who are true, and these are they who fear God. (178) O true believers, the law of retaliation is ordained you for the slain: the free *shall die* for the free, and the servant for the servant, and a woman for a woman; but he whom his brother shall forgive may be prosecuted, *and obliged to make satisfaction* according to what is just, and a fine shall be set on him with humanity. This is indulgence from your LORD, and mercy. And he who shall transgress after this, *by killing the murderer*, shall

(178) For the Mosaic "law of retaliation," see Levit. xxiv. 17-22. The Qurán modifies this law, which was probably nearly identical with the ancient Arab law, so as to distinguish between the life of a freeman and that of a slave, between the life of a woman and that of a man, and to provide for the settlement of a blood-claim by the payment of money. It is scarcely necessary to point out the fact that this law deals a blow at the equality of man, based on a universal brotherhood, and that it opens the door to untold oppression and tyranny of masters over servants, of husbands over wives, and of man over woman. It cannot be fairly claimed that the moral and social laws of Islám are even an advance on those of Judaism, much less on those of Christianity. The law as here stated is abrogated by chap. v. 49, and xvii. 35.

The free shall die for the free, . . . woman for woman. "This is not to be strictly taken; for, according to the Sunnat, a man also is to be put to death for the murder of a woman. Regard is also to be had to difference in religion, so that a Muhammadan, though a slave, is not to be put to death for an infidel, though a freeman. But the civil magistrates do not think themselves always obliged to conform to this last determination of the Sunnat."—Sale, *Jaláluddín*.

He whom his brother shall forgive, &c.—Rodwell translates this passage: "He to whom his brother shall make any remission (that is, by killing the manslayer), is to be dealt with equitably; and to him should he pay a fine with liberality." Savary translates thus: "He who forgiveth the murderer of his brother (*brother* used in a religious sense) shall have the right of requiring a reasonable reparation, which shall be thankfully paid." So, too, in the main, Abdul Qádir, Husaini, and Tafsir-i-Raufi. The meaning is, that whenever a murderer has been spared by the avenger of blood, he must pay a fine to the said avenger. This must then be regarded as a final settlement. If, after receiving the amount of the fine, the avenger kill the manslayer, he "shall suffer a grievous punishment." Presumably he would be regarded as a common murderer. Sale says, "This is the common practice in Muhammadan countries, particularly in Persia."

suffer a grievous punishment. (179) And in this law of retaliation ye have life, O ye of understanding, that peradventure ye may fear. (180) It is ordained you, when any of you is at the point of death, if he leave any goods, *that he bequeath* a legacy to his parents, and kindred, according to what shall be reasonable. This is a duty, *incumbent* on those who fear God. (181) But he who shall change *the legacy*, after he hath heard it *bequeathed by the dying person*, surely the sin thereof shall be on those who change it, for GOD is he who heareth and knoweth. (182) Howbeit he who apprehendeth from the testator any mistake or injustice, and shall compose *the matter* between them, that shall be no crime in him, for GOD is gracious and merciful.

R $\frac{23}{7}$.

|| (183) O true believers, a fast is ordained you, as it was ordained unto those before you, that ye may fear

(179) *In this law . . . ye have life; i.e., this law has been enacted as a benevolent measure, whereby blood-feuds might be finally settled, and thus life be saved.*

(180) *A legacy to his parents, &c.* Muslim commentators, on the authority of Baidhāwī, say this law was enacted to correct the custom of the ancient Arabs, whereby parents and relatives were sometimes disinherited in favour of the religious mendicant. These translate the words rendered in the text, "*This is a duty incumbent on,*" &c., so as to read, "There is a duty toward the temperate," *i.e.*, faqirs or mendicants; and they understand that not more than one-third of the property of the testator may be devoted to such persons. However, they believe this law to have been abrogated by the law concerning inheritance in chap. iv., and that there is therefore now no law requiring them to will any of their substance to charitable objects. See Abdul Qādir *in loco*.

The principal passages of the Qurān relating to the law of inheritance are the following:—chaps. iv. 6–13, 175, and v. 105–107.

(181, 182) These verses contain a warning to those who would tamper with a will after it has been made, and at the same time provide for the correction of a will made contrary to law. Some writers understand them to refer to the friendly mediation of those who succeed in securing a change in the will, in the interest of justice, before the death of the testator. See *Tafsīr-i-Raufi*.

(183) *A fast is ordained, &c.* Muir, in his *Life of Mahomet*, vol. iii. pp. 47, 48, conjectures that fasting was not observed by the Muslims till after the flight to Madīna. The following is his account of its institution:—

"Two or three months after his arrival in Medina, Mahomet ob-

GOD. (184) A certain number of days *shall ye fast*: but he among you who shall be sick, or on a journey, *shall fast an equal number of other days*. And those who can *keep it, and do not*, must redeem *their neglect* by maintaining of a poor man. And he who voluntarily dealeth better *with the poor man than he is obliged*, this shall be better for him. But if ye fast, it will be better for you, if ye knew

served the Jews, on the tenth day of their seven month, keeping the great fast of the Atonement, and he readily adopted it for his own people. Prior to this, fasting does not appear to have been a prescribed ordinance of Islam. It was established at a period when the great object of Mahomet was to symbolise with the Jews in all their rules and ceremonies.

"But when it became his endeavour to cast off Judaism and its customs, this fast was superseded by another. Eighteen months after his arrival in Medina, Mahomet promulgated, as a divine command, that the following month, or Ramadhán, was to be henceforth observed as an annual fast. Although the new ordinance was professedly similar in principle to that of the Jews, the mode of its observance was entirely different."

This verse is said to be abrogated by ver. 187.

(184) *A certain number of days*; the whole of the month Ramadhán. See next verse.

Those who can keep it, &c. Sale says, "The expositors differ much about the meaning of this passage, thinking it very improbable that people should be left entirely at liberty either to fast or not, on compounding for it in this manner. Jaláluddín, therefore, supposes the negative particle *not* to be understood, and that this is allowed only to those who are *not able* to fast, by reason of age or dangerous sickness; but afterwards he says, that in the beginning of Muhammadanism it was free for them to choose whether they would fast or maintain a poor man, which liberty was soon after taken away, and this passage abrogated by the following: *Therefore let him who shall be present in this month, fast the same month*. Yet this abrogation, he says, does not extend to women with child or that give suck, lest the infant suffer.

"Al Zamakhshari, having first given an explanation of Ibn Abbás, who, by a different interpretation of the Arabic word *Yutikúnáhu*, which signifies *can or are able* to fast, renders it, *Those who find great difficulty therein*, &c., adds an exposition of his own, by supposing something to be understood, according to which the sense will be, *Those who can fast*, and yet have a legal excuse to break it, *must redeem it*," &c.

Abdul Qádir understands that those who are able to fast and do not are here required to redeem their neglect, as Sale has it in the text, by feeding a poor man for one day. So, too, the *Tafsir-i-Ranfi*. Rodwell, also, in his translation, recognises the same meaning.

it. (185) The month of Ramadhán *shall ye fast*, in which the Qurán was sent down *from heaven*, a direction unto men, and declarations of direction, and the distinction *between good and evil*. Therefore, let him among you who shall be present in this month, fast the same *month*; but he who shall be sick, or on a journey, *shall fast the like* number of other days. GOD would *make this* an ease unto you, and would not *make it* a difficulty unto you; that ye may fulfil the number *of days*, and glorify GOD, for that he hath directed you, and that ye may give thanks. (186) When my servants ask thee concerning me, Verily I am near; I will hear the prayer of him that prayeth, when he prayeth unto me: but let them hearken unto

(185) *Ramadhán*. The ninth month of the Muslim year, in the latter part of which occurs the *Laylut ul Qadr*, or Night of Power, in which the Qurán was brought down to the lowest heaven. See Hughes' *Notes on Muhammadanism*, chap. xx.; also Prelim. Disc., p. 177.

The distinction. The Arabic word is *furqán*, a term derived from the Hebrew, and applied to the Pentateuch as well as to the Qurán. See ver. 52.

Shall be present; i.e., "at home, and not in a strange country, where the fast cannot be performed, or on a journey."—*Salé*.

Children who have not reached the age of puberty are exempt from the observance of this fast.

God would make this an ease unto you. This is said in reference to the sick and others exempted above. It may also refer to what is said below in ver. 187. With all these alleviating circumstances, however, the strict observance of this fast, during the long days of a tropical summer, is anything but *an ease* to the Muslim. Muir thinks Muhammad did not foresee the hardship that would ensue in the observance of this fast, when he changed the Jewish intercalary year for the lunar (*Life of Mahomet*, chap. iii. p. 49). But there is reason to believe the month occurred originally during the hot season, the word *Ramadhán* being derived from *ramadh*, to burn. The words of the text, therefore, probably refer to the present observance as being easy in comparison with the more rigid practice in the beginning. This interpretation presumes that this passage was revealed some time after ver. 183.

(186) *I will hear the prayer*. The special reference is to prayers offered during the fast. Faith and obedience are here declared to be necessary to successful prayer. A tradition says, "The person who observes the prayers particularly appointed for the nights of Ramadhán, shall be forgiven all his past faults!" Surely if the fast be of difficult observance, the way of pardon seems easy enough.

me, and believe in me, that they may be rightly directed. (187) It is lawful for you, on the night of the fast, to go in unto your wives; they are a garment unto you, and ye are a garment unto them. God knoweth that ye defraud yourselves *therein*, wherefore he turneth unto you, and forgiveth you. Now, therefore, go in unto them; and earnestly desire that which God ordaineth you, and eat and drink, until ye can plainly distinguish a white thread from a black thread by the daybreak: then keep the fast until night, and go not in unto them, but be constantly present in the places of worship. These are the prescribed bounds of God, therefore draw not near them *to transgress them*. Thus God declareth his signs unto men, that ye may fear *him*. (188) Consume not your wealth among yourselves in vain; nor present it unto judges, that ye may devour part of men's substance unjustly, against your own consciences.

|| (189) They will ask thee concerning the phases of the moon: Answer, They are times appointed unto men, and R $\frac{24}{8}$.

(187) This verse seems to show clearly that the Muslims at first felt bound to continue, in some measure, the rigour of the fast during the night.

They are a garment unto you, &c. "A metaphorical expression, to signify the mutual comfort a man and his wife find in each other."—*Sale*.

Earnestly desire. Some commentators understand this to have special reference to the desire for children.

A white thread from a black thread. A form of expression used by the Jews also (see Rodwell), signifying early dawn.

Be constantly pressing, &c. This seclusion is called *'Itiqāf*, and is observed by remaining in the mosque during the day, abstaining from all worldly thoughts and conversation, and by reading the Qurān and religious books. Hughes' *Notes on Muhammadanism*, chap. xx.

(188) This verse is understood by Muslim commentators to forbid every species of prodigality and dishonesty in dealing with one another. If so, scarcely any precept of the Qurān is so universally transgressed as this.

(189) *Enter your houses, &c.* "Some of the Arabs had a superstitious custom after they had been at Makkah (in pilgrimage, as it seems), on their return home, not to enter their house by the old door, but to make a hole through the back part for a passage, which practice is here reprehended."—*Sale*.

to *show the season of* the pilgrimage to Makkah. It is not righteousness that ye enter *your* houses by the back parts thereof, but righteousness is of him who feareth God. Therefore enter *your* houses by their doors; and fear God, that ye may be happy. (190) And fight for the religion of GOD against those who fight against you; but transgress not *by attacking them first*, for GOD loveth not the transgressors. (191) And kill them wherever ye find them, and turn them out of that whereof they have dispossessed you; for temptation to *idolatry* is more grievous than slaughter; yet fight not against them in the holy

(190–193) *Fight for the religion of God.* This is, perhaps, the first expressed command of the Arabian prophet to establish his religion by the sword. Whilst in Makkah he appeared in the simple garb of a preacher, and this he retained for a while at Madína (ver. 119 supra). There he advised his persecuted followers to flee from their enemies. Even at Madína he advises them to “forgive and avoid” their adversaries (ver. 108). He now finds himself in circumstances to take a bolder, though certainly a less noble stand. The Muslims are now to fight not only in defence of their faith, but are enjoined to overthrow idolatry by the sword (see ver. 193). It is probable that a number of injunctions, delivered at different times at Madína, are gathered together in this passage, inasmuch as the strong language of vers. 192 and 193 is scarcely reconcilable with the injunction of ver. 190 to fight simply in defence of Islám.

(191) *Kill them, &c.* Much is made of expressions like this, by some Christian apologists, to show the cruel character of the Arabian prophet, and the inference is thence drawn that he was an impostor and his Qurán a fraud. Without denying that Muhammad was cruel, we think this mode of assault to be very unsatisfactory to say the least, as it is capable of being turned against the Old Testament Scriptures. If the claim of Muhammad to have received a divine command to exterminate idolatry by the slaughter of all impenitent idolaters be admitted, I can see no objection to his practice. The question at issue is this, Did God command such slaughter of idolaters, as he commanded the destruction of the Canaanites or of the Amalekites? Taking the stand of the Muslim, that God did so command Muhammad and his followers, his morality in this respect may be defended on precisely the same ground that the morality of Moses and Joshua is defended by the Christian.

Fight not . . . in the holy temple; i.e., the Kaabah. Ordinarily, the sanctity of the temple at Makkah would have been a safeguard to an enemy, but the antipathy between the Makkans and the Muslims was now so great as to make it probable that the latter might be attacked even in the Kaabah. This permission is, however, abrogated by chap. ix. 5.

temple, until they attack you therein; but if they attack you, slay them *there*. This shall be the reward of infidels. (192) But if they desist, God is gracious and merciful. (193) Fight therefore against them, until there be no temptation to idolatry, and the religion be God's; but if they desist, then let there be no hostility, except against the ungodly. (194) A sacred month for a sacred month, and the holy limits of *Makkah*, if they attack you therein, do ye also attack them therein in retaliation; and whoever transgresseth against you *by so doing*, do ye transgress against him in like manner as he hath transgressed against you, and fear God, and know that God is with those who fear him. (195) Contribute *out of your substance* toward the defence of the religion of God, and throw not *yourselves* with your own hands into perdition; and do good,

(192) *If they desist, &c.* If they repent and accept Islām, *Tafsīr-i-Raafi*.

(193) *Until . . . the religion be God's.* This expresses the breadth of the claim of Islām. Idolatry must be extirpated, and the religion of Islām be vindicated by God as his own, through the overthrow of idolatry. It is probable that Muhammad had as yet no idea of extending his religion beyond the borders of Arabia, but the idea here attached to it would logically lead to its propagation everywhere.

Except against the ungodly; i.e., those who were worthy of punishment on other grounds than that of their faith.

(194) *A sacred month.* See Prelim. Disc., p. 228. Rodwell translates: "The sacred month and the sacred precincts are under the safeguard of reprisals," and says, "The meaning of this difficult passage is, that in wars for the cause of religion, the sacred month and the temple of Mecca may be made the time and scene of contests, which then and there are usually prohibited."

Transgress against him. Contrast this with the teaching of Christ (Luke vi. 27-31). Love to enemies is a doctrine unknown to Islām. Forgiveness of such, whenever enjoined (ver. 108), was dictated as a matter of policy, not of compassion or love.

(195) *Contribute of your substance.* The duty enjoined here is not identical with that of giving *Zikāt* or legal alms. It means more, having reference to all that may be necessary to carry on a holy war. The verse is closely connected with those preceding. The faithful are therefore not only to kill the infidels, but spend their substance freely to help others, especially the *Ghāzis* or fanatical crusaders of Islām, by supplying them with food and the materials of war.

Throw not yourselves . . . into perdition; i.e., "be not accessory to your own destruction, by neglecting your contributions towards the

for GOD loveth those who do good. (196) Perform the pilgrimage of *Makkah*, and the visitation of GOD ; and, if ye be besieged, *send* that offering which shall be the easiest ; and shave not your heads, until your offering reacheth the place of sacrifice. But, whoever among you is sick, or is troubled with any distemper of the head, must redeem

wars against infidels, and thereby suffering them to gather strength.”
—*Sale*.

Do good. Do good to the *Ghāzīs*. If they are in want, give them money ; if on foot, give them carriage ; if married and unprovided, give them equipment. Without doubt God is a friend of them that do good.—*Tafsīr-i-Raufi*.

This passage illustrates how easily readers of the English translation of the Qurán may be misled by the bias of their own language.

(196) Perform the pilgrimage and the visitation ; i.e., the *Hajj* or greater pilgrimage, and *Umrah* or lesser pilgrimage. The former is absolutely necessary, provided the Muslim possesses the means necessary for the journey. The latter is meritorious, and its rites may be performed at any time, while the rites of the *Hajj* may only be performed on the three days intervening between the seventh and tenth of the month *Dhul Hajja*. See Prelim. Disc., pp. 186–188, and Hughes' *Notes on Muhammadanism*, second edition, chap. xxii.

The rites and ceremonies connected with the *Hajj* and *Umrah* are exceedingly puerile, and decidedly inconsistent with the spirit of Islám. The idolatrous customs of the ancient Arabs, though sanctified by the teaching of the Qurán and the example of Muhammad, but poorly comport with the monotheistic teaching of the reformer of Makkah, and come far short of “confirming the former Scriptures.” Its sanction by Muhammad is one of the darkest blots on his religion, and shows at the same time how far the politician of Madína differed from the preacher of Makkah. How his apologists fail to see the inconsistency of his conduct and teaching here, not only with the dignity of a prophet of God, but with the character of an honest man, is beyond our comprehension. The kissing of the *Black Stone* and the *Yamāni Pillar* was so manifestly inconsistent with the doctrine of Islám, that naught but the example of the prophet and the implicit obedience of his followers secured its perpetuation. The fiery Omar, kissing the stone, said, “Verily I know that thou art a stone ; thou dost no good or harm in the world, and if it was not that I saw the prophet kiss thee, I would not kiss thee !”—*Matthews' Mishqāt ul Masābih*, book xi. chap. iv. part iii.

If ye be besieged. By sickness as well as by enemies.

Send that offering, &c. The offering must be at the rate of one goat for a single person, or a cow or a camel for every seven persons.

Shave not your heads, &c. “For this was a sign they had completed their vow, and performed all the ceremonies of the pilgrimage.”—*Sale, Jalāhuddīn*.

the shaving his head, by fasting, or alms, or some offering. When ye are secure *from enemies*, he who tarrieth in the visitation of *the temple of Makkah* until the pilgrimage, shall bring that offering which shall be the easiest. But he who findeth not *anything to offer*, shall fast three days in the pilgrimage, and seven when ye are returned: they shall be ten *days* complete. This *is incumbent* on him whose family shall not be present at the holy temple. And fear God, and know that GOD is severe in punishing.

|| (197) The pilgrimage *must be performed* in the known months: whosoever therefore purposeth to go on pilgrimage therein, let him not know a woman, nor transgress, nor quarrel in the pilgrimage. The good which ye do, GOD knoweth it. Make provision *for your journey*; but the best provision is piety; and fear me, O ye of understanding. (198) It shall be no crime in you, if ye seek an increase from your LORD, *by trading during the pil-*

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Fasting, or alms, or some offering; i.e., "either by fasting three days, or feeding six poor people, or sacrificing a sheep."—*Sale*.

He who tarrieth, &c. "This passage is somewhat obscure. Yahya interprets it of him who marries a wife during the visitation, and performs the pilgrimage the year following. But Jaláluddín expounds it of him who stays within the sacred enclosures, in order to complete the ceremonies which (as it should seem) he had not been able to do within the prescribed time."—*Sale*.

(197) *The known months; i.e.*, Shawál, Dhul Qáada, and Dhul Hajja. See Prelim. Disc., p. 186.

(198) *It shall be no crime, &c.* In the days of Muhammad, as at the present time, Makkah was dependent for its importance as a city upon the great annual pilgrimage. Situated in a comparatively barren region, not only its own food-supply was brought from a distance, but also the provisions necessary for the multitudes flocking to it from all parts of Arabia had to be procured by caravans from the surrounding country. For this reason it was possible for many pilgrims to carry on a profitable trade while fulfilling the requirements of their religion. The service of God and mammon could thus be undertaken at the same time. The temporising policy of the Arabian prophet is here again apparent in sanctioning a practice which he either could not prevent, or which, if condoned, would minister to the purposes of his religion. He not only does so, but actually suggests a worldly motive as an incentive to the performance of an otherwise hard duty. The gifts of mammon now became "an increase from your Lord." Compare with our Lord's treatment of the servants of mammon at Jerusalem (John ii. 14-16).

grimage. And when ye go in procession from Arafát remember God near the holy monument; and remember him for that he hath directed you, although ye were before this of *the number of* those who go astray. (199) Therefore go in procession from whence the people go in procession, and ask pardon of God, for God is gracious

Procession. "The original word signifies to *rush forward impetuously*, as the pilgrims do when they proceed from Arafát to Muzdalifa."—*Sale*.

Arafát. "A mountain near Makkah, so called because Adam there met and *knew* his wife after a long separation. Yet others say that Gabriel, after he had instructed Abraham in all the sacred ceremonies, coming to Arafát, there asked him if he *knew* the ceremonies which had been shown him, to which Abraham answering in the affirmative, the mountain had thence its name."—*Sale*. These stories are probably inventions, suggested by the meaning of the word *Arafát*. See also note on ver. 35.

The holy monument. "In Arabic, *Al Mashar al harám*. It is a mountain in the farther part of Muzdalifa, where it is said Muhammad stood praying and praising God, till his face became extremely shining."—*Sale*. This legend is probably adapted from the story of the shining of Moses' face on Sinai.

Remember him, &c. The heathen customs of circling round the Kaabah, kissing the Black Stone, capering between Arafát and Muzdalifa, and throwing pebbles in Mina, are to be sanctified by prayers and praise to Allah. The skeleton of Arab stone-worship and magianism was thus clothed in the habiliments of Islám. See, on this subject, Muir's *Life of Mahomet*, vol. i., introduction, pp. ccxii. and ccxiii.

(199) *Go in procession*. Rodwell translates, "Pass on quickly." Abdul Qádir has it, "Go to the circling," *i.e.*, of the Kaabah (*tarwáf*). It is generally understood by the commentators to refer to the return from Muzdalifa to the Kaabah.

Ask pardon of God. The *Mishqát ul Masábih* gives a tradition, on the authority of Ibn Omar, as follows: "The apostle of God said, When you see a pilgrim, *salám* to him, and shake him by the hand; and tell him to ask pardon for you, before he enters into his own house; because his faults have been forgiven, and his supplications are approved."—Book xi. chap. i. part 3.

The duty of asking pardon was commanded the prophet himself as well as his followers (see chap. xlvii. 21). Tradition repeatedly represents Muhammad as seeking pardon for sin. "Verily I ask pardon of God, and turn from sin towards him, more than seventy times daily." "I ask pardon of God one hundred times a day." Such are the sayings ascribed to Muhammad.—*Mishqát ul Masábih*, book x. chap. iii. part 1. In another place in this same chapter Muhammad is declared to have taught the monstrous doctrine, that when a Muslim says, "O my patron! I have been guilty of a fault,

and merciful. (200) And when ye have finished your holy ceremonies, remember GOD, according as ye remember your fathers, or with a more reverent commemoration. There are some men who say, O LORD, give us *our portion* in this world; but such shall have no portion in the next life; (201) and there are others who say, O LORD, give us good in this world and also good in the next world, and deliver us from the torment of *hell* fire. They shall have a portion of that which they have gained : GOD is swift in taking an account.

|| (202) Remember GOD the *appointed* number of days ; NISF. but if any haste to *depart from the valley of Mîna* in two days, it shall be no crime in him. And if any tarry longer, it shall be no crime in him, in him who feareth GOD. Therefore fear GOD, and know that unto him ye shall be gathered. (203) There is a man who causeth thee to marvel by his speech concerning this

forgive it," God says to the angels, "Did my servant know that he had a defender who forgives and punishes? I have pardoned him : then tell my servant to commit faults as often as he likes, as long as he asks pardon!" With such doctrines implicitly received, is it any wonder that Muslims are immoral? that ordinary sins should seem to them a light thing? Is it any wonder they should fail to see the need of an atonement, seeing God may even license sin for the delight he has in hearing his servants asking pardon? This is perhaps the most damning doctrine of Islâm. It says, Peace, peace, where there is no peace; it lulls the vilest sinners to the sleep of death; it dishonours the God of holiness, and saps the foundations of morality and true piety.

(200) *Remember God according as ye remember your fathers.* Abdul Qâdir tells us that the Arabs, after completing the rites of pilgrimage, spent three days in Makkah in rejoicing, during which they recounted the deeds performed by their fathers. The Muslims are here commanded to spend these three days, called *Āyām-ut-Tashrîq*, in remembering God instead of remembering their fathers.

There are some men; i.e., unbelievers.—Tafsîr-i-Raufi.

(201) *There are others; i.e., hypocrites.—Tafsîr-i-Raufi.*

They shall have a portion. They will be rewarded according to their works.

Swift in taking account. "For he will judge all creatures, says Jalâluddîn, in the space of half a day."—Sale.

(202) *Appointed number of days.* Three days (see note on ver. 200).

(203) *There is a man, &c.* "This person was al Akhnas Ibn Šhuraiq, a fair-spoken dissembler, who swore that he believed in Muhammad, and pretended to be one of his friends, and to contemn

present life, and calleth GOD to witness that which is in his heart, yet he is most intent in opposing thee; (204) and when he turneth away *from thee*, he hasteth to act corruptly in the earth, and to destroy that which is sown, and springeth up: but GOD loveth not corrupt doing. (205) And if one say unto him, Fear GOD; pride seizeth him, together with wickedness; but hell shall be his reward, and an unhappy couch shall it be. (206) There is also a man who selleth his soul for the sake of those things which are pleasing unto GOD; and GOD is gracious unto *his* servants. (207) O *true* believers, enter into the true religion wholly, and follow not the steps of Satan, for he is your open enemy. (208) If ye have slipped after the declarations of *our will* have come unto you, know that GOD is mighty and wise. (209) Do *the infidels* expect less than that GOD should come down to them over-

this world. But God here reveals to the prophet his hypocrisy and wickedness.”—*Sale, Jaláluddín.*

(204) *To destroy, &c.* “Setting fire to his neighbour’s corn, and killing his asses by night.”—*Sale, Jaláluddín.*

The *Tafsír-i-Raúfi* regards these verses as descriptive of all hypocrites.

(206) *A man who selleth, &c.* “The person here meant was one Subaib, who being persecuted by the idolaters of Makkah, forsook all he had, and fled to Medína.”—*Sale, Jaláluddín.*

A great variety of stories have been invented by the commentators to illustrate passages like this. See *Tafsír-i-Raúfi in loco.*

(207) *Enter into the true religion wholly.* This exhortation is thought to refer to such Jewish and Arab converts at Madína as had not yet adopted all the rites and customs of the new religion. Jewish converts had scruples about using the flesh and milk of camels for food, being contrary to the teaching of the Mosaic law. The Arabs were not all hearty in accepting the innovations made upon the customs of their fathers in order to make a difference between them and the unbelievers, especially in the rites and ceremonies of the pilgrimage described above. The temptation of such to apostatise from Islám is here ascribed to Satan.

(208) *If ye have slipped.* Rodwell’s translation is preferable: “If ye lapse.”

God is mighty and wise. Mighty to punish apostasy, and wise to discern it.

(209) *Overshadowed with clouds.* The allusion here is to the storm which destroyed the infidels in the days of the prophet Shuaib. See chap. vii. 92.

shadowed with clouds, and the angels *also*? but the thing is decreed, and to GOD shall *all* things return.

|| (210) Ask the children of Israel how many evident signs we have showed them; and whoever shall change the grace of GOD after it shall have come unto him, verily GOD will be severe in punishing *him*. (211) The present life was ordained for those who believe not, and they laugh the faithful to scorn; but they who fear GOD shall be above them, on the day of the resurrection: for GOD is bountiful unto whom he pleaseth without measure. (212) Mankind was of one faith, and GOD sent prophets bearing good

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Angels. Referred to as the ministers of judgment and the keepers of hell. See chap. lxxiv. 29.

(210) *Evident signs*; i.e., the miracles wrought among them by former prophets, especially by Moses.—*Tafsîr-i-Raufi*.

Whoever shall change the grace of God. By the *grace* (translated *boon*) of God, Rodwell understands the Qurân to be intended. The *Tafsîr-i-Raufi* seems to refer the expression to the Pentateuch or Jewish Scriptures. The meaning would then be that those Jews, who objected to Muslim practice on the ground that it contradicted their Scriptures were guilty of changing or perverting the Word of God. This I believe to be the true interpretation of this passage, inasmuch as there is no reason to believe the Jews ever attempted to change the Qurân in any way. Certainly they did not at this stage in the history of Islâm. Such being the case, Muhammad lays himself open to the charge of having committed the crime he here threatens with the "severe punishment" of God. The fear of incurring this punishment is one of the reasons why Muslims have been so scrupulously careful to preserve the text of the Qurân.

(211) *The present life, &c.* Savary translates thus: "The life of this world is strewn with flowers for the unbelievers. They make a scoff of the faithful. Those who have the fear of the Lord shall be raised above them at the day of resurrection. God dispenseth as he pleaseth his innumerable gifts."

The *Tafsîr-i-Raufi* tells us that the very reason why infidels are prospered is that they may be filled with contemptuous pride and run madly on the way to destruction. But although they scoff at the poor slave-followers of Muhammad, such as Bilâl and Amâr, yet these shall be exalted far above them at the resurrection day.

This kind of consolation satisfied the poor companions during the trials of the early days of their exile in Madîna, but the successes of Muslim arms soon secured a glory sufficiently comforting to the Arab mind for the present life at least. Their prosperity has brought with it a *pride* not unlike that ascribed to the unbelievers by the commentators.

(212) *Mankind was of one faith.* Muhammad here teaches the truth, that originally there was but one religion in the world. But

tidings, and denouncing threats, and sent down with them the scripture in truth, that it might judge between men of that concerning which they disagreed: and none disagreed concerning it, except those to whom the same *scriptures* were delivered, after the declarations of God's *will* had come unto them, out of envy among themselves. And God directed those who believed, to that truth concerning which they disagreed, by his will: for God directeth whom he pleaseth into the right way. (213) Did ye think ye should enter paradise, when as yet no such thing had happened unto you, as *hath happened* unto those who have been before you? They suffered calamity, and tribulation, and were afflicted; so that the apostle, and they who believed with him, said: When *will* the help of God

this religion from time to time became corrupt. Hence prophets were sent to correct abuses and restore the religion of God to the children of men. They brought with them Scriptures, breathing "good tidings and denouncing threats," and "judging between men concerning which they disagreed." This religion, according to the Qurán, is Islám. The Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments are then "the Scripture in truth." If, therefore, Muhammad be a prophet of God, his doctrine must agree in all essential particulars with the teachings of Moses and Jesus. Do they? If not, Muhammad is a false prophet, on his own showing.

None disagreed . . . except those, &c. The reference is to the Jews who refused to accept the Qurán as the Word of God. The statement, however, is not literally true, for multitudes of heathen in India, China, and Africa still "disagree." The passage, however, shows that at this stage Muhammad had only the Jews and Arabs in mind. The idea of a universal Islám, though logically involved in his doctrine, does not seem to have been yet fully developed in his mind.

God directeth whom he pleaseth. The doctrine of election is here expressly taught.

(213) *Did ye think ye should enter paradise? &c.* This verse was addressed to the Makkian fugitives who suffered grievously from hunger and poverty during the first years of their exile. They are pointed to the sufferings of God's people in former ages. So *Tafsir-i-Raufi*. The allusion may, however, be to the sufferings endured by himself and the first believers in Makkah, when persecuted by the Quraish. There is apparently evidence of great courage in adversity and firm trust in God in the words, "Is not the help of God nigh?" The expression may, however, simply point to the prospect of success due to the now growing political power of the Muslims at Madína.

come? Is not the help of GOD nigh? (214) They will ask thee what they shall bestow *in alms*: Answer, The good which ye bestow, *let it be given* to parents, and kindred, and orphans, and the poor and the stranger. Whatsoever good ye do, GOD knoweth it. (215) War is enjoined you *against the* infidels; but this is hateful unto you: yet perchance ye hate a thing which is better for you, and perchance ye love a thing which is worse for you: but GOD knoweth and ye know not.

|| (216) They will ask thee concerning the sacred month, *whether they may* war therein: Answer, To war therein is grievous; but to obstruct the way of GOD, and infidelity towards him, and *to keep men* from the holy temple, and to drive out his people from thence, is more grievous in

(214) *What they shall bestow in alms.* That "charity begins at home" was a truth of Islām as well as of Christianity is evident from the injunction in this verse. The contributions of the Muslims were as yet too meagre to supply the wants of any outside their own community, yet we see the "stranger" is still to share the benefit of Arab hospitality and generosity. On the subject of legal alms, see notes on vers. 42 and 109. This verse was afterwards abrogated. See chap. ix. 60.

(215) *War is enjoined you.* See note on ver. 191.

This is hateful unto you: yet, &c. The *hatefulness* referred to here was probably due to the reluctance of some of the Muslims to fight against their own relatives and fellow-townsmen. By the *infidels* we must understand the Makkans specially to be designated. Muhammad had now determined to resort to the sword to accomplish what his preaching had failed to do. The divine sanction to his belligerent purpose was now promulgated. But the doctrine was unpalatable to some, and Muhammad had no little difficulty in securing obedience to it. Even the rule limiting the distribution of booty to those who assisted in the fight for it was scarcely sufficient to arouse their martial spirit. See chap. xlviii. 15, 16.

(216) *To war therein is grievous.* See notes on vers. 190-194.

The commentators agree in assigning the occasion of this revelation to the attack of Abdullah Ibn Jahash and his party of Muslims upon a Quraish caravan at Nakhla, between Makkah and Tayif, during the sacred month of Rajab. The attack was made by the express order of Muhammad, though afterwards he denied having ordered them to attack during the sacred month. The unbelievers taunted him and his Muslims, charging them with perfidy and cowardice in attacking men secured from assault by the customs of the times. Even the Muslims felt the disgrace thus brought upon them. They reproached Abdullah and his followers for what they had done. But the prophet

the sight of GOD, and the temptation to *idolatry* is more grievous than to kill *in the sacred months*. They will not cease to war against you, until they turn you from your religion, if they be able: but whoever among you shall turn back from his religion, and die an infidel, their works shall be vain in this world, and the next; they shall be the companions of *hell-fire*, they shall remain therein forever. (217) But they who believe, and who fly for the sake of religion, and fight in GOD's cause, they shall hope for the mercy of GOD; for GOD is gracious and merciful. (218) They will ask thee concerning wine and lots: Answer, In both there is great sin, and *also some things* of use unto men; but their sinfulness is greater than their

was equal to the occasion. He affected displeasure. The booty was put aside without division until this revelation was made, declaring war at such a time to be "grievous," but assuring the Muslims that the conduct of the Makkans and the temptation to idolatry was more grievous than killing in the sacred months. After the reception of this revelation the booty was divided among the marauders, Muhammad receiving the fifth part thereof, thus condoning, if not actually sanctioning, the conduct of the transgressors. Can it be believed that Muhammad was not guilty of imposture in producing such a revelation under such circumstances? For a fuller account of this affair, see Muir's *Life of Mahomet*, vol. iii. pp. 70-74.

(217) *They who . . . fight in God's cause.* Literally, *They who strive earnestly in the way of God*. "The word (*Jihād*) is the same as that subsequently used for a religious war; but it had not yet probably acquired its fixed application. It was employed in its general sense before the Hegira, and probably up to the battle of Badr."—Muir's *Life of Mahomet*, vol. iii. p. 74, note.

This verse is said to have been revealed for the special purpose of comforting Abdullah and his companions.

(218) *Concerning wine.* "Under the name of *wine* all sorts of strong and inebriating liquors are comprehended."—*Prelim. Disc.*, p. 191.

And lots. "The original word, *al Maisar*, properly signifies a particular game performed with arrows, and much in use with the pagan Arabs. But by *lots* we are here to understand all games whatsoever, which are subject to chance or hazard, as dice, cards, &c."—*Salé*.

Though lots are forbidden to Muslims on the ground that they are "a great sin" and "an abomination of the work of Satan" (chap. v. 92), yet the angels are said to have cast lots to determine which of them "should have the education of Mary" (chap. iii. 44).

Some things of use unto men. "From these words some suppose that only drinking to excess and too frequent gaming are prohibited.

use. They will ask thee also what they shall bestow *in alms*: (219) Answer, What ye have to spare. Thus GOD showeth *his* signs unto you, that peradventure ye might seriously think of this present world, and of the next. (220) They will also ask thee concerning orphans: Answer, To deal righteously with them is best; and if ye intermeddle with *the management of what belongs to them, do them no wrong*; they are your brethren: GOD knoweth the corrupt dealer from the righteous; and if GOD please,

And the moderate use of wine they also think is allowed by these words of the 16th chapter (ver. 69), *And of the fruits of palm-trees and grapes ye obtain inebriating drink, and also good nourishment*. But the more received opinion is, that both drinking wine or other strong liquors in any quantity, and playing at any game of chance, are absolutely forbidden."—Sale, on the authority of *Jaláluddín and Zamakhsharí*.

Comparing this passage with chap. iv. 42, chap. v. 92, and chap. xvi. 69, the conclusion seems fairly drawn that wine and lots were forbidden on the ground that their abuse was fraught with great evil, as stated in the text, though their occasional use to men is admitted. Muslims came to prayer in a state of drunkenness, and quarrels and blood-feuds grew out of the use of lots. They were therefore totally forbidden.

(219) *What ye have to spare*. See note on ver. 214. There the question relates to beneficiaries, here to the amount to be bestowed. But see also notes on ver. 42.

(220) *Concerning orphans*. The following, from R. Bosworth Smith's *Mohammed and Mohammedanism*, p. 251, second edition, is eloquently misleading:—"The orphan was not less than the slave the object of the prophet's peculiar care, for he had been an orphan himself; and what God had done for him, he was anxious, as far as might be, to do for others. The poor were always present with him, and their condition never absent from his mind." He should not have forgotten to say that this solicitude, so far as it went, did not go beyond the Muslim circle; that, having made thousands of orphans by his wars against the infidels, he was in duty bound to care for them; and that orphans being Muslims (for the children of infidels and Jews or Christians, slain for their unbelief, were made Muslims by compulsion) were to be cared for, not only because they were orphans, but because they were brethren. Whilst giving the Arabian prophet due credit for that kindliness of feeling which he sometimes exhibited towards the poor and helpless, and which finds expression in the Qurán, we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that he was an utter stranger to that universal charity which is the chief glory of Christianity.

If ye intermeddle; i.e., if you make use of their money or property in carrying on your own business affairs, "do them no wrong."

he will surely distress you, for GOD is mighty and wise. (221) Marry not *women who are idolaters*, until they believe: verily a maidservant who believeth is better than an idolatress, although she please you *more*. And give not *women who believe* in marriage to the idolaters, until they believe: for verily a servant who is a true believer is better than an idolater, though he please you more. They invite unto *hell-fire*, but GOD inviteth unto paradise and pardon through his will, and declareth his signs unto men, that they may remember.

R $\frac{28}{12}$.

|| (222) They will ask thee also concerning the courses of women: Answer, They are a pollution: therefore separate yourselves from women in their courses, and go not near them, until they be cleansed. But when they are cleansed, go in unto them as GOD hath commanded you, for GOD loveth those who repent, and loveth those who are clean. (223) Your wives are your tillage; go in therefore unto your tillage in what manner soever ye will: and do first some act *that may be profitable* unto your souls; and fear GOD, and know that ye must meet him; and bear good tidings unto the faithful. (224) Make not

Will surely distress you, viz., "By his curse, which will certainly bring to nothing what ye shall wrong the orphans of."—Sale.

(221) *Marry not . . . idolaters*. This law was probably copied from the requirements of both Judaism and Christianity (*cf.* Deut. vii. 3, 4, and 2 Cor. vi. 14-16). Abdul Qádir says this prohibition does not apply to Jews and Christians, and that Muslims are permitted to intermarry with them.

(222, 223) These verses, with the disgusting comments of Muslim expositors, too indecent to find a place in this work, reveal the sensual character of the Arabian prophet and his followers. They account for the degradation of Muslim women. And yet this licentious mandate is clothed in the garb of piety, and its performance is to be accompanied by acts of devotion and charity. See Sale *in loco*.

(224, 225) *Make not God the object of your oaths; i.e.*, "So as to swear frequently by him. The word translated *object* properly signifies a butt to shoot at with arrows."—Sale.

Yet the example of the prophet himself, as testified by scores of traditions, and the teaching of the Qurán (see chaps. li., lxxix., lxxxvi., xci., xcii., xciv., &c.), justify the most promiscuous and

GOD the object of your oaths, that ye will deal justly, and be devout, and make peace among men; for GOD is he who heareth and knoweth. (225) GOD will not punish you for an inconsiderate word in your oaths; but he will punish you for that which your hearts have assented unto: GOD is merciful and gracious. (226) They who vow to *abstain* from their wives are *allowed* to wait four months: but if they go back *from their vow*, verily GOD is gracious and merciful; (227) and if they resolve on a divorce, GOD

varied use of oaths by all things in heaven and earth, Allah not excepted. Compare our Lord's teaching on this subject (Matt. v. 34-37, xxiii. 16-22), and it will be seen how far the Qurán comes short of "confirming the former Scriptures" on this point.

That ye will deal justly, &c. "Some commentators (Jaláluddín, Yahya, &c.) expound this negatively, *That ye will not deal justly, nor be devout, &c.* For such wicked oaths, they say, were customary among the idolatrous inhabitants of Makkah, which gave occasion to the following saying of Muhammad: *When you swear to do a thing, and afterwards find it better to do otherwise, do that which is better, and make void your oath.*"—Sale.

The positive rendering is clearly the right one. The exhortation then seems to be, that by abstaining from the use of God's name in ordinary oaths, men would feel at liberty to break their rash vows when their fulfilment would involve the performance of a wicked act. This view is borne out by the teaching of the next verse.

(226) *Those who vow to abstain, &c.* Rodwell translates thus: "Those who intend to abstain," &c. The *Tafsír-i-Raufi* and Abdul Qádir understand an *oath*, and not an *intention*, to be meant, and translate accordingly. The passage therefore supplies an instance in which an oath may be violated, but the oath must not be in the name of God (ver. 224). Indeed it seems to us that this is the special case provided for by the general principle enunciated in ver. 225.

Four months. "That is, they may take so much time to consider; and shall not, by a rash oath, be obliged actually to divorce them."—Sale.

Others are of opinion that such an oath does not have the force of an actual divorce for the period of four months. If, however, it be maintained for that period, a divorce is thereby declared, and the parties would have to be married again to render their living together lawful. See *Tafsír-i-Raufi in loco*.

(227) *If they resolve on a divorce; i.e., within, or at the termination of, the four months.*

God is he who heareth and knoweth. These words, so often repeated in the Qurán, express alike the pleasure and displeasure of God. The context decides which is intended. Compare vers. 127, 137, 244, and 256. They generally have reference to matters of *faith*. Exhortations in regard to the *practice* of religion usually end with the

is he who heareth and knoweth. (228) *The women who are divorced shall wait concerning themselves until they have their courses thrice, and it shall not be lawful for them to conceal that which God hath created in their wombs, if they believe in God and the last day; and their husbands will act more justly to bring them back at this time, if they desire a reconciliation. The women ought also to behave towards their husbands in like manner, as their husbands should behave towards them, according to what is just: but the men ought to have a superiority over them. God is mighty and wise.*

R $\frac{29}{13}$.

|| (229) *Ye may divorce your wives twice; and then*

expression, "God knoweth that which ye do," or "God seeth that which ye do." Here, while divorce is permitted and legislated for, the will of God seems to be against it.

(228) *The divorced shall wait, &c.* "This is to be understood of those only with whom the marriage has been consummated; for as to the others there is no time limited. Those who are not quite past child-bearing (which a woman is reckoned to be after her courses cease, and she is about fifty-five lunar years, or about fifty-three solar years old), and those who are too young to have children, are allowed three months only; but they who are with child must wait till they be delivered."—*Sale, Jalâluddîn.*

For the various kinds of divorce recognised by Muslim law, see Prelim. Disc., pp. 207, 208, and Hughes' *Notes on Muhammadanism*, p. 182.

That which God hath created, &c. "That is, they shall tell the real truth, whether they have their courses, or be with child, or not; and shall not, by deceiving their husband, obtain a separation from him before the term be accomplished, lest the first husband's child should, by that means, go to the second, or the wife, in case of the first husband's death, should set up her child as his heir, or demand her maintenance during the time she went with such child, and the expenses of her lying-in, under pretence that she waited not her full prescribed time."—*Sale, Yahya.*

The women ought also to behave towards their husbands, &c. Husbands were exhorted to "bring back" their wives during the prescribed period of *waiting*, provided the wives desired a reconciliation. The only meaning of the exhortation to the women is that they should be willing to go back to their husbands, provided the husbands desired to be reconciled. Lest such a statement should predicate equality between the sexes, the clause is added, "but the men ought to have a superiority over them."

(229) *Ye may divorce your wives twice.* Compare the Mosaic law,

either retain *them* with humanity, or dismiss *them* with kindness. But it is not lawful for you to take away anything of what ye have given them, unless both fear that they cannot observe the ordinance of God. And if ye fear that they cannot observe the ordinance of God, it shall be no crime in either of them on account of that for which *the wife* shall redeem herself. These are the ordinances of God; therefore transgress them not; for whoever transgresseth the ordinances of God, they are unjust doers. (230) But if *the husband* divorce her *a third time*, she shall not be lawful for him again, until she

Deut. xxiv. 1-4. Here we find the Qurán, which professes to attest the former Scriptures, giving sanction to that which is declared by Moses to be "abomination before the Lord." The doctrine of abrogation cannot be made to apply in such a case, unless it be admitted that what is "abomination before the Lord" in one age may be acceptable to him in another.

What ye have given them; i.e., the dowry, which must not be less than ten dirhams (Hughes' *Notes on Muhammadanism*, p. 177). The difficulty of divorce among Muslims is greatly increased by their insisting on large dowries being settled upon their daughters when given in marriage. Unless this dowry be voluntarily remitted by the wife, it must be paid by the husband divorcing her *against her will*.

Unless both fear, &c. In this case the wife consents to the divorce-ment, thereby forfeiting her dowry.

It shall be no crime, &c.; i.e., "If she prevail on her husband to dismiss her, by releasing part of her dowry."—Sale.

This release is usually obtained by the most outrageous abuse of the wife, often making her willing to forfeit the whole of her dower rather than live with her brutal husband. This law of the Qurán is responsible for such treatment of women. It makes her the helpless victim of her husband's cupidity and tyranny.

(230) *But if her husband divorce her a third time, &c.* See Prelim. Disc., p. 207. The *Mishqát ul Musábih* relates a number of traditions on this subject, too indecent for reproduction here, showing how this law is to be fulfilled, and how pious Muslims have vainly sought to evade the rigour of its requirement. See Bombay edition in *Urdú*, vol. iii. pp. 176-178.

Muir, in his *Life of Mahomet*, vol. iii. p. 306, new edition, p. 349, referring to this law, says: "In the rules regarding divorce there is one which (much as I might desire) cannot be passed over in silence. A husband may twice divorce his wife, and each time receive her back again. But when the words of separation have been thrice repeated, the divorce is irreversible. However unjust or injurious the action, how much soever the result of passion or of caprice, however it may affect the interests not only of an innocent wife but also

marry another husband. But if he *also* divorce her, it shall be no crime in them if they return to each other, if they think they can observe the ordinances of GOD, and these are the ordinances of GOD; he declareth them to people of understanding. (231) But when ye divorce women, and they have fulfilled their prescribed time, either retain them with humanity or dismiss them with kindness; and retain them not by violence, so that ye transgress; for he who doth this surely injureth his own soul. And make not the signs of GOD a jest: but remember GOD's favour towards you, and that he hath sent down unto you the book of the *Qurán*, and wisdom admonishing you thereby; and fear GOD, and know that GOD is omniscient.

SULS.

R $\frac{30}{14}$.

|| (232) But when ye have divorced *your* wives, and they have fulfilled their prescribed time, hinder them not

of her innocent children, however desirous the husband may be of undoing the wrong, the decision cannot be recalled; the divorced wife can return to her husband but on one condition, and that is that she shall first be married to another, and after cohabitation be again divorced. The tone of Mahometan manners may be imagined from the functions of the *temporary* husband (Mostahil), hired to legalise remarriage with a thrice-divorced wife, having passed into a proverb.¹ Such flagrant breach of decency, such cruel violation of the modesty of an unoffending wife, may be an abuse the full extent of which was not at the time contemplated by Mahomet, but it is not the less an abuse for which, as a direct result of the unnatural and revolting provision framed by him, Mahomet is justly responsible."

But if he also divorce her. The *Qurán* everywhere presumes that divorce is the sole prerogative of the husband. The idea of a wife claiming the right was foreign to Muhammad's mind. He regarded women as a lower order of beings, intervening between the slave and their lords. The elevation of woman to her true position is impossible under Islám.

It shall be no crime, &c. This is a direct contradiction of the teaching of the Bible. See note on ver. 229.

(231) *Retain them not by violence; i.e.,* by obliging them to purchase their liberty with part of their dowry.—*Sale*.

(232) *Hinder them not from marrying their husbands; i.e.,* their former husbands, from whom they have been divorced. If the parties are willing to remarry, their relatives are not to interfere.—*Tafsir-i-Raufi*.

¹ "A thousand lovers rather than one Mostahil."—*Burckhardt's Arabic Proverbs*, p. 21.

from marrying their husbands, when they have agreed among themselves according to what is honourable. This is given in admonition unto him among you who believeth in GOD, and the last day. This is most righteous for you, and most pure. GOD knoweth, but ye know not. (233) Mothers *after they are divorced* shall give suck unto their children two full years, to him who desireth the time of giving suck to be completed; and the father shall be obliged to maintain them and clothe them *in the meantime*, according to that which shall be reasonable. No person shall be obliged beyond his ability. A mother shall not be compelled *to what is unreasonable* on account of her child, nor a father on account of his child. And the heir of the father shall be obliged to do in like manner. But if they choose to wean *the child before the end of two years*, by common consent and on mutual consideration, it shall be no crime in them. And if ye have a mind to provide a nurse for your children, it shall be no crime in you, in case ye fully pay what ye offer *her*, according to that which is just. And fear GOD, and know that GOD seeth whatsoever ye do. (234) Such of you as die, and leave wives, *their wives* must wait concerning themselves four months and ten *days*, and when they shall have fulfilled their term, it shall be no crime in you, for that which they shall do with themselves, according to what is reasonable. GOD well knoweth that which ye do. (235) And it shall be no crime in you, whether ye make public overtures of marriage unto *such* women, *within the said four months and ten days*, or whether ye conceal *such your designs* in your minds: GOD knoweth that ye will re-

(233) *And the heir, &c.; i.e., in case the father die before the child is weaned.*

(234) *Four months and ten days.* "That is to say, before they marry again; and this not only for decency sake, but that it may be known whether they be with child by the deceased or not."—Sale.

It shall be no crime; i.e., "if they look out for new husbands."—Sale.

member them. But make no promises unto them privately, unless ye speak honourable words; and resolve not on the knot of marriage until the prescribed time be accomplished; and know that GOD knoweth that which is in your minds, therefore beware of him and know that GOD is gracious and merciful.

R ³¹₁₅.

|| (236) It shall be no crime in you if ye divorce your wives, so long as ye have not touched them, nor settled any dowry on them. And provide for them (he who is at his ease must provide according to his circumstances, and he who is straitened according to his circumstances) necessities, according to what shall be reasonable. *This is a duty incumbent* on the righteous. (237) But if ye divorce them before ye have touched them, and have already settled a dowry on them, *ye shall give them* half of what ye have settled, unless they release *any part*, or he release *part* in whose hand the knot of marriage is; and if ye release *the whole*, it will approach nearer unto piety. And forget not liberality among you, for GOD seeth that which ye do. (238) Carefully observe the *appointed* prayers,

(237) *Unless they release any part, &c.; i.e., "unless the wife agree to take less than half her dowry, or unless the husband be so generous as to give her more than half, or the whole, which is here approved of as most commendable."*—Sale.

(238) *Carefully observe the appointed prayers.* The command has reference to the five daily prayers. See Prelim. Disc., p. 165. Four of these are distinctly mentioned in chap. xxx. 16, 17, and all Muslim commentators understand the fifth to be included in the "evening" prayer of ver. 16. Mr. Bosworth Smith is therefore mistaken in saying that "the five daily prayers, like the rite of circumcision, are not enjoined in the Koran itself."—*Mohammed and Mohammedanism*, note on p. 196.

Apologists for Muhammadanism are fond of dilating at great length upon the fervour of Muslims in prayer, and "missionaries and the like" are severely condemned for bringing against Muslim prayers the charge of being "merely lifeless forms and vain repetitions."¹ If fervour in prayer consists in punctilious performance of a prescribed round of bowing and prostration, or the repetition of a formal service of prayer in a foreign tongue, then the fervour and

¹ Introduction to *Lane's Selections from the Koran* by Stanley Lane Poole, p. lxxxiii.

and the middle prayer, and be assiduous *therein*, with devotion towards God. (239) But if ye fear *any danger*, pray on foot or on horseback; and when ye are safe remember God, how he hath taught you what as yet ye knew not. (240) And such of you as shall die and leave wives, ought to bequeath their wives a year's maintenance, without putting them out of *their houses*: but if they go out *voluntarily*, it shall be no crime in you, for that which they shall do with themselves, according to what shall be reasonable; GOD is mighty and wise. (241) And unto those who are divorced, a reasonable provision

reality of Muslim prayer must be acknowledged. But, whatever may be thought of the probable character of Muslim prayer in the earlier days of Islām, we think no man acquainted with the worship of modern Muslims can accredit them generally with having any true conception of the spiritual character of prayer, much less of striving after real heart communion with God. Granting that Muhammad had a correct idea of prayer, no system could have been invented to destroy all vestige of real prayer which would have succeeded better than this stereotyped service of Islām. So far as the great mass of Muslims are concerned, *the merit of prayer consists in its performance* according to the external rite, and not in putting forth heart desires after God.

The middle prayer; i.e., 'Asar.

With devotion. The devotion consists in the punctilious performance of the prescribed round of bowing and prostration, previous ablution, and perfect silence during prayer. Here again the English reader is misled by the language of an English translation. See any Muslim commentary on the passage.

(240) Abdul Qádir says this law was abrogated by the law of inheritance, in which each heir's portion is definitely fixed (see chap. iv. 11, which refers to the wife's share); and the *Tafsir-i-Ranfi* declares it abrogated by ver. 234. Rodwell says this passage "is certainly older than the commencement of Sura iv." The view of Abdul Qádir is therefore probably correct. So far as we are aware, the Muslim law of inheritance is based upon chap. iv. 11, in so far as it relates to the share of the wife or wives in the property of a deceased husband. It is fortunate for the millions of Muslim widows that the spirit of the prophet became more liberal in this respect as the years rolled by. It is difficult to estimate the amount of misery that would have resulted had the law of this verse remained in force.

(241) *Unto those who are divorced.* The husband, in making his bequest, is required to provide for the support of his divorced wives during the period of waiting (ver. 228), provided such period be not accomplished at the time of making bequest. The *Tafsir-i-Ranfi* regards this law as still in force.

is also due; this is a duty incumbent on those who fear God. (242) Thus GOD declareth his signs unto you, that ye may understand.

R $\frac{32}{16}$.

|| (243) Hast thou not considered those who left their habitations (and they were thousands), for fear of death? And GOD said unto them, Die; then he restored them to life, for GOD is gracious towards mankind; but the greater part of men do not give thanks. (244) Fight for the religion of GOD, and know that GOD is he who heareth and knoweth. (245) Who is he that will lend unto GOD

(243) *Those who left their habitations.* "These were some of the children of Israel, who abandoned their dwellings because of a pestilence, or, as others say, to avoid serving in a religious war; but, as they fled, God struck them all dead in a certain valley. About eight days or more after, when their bodies were corrupted, the prophet Ezekiel, the son of Buzi, happening to pass that way, at the sight of their bones wept; whereupon God said to him, *Call to them, O Ezekiel, and I will restore them to life.* And accordingly on the prophet's call they all arose, and lived several years after; but they retained the colour and stench of dead corpses as long as they lived, and the clothes they wore changed as black as pitch, which qualities they transmitted to their posterity. As to the number of these Israelites the commentators are not agreed; they who reckon least say they were 3000, and they who reckon most, 70,000. This story seems to have been taken from Ezekiel's vision of the resurrection of dry bones.

"Some of the Mohammedan writers will have Ezekiel to have been one of the judges of Israel, and to have succeeded Othoniel the son of Caleb. They also call this prophet *Ibn al ajúz*, or *the son of the old woman*, because they say his mother obtained him by her prayers in her old age."—Sale, *Jaláluddín*, *Yahya*, &c.

This is another instance of the failure of the Qurán to confirm the teaching of the "former Scriptures." The purpose of Muhammad in relating this story appears in the exhortation of the next verse. Muslims must not fear death, lest they be punished with death and disgrace.

(244) *Fight for the religion of God.* (See notes on vers. 190 and 191.) Rodwell regards the exhortation of these verses as having special reference to the coming struggle with the people of Madína. We think the purpose of Muhammad had a much wider range. He certainly had special reference to the conflict with the Makkans in the exhortations of vers. 191-193. All his teaching concerning the Qibla and the pilgrimage, all his legislation for the company of the faithful, points to the conquest of Arabia, and the establishment of Islám throughout its bounds by the sword.

(245) *Who is he that will lend, &c.; i.e., "by contributing towards the establishment of his true religion."*—Sale.

on good usury? verily he will double it unto him manifold; for GOD contracteth and extendeth *his hand* as he pleaseth, and to him shall ye return. (246) Hast thou not considered the assembly of the children of Israel, after *the time of* Moses; when they said unto their prophet *Samuel*, Set a king over us, that we may fight for the religion of GOD. *The prophet* answered, If ye are enjoined to go to war, will ye be near refusing to fight? They answered, And what should ail us that we should not fight for the religion of GOD, seeing we are dispossessed of our habitations and *deprived* of our children? But when they were enjoined to go to war, they turned back, except a few of them: and GOD knew the ungodly. (247) And their prophet said unto them, Verily GOD hath set Tálút, king over you: they answered, How shall he reign over us, seeing we are more worthy of the kingdom than he, neither is he possessed of great riches? *Samuel* said, Verily GOD hath chosen him before you, and hath caused him to increase in knowledge and stature, for GOD giveth his kingdom unto whom he pleaseth; GOD is bounteous

(246) *That we may fight for the religion of God.* The children of Israel said, "We will have a king over us; that we also may be like all the nations; and that our king may judge us, and go out before us, and fight our battles" (1 Sam. viii. 19, 20).

The garbled rendering of Israelitish history in this verse and those following illustrates at once Muhammad's ignorance of the Bible story, and his unscrupulous adaptation of Jewish tradition to the purposes of his prophetic ambition. Granting that he was unacquainted with the Scripture narrative, and that he was dependent for his information on Jewish tradition, I cannot see how he can be fairly exonerated from the charge of deliberate imposition here.

Seeing we are dispossessed, &c. The commentators relate a story in illustration of this passage to the effect that God, on account of their defection from the true faith, permitted Goliath to invade their country, and to destroy their habitations, and carry their children into captivity.

(247) *And their prophet.* The name of this prophet is not given in the original. Some commentators think he was Ishmuíl (Samuel); others, that Joshua is referred to; and others, that his name was Shimaún.—*Tafsír-i-Raufi*.

Tálút, Saul.

and wise. (248) And their prophet said unto them, Verily the sign of his kingdom shall be, that the ark shall come unto you: therein shall be tranquillity from your LORD, and the relics which have been left by the family of Moses and the family of Aaron; the angels shall bring it. Verily this shall be a sign unto you, if ye believe.

R $\frac{33}{1}$.

|| (249) And when Tálút departed with his soldiers he said, Verily God will prove you by the river; for he who

(248) *The sign of his kingdom, &c.* Compare this story with the Biblical account (1 Sam. chap. xi.)

The ark. Arabic التابوت = Coptic Hebrew תִּבְיָה. "This ark, says Jaláluddín, contained the images of the prophets, and was sent down from heaven to Adam, and at length came to the Israelites, who put great confidence therein, and continually carried it in the front of their army, till it was taken by the Amalekites. But on this occasion the angels brought it back, in the sight of all the people, and placed it at the feet of Tálút, who was thereupon unanimously acknowledged for their king.

"This relation seems to have arisen from some imperfect tradition of the taking and sending back the ark by the Philistines."—Sale.

Tranquillity. Arabic سَكِينَة. See Rodwell's note *in loco*. Also Penrice's Dictionary and Glossary of the Korán under سَكَن

"*Tranquillity.* That is, because of the great confidence the Israelites placed in it, having won several battles by its miraculous assistance. I imagine, however, that the Arabic word *Sakinat*, which signifies *tranquillity* or *security of mind*, and is so understood by the commentators, may not improbably mean the *divine presence* or *glory*, which used to appear on the ark, and which the Jews expressed by the same word, *Shechinah*."—Sale.

The relics. "These were the shoes and rod of Moses, the mitre of Aaron, a pot of manna, and the broken pieces of the two tables of the law."—Sale, *Jaláluddín*.

The angels shall bring it. The author of the *Notes on the Roman Urdú Qurán* points out that these angels were "two milch kine!" Abdul Qádir says the angels drove the kine.

(249) *God will prove you by the river.* The story of Saul is here confounded with that of Gideon (comp. Judges vii.), and with David's conflict with Goliath! And yet this ridiculous jumble is declared below (252) to be rehearsed by God unto Muhammad "with truth." Is it possible to believe Muhammad sincere and consciously truthful while making a statement like this? He must have received his information respecting Israelitish history from the Jews or Jewish converts to Islám, either directly, or, as is more probable, indirectly. How could he imagine that he had received it by a divine revelation? I confess my entire inability to reconcile such facts with any theory of hallucination or self-deception.

drinketh thereof shall not be on my side (but he who shall not taste thereof he shall be on my side), except he who drinketh a draught out of his hand. And they drank thereof, except a few of them. And when they had passed *the river*, he and those who believed with him, they said, We have no strength to-day, against Jálút and his forces. But they who considered that they should meet GOD *at the resurrection* said, How often hath a small army discomfited a great one, by the will of GOD ! and GOD is with those who patiently persevere. (250) And when they went forth to battle against Jálút and his forces, they said, O LORD, pour on us patience, and confirm our feet, and help us against the unbelieving people. (251) Therefore they discomfited them, by the will of GOD, and David slew Jálút. And GOD gave him the kingdom and wisdom, and taught him his will ; and if GOD had not prevented men, the one by the other, verily the earth had been corrupted ; but GOD is beneficent towards *his* creatures. (252) These are the signs of GOD : we rehearse them unto thee with truth, and thou art surely *one* of those who have been sent by GOD.

|| (253) These are the apostles ; we have preferred some of them before others ; some of them hath GOD spoken unto, and hath exalted the degree of others of them. And we gave unto Jesus the son of Mary manifest signs, and strengthened him with the holy spirit. And if GOD had

THIRD
SIPARA.

(251) *And God . . . taught him his will.* "Or *what he pleased* to teach him. Yahya most rationally understands hereby the divine revelations which David received from God ; but Jaláluddín, the art of making coats of mail (which the Muhammadans believe was that prophet's peculiar trade) and the knowledge of the language of birds."—Sale.

(252) *Thou art surely . . . sent by God.* Look at this statement in the light of my note on (249).

(253) *Jesus the son of Mary.* "Christ was, with Mohammed, the greatest of prophets. He had the power of working miracles ; he spoke in his cradle ; he made a bird out of clay. He could give sight to the blind, and even raise the dead to life. He is the Word proceeding from God ; his name is the Messiah. Illustrious in this world and in the next, and one of those who have near access to God.

so pleased, they who came after those *apostles* would not have contended among themselves, after manifest signs had been shown unto them. But they fell to variance; therefore some of them believed, and some of them believed not; and if GOD had so pleased, they would not have contended among themselves; but GOD doth what he will.

R³⁴₂.

|| (254) O true believers, give *alms* of that which we have bestowed unto you, before the day cometh wherein there shall be no merchandising, nor friendship, nor intercession. The infidels are unjust doers. (255) GOD! there is no GOD but he; the living, the self-subsisting: neither slumber nor sleep seizeth him; to him *belongeth* whatsoever is in heaven, and on earth. Who is he that

‘He is strengthened by the Holy Spirit,’ for so Mohammed, in more than one passage, calls the Angel Gabriel.”—*R. Bosworth Smith, Mohammed and Mohammedanism*, p. 271, second edition.

But that which, beyond all question, exalts Jesus above all the prophets of Islām, Muhammad himself not being excepted, is *his sinlessness*. Both the Qurān and the Sunnat attribute a sinful character to all the prophets excepting Jesus, *who appears everywhere as being absolutely immaculate*. HE IS THE SINLESS PROPHET OF ISLĀM.

With the holy spirit. “It is clear that at a later period at least, if not from the first, Mahomet confounded *Gabriel* with the *Holy Ghost*. The idea may have arisen from some such misapprehension as the following:—Mary conceived Jesus by the power of the Holy Ghost which overshadowed her. But it was Gabriel who visited Mary to announce the conception of the Saviour. The Holy Ghost was, therefore, another name for Gabriel. We need hardly wonder at this ignorance, when Mahomet seems to have believed that Christians held Mary to be the third person in the Trinity.”—*Muir’s Life of Mahomet*, new edition, p. 47, note. See also notes on ver. 86.

They fell at variance. The allusion is to the various sects into which the followers of former “apostles” became divided. This was in accordance with the will of God. It would seem that God willed that the followers of Muhammad should be no exception in this respect.

(254) *Give alms.* See notes on vers. 42, 109, and 214.

(255) *God! there is no God, &c.* “This verse contains a magnificent description of the divine majesty and providence; but it must not be supposed the translation comes up to the dignity of the original. This passage is justly admired by the Muhammadans, who recite it in their prayers; and some of them wear it about them, engraved on an agate or other precious stone.”—*Sale*.

This verse is called the *‘Ayat ul Kursī*, or *The Throne verse*, and is frequently used by Muslims in prayer. The *Mishqāt ul Masābih*

can intercede with him, but through his good pleasure? He knoweth that which is past, and that which is to come unto them, and they shall not comprehend anything of his knowledge, but so far as he pleaseth. His throne is extended over heaven and earth, and the preservation of both is no burden unto him. He is the high, the mighty. (256) Let there be no violence in religion. Now is right direction manifestly distinguished from deceit: whoever therefore shall deny Tághút, and believe in GOD, he shall surely take hold on a strong handle, which shall not be broken; GOD is he who heareth and seeth. (257) GOD is the patron of those who believe; he shall lead them out of darkness into light: but *as to* those who believe not, their

(Matthews' edition, vol. i. p. 203) records the following tradition concerning it:—"Ali Ibn Abú Tálib said, 'I heard the prophet say in the pulpit, "That person who repeats *'Ayat ul Kursi* after every prayer, nothing prevents him entering into paradise but life; and whoever says *'Ayat ul Kursi* when he goes to his bedchamber, God will keep him in safety, his house, and the house of his neighbour.'"

His throne. "This throne, in Arabic called *Kursi*, is by the Muhammadans supposed to be God's tribunal or seat of justice, being placed under that other called *al Arsh*, which they say is his imperial throne. The *Kursi* allegorically signifies the divine providence, which sustains and governs the heaven and the earth, and is infinitely above human comprehension."—Sale.

This is, without doubt, one of the grandest verses of the Qurán. Its place in the text does not seem natural. It sounds more like one of the impassioned effusions of the preacher of Makkah than the utterance of the Madína politician.

(256) *No violence in religion.* "This passage was particularly directed to some of Muhammad's first proselytes, who having sons that had been brought up in idolatry or Judaism, would oblige them to embrace Muhammadism by force."—Sale, *Jaláladdín*.

There is an apparent contradiction between this verse and verses 191-193 and 244 of this chapter. The comment of Jaláluddín given by Sale as quoted here affords a key to reconciliation. It was still politic to exercise moderation at Madína, but being at war with the Makkans, and anticipating the coming conflict with the unbelievers elsewhere, the Muslims were incited to "fight for the religion of God." This warfare was for the present ostensibly in self-defence, but the warriors were being educated for a career of conquest in the not distant future.

Tághút. "This word properly signifies *an idol*, or whatever is worshipped besides God—particularly the two idols of the Makkans, al Lát and al Uzza; and also the devil, or any seducer."—Sale

R $\frac{3.5}{3}$.

patrons are Tághút; they shall lead them from the light into darkness; they shall be the companions of *hell-fire*, they shall remain therein for ever.

|| (258) Hast thou not considered him who disputed with Abraham concerning his LORD, because GOD had given him the kingdom? When Abraham said, My LORD is he who giveth life and killeth: he answered, I give life and I kill. Abraham said, Verily GOD bringeth the sun from the east, now do thou bring it from the west. Whereupon the infidel was confounded; for GOD directeth not the ungodly people. (259) Or *hast thou not considered* how he *behaved* who passed by a city which had been destroyed, even to her foundations? He said, How shall GOD quicken this *city*, after she hath been dead? And GOD caused him to die for an hundred years, and afterwards raised him to life. And GOD said, How long hast thou tarried *here*? He answered, A day, or part of a day. GOD said, Nay, thou hast tarried *here* a hundred years. Now look on thy food and thy drink, they are not yet corrupted; and look on thine ass: and this *have we done* that we might make thee a sign unto men. And look on the bones of *thine ass*, how

(258) *Him who disputed with Abraham.* "This was Nimrod, who, as the commentators say, to prove his power of life and death by ocular demonstration, caused two men to be brought before him at the same time, one of whom he slew and saved the other alive. As to this tyrant's persecution of Abraham, see chap. xxi. (vers. 52-70), and the notes thereon."—Sale.

(259) *He who passed by a city, &c.* "The person here meant was Uzair or Ezra, who riding on an ass by the ruins of Jerusalem, after it had been destroyed by the Chaldeans, doubted in his mind by what means God could raise the city and its inhabitants again; whereupon God caused him to die, and he remained in that condition one hundred years; at the end of which God restored him to life, and he found a basket of figs and a cruse of wine he had with him not in the least spoiled or corrupted; but his ass was dead, the bones only remaining, and these, while the prophet looked on, were raised and clothed with flesh, becoming an ass again, which being inspired with life, began immediately to bray (*Jaláluddín, Yakhya*). This apocryphal story may perhaps have taken its rise from Nehemiah's viewing of the ruins of Jerusalem" (Neh. ii.)—Sale.

The Qurán is here again at variance with the *facts* of Jewish history.

we raise them, and afterwards clothe them with flesh. And when *this* was shown unto him, he said, I know that GOD is able to do all things. (260) And when Abraham said, O LORD, show me how thou wilt raise the dead; GOD said, Dost thou not yet believe? He answered, Yea, but *I ask this* that my heart may rest at ease. GOD said, Take therefore four birds, and divide them; then lay a part of them on every mountain; then call them, and they shall come swiftly unto thee: and know that GOD is mighty and wise.

|| (261) The similitude of those who lay out their substance, for advancing the religion of GOD, is as a grain of corn which produceth seven ears, and in every ear an hundred grains; for GOD giveth twofold unto whom he pleaseth: GOD is bounteous and wise. (262) They who lay out their substance for the religion of GOD, and afterwards follow not what they have so laid out by reproaches or mischief, they shall have their reward with their LORD; upon them shall no fear come, neither shall they be grieved. (263) A fair speech and to forgive is better than alms followed by mischief. GOD is

R $\frac{36}{4}$.

(260) *Show me how thou wilt raise the dead.* "The occasion of this request of Abraham is said to have been on a doubt proposed to him by the devil, in human form, how it was possible for the several parts of the corpse of a man which lay on the seashore, and had been partly devoured by the wild beasts, the birds, and the fish, to be brought together at the resurrection."—Sale.

Take four birds and divide them. "These birds, according to the commentators, were an eagle (a dove, say others), a peacock, a raven, and a cock, which Abraham cut to pieces, and mingled their flesh and feathers together, or, as some tell us, pounded all in a mortar, and dividing the mass into four parts laid them on so many mountains, but kept the heads, which he had preserved whole, in his hand. Then he called them each by their name, and immediately one part flew to the other, till they all recovered their first shape, and then came to be joined to their respective heads.

"This seems to be taken from Abraham's sacrifice of birds mentioned by Moses (Gen. xv.), with some additional circumstances."—Sale, *Jaláluddín*, *Abdul Qádir*.

(262) *Reproaches or mischief; i.e.*, either by reproaching the person whom they have relieved with what they have done for him, or by exposing his poverty to his prejudice."—Sale, *Jaláluddín*.

See notes on vers. 42, 109, and 214.

rich and merciful. (264) O true believers, make not your alms of none effect by reproaching or mischief, as he who layeth out what he hath to appear unto men to *give alms*, and believeth not in God and the last day. The likeness of such a one is as a flint covered with earth, on which a violent rain falleth, and leaveth it hard. They cannot prosper in anything which they have gained, for God directeth not the unbelieving people. (265) And the likeness of those who lay out their substance from a desire to please God, and for an establishment for their souls, is as a garden on a hill, on which a violent rain falleth, and it bringeth forth its fruits twofold; and if a violent rain falleth not on it, yet the dew *falleth thereon*: and God seeth that which ye do. (266) Doth any of you desire to have a garden of palm-trees and vines, through which rivers flow, wherein ye may have all *kinds of* fruits, and that he may attain to old age, and have a weak offspring? then a violent fiery wind shall strike it, so that it shall be burned. Thus God declareth his signs unto you, that ye may consider.

R $\frac{37}{5}$.

|| (267) O true believers, bestow *alms* of the good things which ye have gained, and of that which we have produced for you out of the earth, and choose not the bad thereof, to give it *in alms*, such as ye would not accept yourselves, otherwise than by connivance: and know that God is rich and worthy to be praised. (268) The devil threateneth you with poverty, and commandeth you filthy covetousness; but God promiseth you pardon from

(266) *A garden of palm-trees, &c.* "This garden is an emblem of alms given out of hypocrisy or attended with reproaches, which perish, and will be of no service hereafter to the giver."—Sale, *Jalāl-uddin*.

(267) *Otherwise than by connivance.* "That is, on having some amends made by the seller of such goods, either by abatement of the price, or giving something else to the buyer to make up the value."—Sale.

(268) *The devil threateneth . . . but God promiseth.* Satan deters from giving by suggesting possible poverty. God encourages to give by the promise of pardon and salvation. Compare ver. 271, *infra*.

himself and abundance: GOD is bounteous and wise. (269) He giveth wisdom unto whom he pleaseth; and he unto whom wisdom is given hath received much good: but none will consider, except the *wise* of heart. (270) And whatever alms ye shall give, or *whatever* vow ye shall vow, verily GOD knoweth it; but the ungodly shall have none to help *them*. (271) If ye make your alms to appear, it is well; but if ye conceal them, and give them unto the poor, this *will be* better for you, and will atone for your sins; and GOD is well informed of that which ye do. (272) The direction of them belongeth not unto thee; but GOD directeth whom he pleaseth. The good that ye shall give *in alms shall redound* unto yourselves; and ye shall not give unless out of desire of *seeing* the face of GOD. And what good thing ye shall give *in alms*, it shall be repaid you, and ye shall not be treated unjustly; (273) unto the poor who are wholly employed in fighting for the religion of GOD, and cannot go to and fro on the earth; whom the ignorant man thinketh rich, because of

(271) *If you make your alms to appear, it is well.* This contradicts the teaching of our Lord (Matt. vi. 1-4). The whole of Muhammad's exhortation in these verses (271-274) is based upon the idea that almsgiving is profitable both in this world and the world to come. As an additional motive, he condones and thereby encourages that human pride which is willing to give for the sake of the reputation for liberality acquired thereby.

If ye conceal them . . . this will be better for you. This translation agrees with that of Abdul Qádir, the *Tafsir Hussaini*, and the *Tafsir-i-Raufi*. This part of the exhortation is then in agreement with that of Matt. vi. 1-4. Both public giving and private charity are commended. See also ver. 274.

But Rodwell translates this clause thus: "Do ye conceal them and give them to the poor? This, too, will be of advantage to you."

Abdul Qádir paraphrases the verse thus: "If you make your alms to appear, it is well, for others will be encouraged to give; but if you conceal them, it is better, because the poor will not be made ashamed by exposing their poverty."

Will atone for your sins. This sentiment contradicts the teaching of the Bible, that "without shedding of blood there is no remission."

(272) *Ye shall not give unless, &c.; i.e., "for the sake of a reward hereafter, and not for any worldly consideration."*—Sale.

(273) *The poor wholly employed in fighting* (see notes on ver. 195). Here we observe that Muhammad's exhortations to the performance

their modesty: thou shalt know them by this mark, they ask not men with importunity; and what good ye shall give *in alms*, verily GOD knoweth it.

RUBA.

R $\frac{38}{6}$.

|| (274) They who distribute *alms* of their substance night and day, in private and in public, shall have their reward with the LORD; on them shall no fear come, neither shall they be grieved. (275) They who devour usury shall not arise *from the dead*, but as he ariseth whom Satan hath infected by a touch: this *shall happen to them* because they say, Truly selling is but as usury: and yet GOD hath permitted selling and forbidden usury. He therefore who when there cometh unto him an admonition from his LORD abstaineth *from usury for the future*, shall have what is past *forgiven him*, and his affair be-longeth unto GOD. But whoever returneth *to usury*, they shall be the companions of *hell-fire*, they shall continue therein forever. (276) GOD shall take his blessing from usury, and shall increase alms: for GOD loveth no infidel, or ungodly person. (277) But they who believe and do that which is right, and observe the stated times of prayer, and pay their legal alms, they shall have their reward

of religious duty were closely connected with his scheme for political advancement.

Their modesty. If ever this virtue belonged to a *ghāzi* or Muslim warrior, it has long since been supplanted by the most impudent and cruel audacity.

(274) See notes on ver. 271.

(275) *Whom Satan hath infected*; viz., "like *demoniacs* or possessed persons; that is, in great horror and distraction of mind, and convulsive agitation of body."—*Sale*.

Usury is one of the seventeen *kabīra* or great sins. Hughes' *Notes on Muhammadanism*, p. 139.

Shall have what is past forgiven. Repentance thus atones for past sin. This, again, contradicts the teaching of the "former Scriptures." The *Tafsīr-i-Rauḍi*, while recognising the above as a possible interpretation, prefers another, viz., that those who had borrowed money before the date of the prohibition of usury, are hereby relieved from the responsibility of payment of interest on their debts. This is *ex post facto* law of a kind scarcely creditable to Islām. And yet this interpretation seems to be borne out by the exhortation of ver. 278.

(277) See notes on vers. 3-5, 37, 38, and 177.

with their LORD: there shall come no fear on them, neither shall they be grieved. (278) O true believers, fear God, and remit that which remaineth of usury, if ye *really* believe; (279) but if ye do it not, hearken unto war, *which is declared against you* from God and his apostle: yet if ye repent, ye shall have the capital of your money. Deal not unjustly *with others*, and ye shall not be dealt with unjustly. (280) If there be any *debtor* under a difficulty of *paying his debt*, let *his creditor* wait till it be easy *for him to do it*; but if ye remit it as alms, it will be better for you, if ye knew it. (281) And fear the day wherein ye shall return unto God; then shall every soul be paid what it hath gained, and they shall not be treated unjustly.

|| (282) O true believers, when ye bind yourselves one to the other in a debt for a certain time, write it down; and let a writer write between you according to justice, and let not the writer refuse writing according to what God hath taught him; but let him write, and let him who oweth the debt dictate, and let him fear GOD his LORD, and not diminish aught thereof. But if he who oweth the debt be foolish, or weak, or be not able to dictate himself, let his agent dictate according to equity; and call to witness two witnesses of your *neigh-*

R $\frac{39}{7}$.

(278) *Remit that which remaineth; i.e., "the interest due before usury was prohibited. For this some of Muhammad's followers exacted of their debtors, supposing they lawfully might."*—Sale, *Jaláluddín*. See also note on ver. 275.

(280) *Wait till it be easy for him, &c.* This regulation does great credit to Muhammad, and is yet carried out in practice by many of his followers.

(281) *And fear the day, &c.* "The fear rather than the love of God is the spur of Islám."—Poole in *Introduction to Lane's Selections from the Koran*, p. lxxx.

(282) *His agent.* "Whoever manages his affairs, whether his father, heir, guardian, or interpreter."—Sale, *Jaláluddín*.

A man and two women. Another illustration of the Muslim estimate of woman. She is but half a man! A man, too ignorant to dictate an article of agreement, may still be equal to any two women, however intelligent; for "if one of those women should mistake, the other of them will cause her to recollect!"

bearing men; but if there be not two men, *let there be* a man and two women of those whom ye shall choose for witnesses: if one of those *women* should mistake, the other of them will cause her to recollect. And the witnesses shall not refuse, whensoever they shall be called. And disdain not to write it down, be it a large *debt*, or be it a small one, until its time of *payment*: this will be more just in the sight of GOD, and more right for bearing witness, and more easy, that ye may not doubt. But if it be a present bargain which ye transact between yourselves, it shall be no crime in you, if ye write it not down. And take witnesses when ye sell one to the other, and let no harm be done to the writer, nor to the witness; *which* if ye do, it will surely be injustice in you: and fear GOD, and GOD will instruct you, for GOD knoweth all things. (283) And if ye be on a journey, and find no writer, *let pledges be taken*: but if one of you trust the other, let him who is trusted return what he is trusted with, and fear GOD his LORD. And conceal not the testimony, for he who concealeth it hath surely a wicked heart: GOD knoweth that which ye do.

R $\frac{40}{8}$.

|| (284) Whatever is in heaven and on earth is GOD's; and whether ye manifest that which is in your minds, or conceal it, GOD will call you to account for it, and will forgive whom he pleaseth, and will punish whom he pleaseth; for GOD is almighty. (285) The apostle believeth in that which hath been sent down unto him from

(283) *Return what he is trusted with.* Forbids a breach of trust and all embezzlement.—*Tafsir-i-Raufi*.

(284) *Whether ye manifest that which is in your minds, &c.* Abdul Qádir says that on hearing these words, one of the companions said that this command was exceedingly difficult to perform, whereupon the following two verses were revealed. He understands these verses as mitigating in some degree the rigour of this command. Modern Muslims generally agree that thoughts of evil only acquire a moral character by their manifestation in word or deed.

Will forgive whom he pleaseth. Pardon of sin here depends on the will of God alone. Compare notes on vers. 271 and 275.

his LORD, and the faithful *also*. Every one of *them* believeth in GOD, and his angels, and his scriptures, and his apostles: we make no distinction at all between his apostles. And they say, We have heard, and do obey; *we implore* thy mercy, O LORD, for unto thee must we return. (286) GOD will not force any soul beyond its capacity: it shall have *the good* which it gaineth, and it shall suffer *the evil* which it gaineth. O LORD, punish us not if we forget or act sinfully: O LORD, lay not on us a burden like that which thou hast laid on those who have been before us; neither make us, O LORD, to bear what we have not strength to *bear*, but be favourable unto us, and spare us, and be merciful unto us. Thou art our patron, help us therefore against the unbelieving nations.

(285) *We make no distinction at all between his apostles.* This verse contradicts ver. 253 and chap. xvii. 57.

"But this, say the Muhammadans, the Jews do, who receive Moses, but reject Jesus; and the Christians, who receive both those prophets, but reject Muhammad."—*Sale, Jaláluddín.*

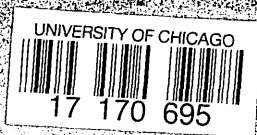
(286) *A burden like that which thou hast laid on those who, &c.* "That is, on the Jews, who, as the commentators tell us, were ordered to kill a man by way of atonement, to give one-fourth of their substance in alms, and to cut off an unclean ulcerous part, and were forbidden to eat fat, or animals that divide the hoof, and were obliged to observe the sabbath, and other particulars wherein the Muhammadans are at liberty."—*Sale, Jaláluddín, Yahya.*

See note on ver. 284.

Abdul Qádir says, "God approved of this prayer and accepted it. This command no longer rests heavily upon us, so that the thoughts of the heart are no longer taken into account, and sins of carelessness are forgiven!"

The Qurán, then, seems to be responsible for the general insensibility of Muslims to sin, and especially to sinful states of the heart. The doctrine of personal holiness is alike foreign to the Qurán and the experience of the followers of Islám.

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A COMPREHENSIVE COMMENTARY

ON

THE QURÁN:

COMPRISING SALE'S TRANSLATION

AND

PRELIMINARY DISCOURSE,

WITH ADDITIONAL NOTES AND EMENDATIONS.

TOGETHER WITH

A Complete Index to the Text, Preliminary Discourse,
and Notes,

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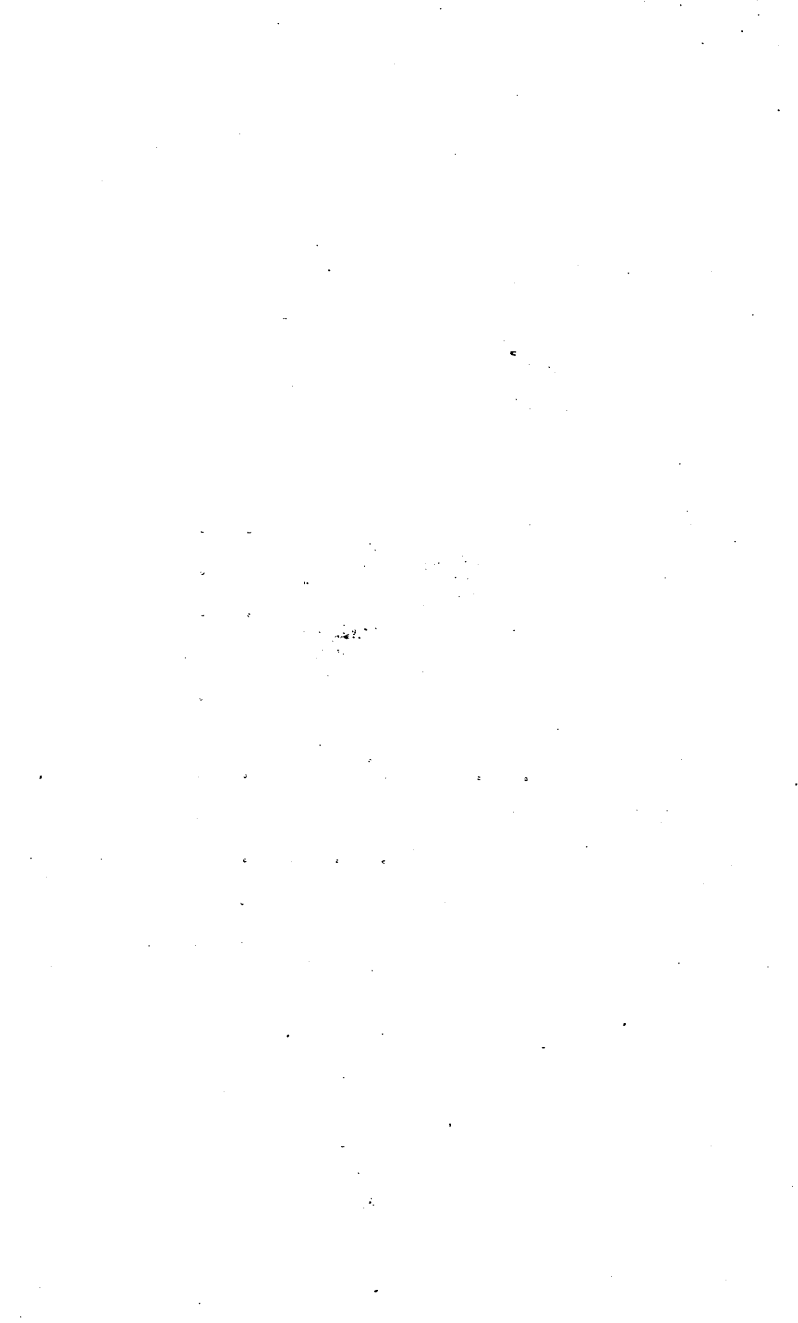
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CONTENTS.

CHAP.	PAGE
III.—ENTITLED SUR ÁL IMRAN (THE FAMILY OF IMRÁN)	I
IV.—ENTITLED SURAT UN NISA (WOMEN) . . .	64
V.—ENTITLED SURAT UL MÁIDA (THE TABLE) . . .	118
VI.—ENTITLED SURAT AL ANÁM (CATTLE) . . .	159
VII.—ENTITLED SURAT AL ARÁF (THE PARTITION WALL)	201
VIII.—ENTITLED SURAT AL AUFÁL (THE SPOILS) . . .	248
IX.—ENTITLED SURAT AL TAUBA (REPENTANCE, IM- MUNITY)	273
X.—ENTITLED SURAT AL YUNAS (JONAH)	321
XI.—ENTITLED SURAT AL HÚD	342
XII.—ENTITLED SURAT AL YASUF (JOSEPH)	368
XIII.—ENTITLED SURAT AL RAAD (THUNDER)	396



THE QURÁN.

CHAPTER III.

ENTITLED SURAT ÁL IMRÁN (THE FAMILY OF IMRÁN).

Revealed at Madína.

INTRODUCTION.

THIS chapter contains a variety of passages belonging to different periods. The *revelations* are, however, all of Madína origin, excepting verses 26 and 27, which seem to be the remnant of a lost Makkan Sura.

As to matter, the chapter may be divided into two portions. The first, extending to verse 120, relates to various matters of instruction and warning, suited to the circumstances of the Muslims during the period of prosperity intervening between the victory at Badr and the defeat at Ohod. The remainder of the chapter was intended to counteract the evils consequent upon the misfortunes of the Muslims at Ohod.

Probable Date of the Revelations.

Verses 1-25, 28-57, 66-94, and 98-120, belong to the period intervening between Ramadhán of A.H. 2 (Badr) and Shawwál of A.H. 3 (Ohod).

Verses 26 and 27 are Makkan, but their date cannot be ascertained. Verses 58-65 allude to the visit of the Christians of Najrán to Madína in A.H. 9. They probably belong to that year.

Verses 95-97, referring to the rites of pilgrimage as fully established, must be referred to the later years of Muhammad's life, say A.H. 10.

The remaining verses, 121-200, belong to a period immediately succeeding the battle of Ohod, and must therefore be referred to the latter part of A.H. 3 or the beginning of A.H. 4.

Principal Subjects.

God one and self-existent	verses	1, 2
The Qurán to be believed	"	3, 4
God omniscient	"	5, 6
Plain and obscure verses of the Qurán	"	7
The prayer of those versed in Quránic mystery	"	8, 9
The punishment of Pharaoh a warning to infidels	"	10, 12
The victory at Badr alluded to	"	13
The faithful, their character and reward	"	14-18
Islám the true religion	"	19, 20
The punishment of unbelievers eternal	"	21-25
God omnipotent and sovereign	"	26, 27
Obedience to God enjoined	"	28-34
The Virgin Mary—her conception—nurtured by Zacharias	"	35-38
John Baptist, his birth	"	39-41
Christ announced to the Virgin—his miracles—apostles, &c.	"	42-57
Muhammad's dispute with the Christians of Najrán	"	58-65
The hypocritical Jews reproached	"	66-77
Prophets not to be worshipped	"	78-83
God's curse on infidels	"	84-91
Almsgiving enjoined	"	92
The Jews unlawfully forbid certain meats	"	93-95
The Kaabah founded	"	96, 97
Muslims are warned against the friendship of Jews, &c.	"	98-105
The lot of infidels and believers contrasted	"	106-109
Muslims safe from the enmity of Jews and Christians	"	110-112
Certain believing Jews commended for their faith	"	113-115
Muslims not to make friends of Jews and Christians	"	116-120
The battle of Ohod alluded to	"	121, 122
Disheartened Muslims encouraged	"	123-129
Usury forbidden	"	130-136
The doom of calumniators of the apostles	"	137, 138
Islám not dependent on Muhammad for success	"	139-144
The former prophets are examples of perseverance	"	145-148
Unbelievers to be avoided	"	149-151
Certain Muslims disobedient at Ohod	"	152-154

The hypocrites rebuked	verses 155-157
Muslims slain at Ohod to enter paradise	„ 158, 159
Mild treatment of vacillating Muslims	„ 160, 161
The spoils of war to be honestly divided	„ 162-165
The faithful sifted by defeat at Ohod	„ 166-169
The joy of the Ohod martyrs in paradise	„ 170-172
Certain Muslims commended for faithfulness	„ 173-176
The fate of unbelievers	„ 177-180
The miser's doom	„ 181
Scoffing Jews denounced—they charge Muhammad with imposture	„ 182-190
Meditations and prayers of the pious	„ 191-195
God's answer to the prayers of the pious	„ 196-198
Certain believing Jews and Christians commended	„ 199
Exhortation to patience and perseverance	„ 200

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

|| (1) A. L. M. (2) There is no God but God, the living, R $\frac{1}{3}$.
the self-subsisting: (3) he hath sent down unto thee the

(1) A. L. M. See note on chap. ii. ver. 1, and Prelim. Disc., p. 100.

(2) *There is no God but God, &c.* These words express one half of the Muslim creed; they are said to have been delivered on the occasion of a visit to the Prophet by certain Christians from Najrán. On being invited to join Islām, they professed their faith in Jesus the Son of God. To this Muhammad replied that they were unable to receive the true religion because of their having attributed to the Deity the human relationships of wife and son. The Christians declared their belief in the Sonship of Jesus, saying, "If God were not his father, who was?" To this Muhammad replied, that, according to their own religion, God was immortal, and yet they believed that Jesus would taste of death; that he ate and drank, slept and awoke, went and came, &c. This, he averred, could not be predicated of divinity. See *Tafsīr-i-Husainī in loco*.

According to the *Tafsīr-i-Raufi*, this verse contains a distinct rejection of the Christian doctrine of the Divinity of Christ as well as of the Trinity. The tradition handed down to the present generation by these commentators, and, so far as I know, by all commentators of the Qurán, confirms our interpretation of chap. ii. vers. 86, 116. Muhammad knew of no Trinity save that of God, Mary, and Jesus, and Muhammadan commentators know of no other Trinity, unless it be that of God, Jesus, and Gabriel—see *Tafsīr-i-Raufi in loco*—probably a modern gloss of the Bible language, "Father, Son, and Holy Ghost," the term Holy Spirit, as found in the Qurán, being

book of the *Qurán* with truth, confirming that which was revealed before it; for he had formerly sent down the law, and the gospel a direction unto men; and he had also sent down the distinction *between good and evil*. (4) Verily those who believe not the signs of GOD shall suffer a grievous punishment; for GOD is mighty, able to revenge. (5) Surely nothing is hidden from GOD, of that which is on

always understood to refer to the Angel Gabriel: see chap. ii. 253. No Christian would object to the statement upon which we are now commenting. It is a statement clearly set forth in our Scriptures. But if this statement is intended to refute the *Christian* doctrine concerning the person of Christ and the Trinity, what becomes of the claims set up for the *Qurán* in this same verse as "confirming that which was revealed before it"? What are we to say of the inspiration of a prophet who seems to have been ignorant of the teaching of the Scriptures he professed to confirm? If he were not ignorant of these doctrines, then what becomes of his character for integrity? How he could be so ignorant of them, after personal intercourse with Christians as testified by tradition, as to attribute to them views never held by any sect however heretical, I confess myself unable to show.

(3) *He had formerly sent down the law, &c.* The Muslim commentators understand the reference to be to all the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, and that these were "a direction" unto the Jews that they should not call Ezra the Son of God, and "a direction" to the Christians that they should not call Christ "God, the Son of God, or one of three persons of a Trinity."—*Tafsír-i-Raúfi*.

The distinction. The original word is *Al Furfán*, a word usually translated in the Persian and Urdú versions of the *Qurán*, "miracles." It is applied to the *Qurán* in the sense of the text, as the distinguisher "between good and evil," especially between the false and true in religion. This name, say the Muslims, is intended to point to the miraculous character of the *Qurán*. But if so, the same character must be credited to the Christian and Jewish Scriptures, for the commentators admit that what is referred to in the first part of this verse *in detail* is here referred to *in general* (*Tafsír-i-Raúfi in loco*). The word therefore probably points to the seal of miracles which God set upon all his prophets and his word as revealed by them. In the case of the *Qurán*, the verses (*Ayát* = signs) are the miraculous seal of inspiration.

(4) *Those who believe not the signs, i.e.,* who reject the teaching of the *Qurán*. If our view of the latter clause of the preceding verse be correct, allusion may be had to the teaching of former Scriptures as well.

(5) *Nothing is hidden from God, &c.* A distinct recognition of the omniscience of God. The commentators see in this statement a refutation of the Christian doctrine of the Divinity of Christ. The Son

earth, or in heaven : (6) it is he who formeth you in the wombs, as he pleaseth ; there is no GOD but he, the mighty, the wise. (7) It is he who hath sent down unto thee the book, wherein are some verses clear to be understood, they are the foundation of the book ; and others are parabolical. But they whose hearts are perverse will follow that which is parabolical therein, out of love of schism, and a desire of the interpretation thereof ; yet none knoweth the interpretation thereof, except God. But they who are well

of Mary did not know everything, therefore he could not be divine. Here again we see that the Muslim conception of Christ's divinity is that his humanity was divine.

(6) *He that formeth you, &c., i.e., "tall or short, male or female, black or white, deformed or perfect, beautiful or ugly, good and fortunate, or wretched and miserable."*—*Tafsir-i-Raufi*.

(7) *Some verses clear, . . . others are parabolical.* "This passage is translated according to the exposition of al Zamakhshari and Baidhawi, which seems to be the truest.

"The contents of the Qurán are here distinguished into such passages as are to be taken in the literal sense, and such as require a figurative acceptation. The former, being plain and obvious to be understood, compose the fundamental part, or, as the original expresses it, *the mother* of the book, and contain the principal doctrines and precepts, agreeably to and consistently with which, those passages which are wrapt up in metaphors and delivered in enigmatical, allegorical style are always to be interpreted." See Prelim. Disc., p. 113.—*Sale*.

On this subject, Hughes, in his *Notes on Muhammadanism*, pp. 32-34, second edition, writes as follows :—"The sentences (*Ibárat*) of the Qurán are either *Záhir* or *Khafi*, i.e., either obvious or hidden.

"Obvious sentences are of four classes : *záhir*, *nass*, *mufassar*, *muhkam*.

"*Záhir* = those sentences the meaning of which is *obvious* or clear without any assistance from the context, &c.

"Hidden sentences are either *khafi*, *mushkil*, *majmal*, or *mutashabih*," i.e., "hidden," "ambiguous," "compendious," or "intricate."

We have therefore in this passage the foundation principle of Muslim exegesis. See also the *Tafsir-i-Raufi in loco*.

None knoweth the interpretation, &c. Sale has followed the interpretation of the Sunní or orthodox sect in this translation. The Shiáh sect, however, dissents from an interpretation which makes God say that he has revealed what is not after all a revelation. They, therefore, understand this sentence as being closely connected with the one following, as the original will very well allow, and render the passage thus : "*None knoweth the interpretation thereof except God AND those who are well grounded in the knowledge which*

grounded in the knowledge say, We believe therein, the whole is from our LORD; and none will consider except the prudent. (8) O LORD, cause not our hearts to swerve *from truth*, after thou hast directed us: and give us from thee mercy, for thou art he who giveth. (9) O LORD, thou shalt surely gather mankind together, unto a day *of resurrection*: there is no doubt of it, for GOD will not be contrary to the promise.

|| (10) As for the infidels, their wealth shall not profit them anything, nor their children, against GOD: they shall be the fuel of *hell* fire. (11) According to the wont of the people of Pharaoh, and of those who went before them, they charged our signs with a lie; but GOD caught them in their wickedness, and GOD is severe in punishing. (12) Say unto those who believe not, Ye shall be overcome, and thrown together into hell; and an unhappy couch *shall it be*. (13) Ye have already had a miracle *shown you* in two armies,

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say, &c. By "those who are well grounded in the knowledge," they understand the Imáms of their own sect. This interpretation, however, does not avail them much, inasmuch as they are dependent on the fallible testimony of the traditionists for a knowledge of the dictum of the Imáms; and, amidst the conflict of witnesses, most men would be ready to say with the text, "None knoweth the interpretation thereof except God."

The *principle* enunciated in this verse should not be forgotten by Christians when called upon by Muslims to explain some of the obscure passages of the Bible or the mysteries of our religion.

(8) *O Lord, &c.* Muslims understand all prayers of this kind found in the Qurán as introduced by the word "say." See notes in chap. i. This prayer is dictated by the third clause of the preceding verse, and is connected with that passage thus: "They who are well grounded, say . . . O Lord," &c.

(9) *A day, &c.* Rodwell gives the correct rendering of this passage thus: "For the day of whose coming there is not a doubt, thou wilt surely gather mankind together." So too the Urdú and Persian translations.

(11) *They charged our signs with a lie.* Muhammad again likens himself to Moses and other prophets, whose message had been treated with contempt by infidels like unto the Jews and Quraish of his time.

(12) *Ye shall be overcome.* These defiant words, addressed to the enemies of Islám, and to the Quraish in particular, were inspired by the Muslim victory at Badr, A.H. 2.

(13) *Ye have already had a miracle shown you.* "The sign or

which attacked each other: one army fought for GOD's true religion, but the other were infidels; they saw *the faithful* twice as many as themselves in *their* eyesight; for GOD strengthened with his help whom he pleaseth. Surely herein was an example unto men of understanding. (14)

miracle here meant was the victory by Muhammad in the second year of the Hijra over the idolatrous Makkans . . . in the valley of Badr. . . . Muhammad's forces consisted of no more than three hundred and nineteen men, but the enemy's army of near a thousand, notwithstanding which odds he put them to flight, having killed seventy of the principal Quraish" (forty-nine, see *Muir's Life of Mahomet*, vol. iii. p. 107, note), "and taken as many prisoners, with the loss of only fourteen of his own men. This was the first victory obtained by the Prophet; and though it may seem no very considerable action, yet it was of great advantage to him, and the foundation of all his future power and success. For which reason it is famous in the Arabian history, and more than once vaunted in the Qurán (chap. viii. 45, 46) as an effect of the divine assistance. The miracle, it is said, consisted in three things: 1. Muhammad, by the direction of the Angel Gabriel, took a handful of gravel and threw it towards the enemy in the attack, saying, *May their faces be confounded*; whereupon they immediately turned their backs and fled. But though the Prophet seemingly threw the gravel himself, yet it is told in the Qurán (chap. viii. 17) that it was not he, but God, who threw it, that is to say, by the ministry of his angel. 2. The Muhammadan troops seemed to the infidels to be twice as many in number as themselves, which greatly discouraged them. And 3. God sent down to their assistance first a thousand, and afterwards three thousand angels, led by Gabriel, mounted on his horse Haizúm; and, according to the Qurán (chap. viii. 17), these celestial auxiliaries really did all the execution, though Muhammad's men imagined themselves did it, and fought stoutly at the same time."—*Sale*.

There is a discrepancy between the statement of this verse and that of chap. viii. 46. Here the *miracle* consists in the dismay wrought among the Quraish by magnifying the number of Muslims in *their* eyes; but there it is recorded that "when he caused them to appear unto you when ye met to be few in your eyes, and diminished your number in their eyes." In this verse the *miracle* consisted in encouraging the Muslims by diminishing the number of those of Makkah and in luring on the Quraish to destruction by making the number of their adversaries appear even less than it really was. The commentators reconcile these statements by making the former to succeed the latter in time. Considering the number of angels called in to assist the Muslims on this occasion, one would infer that the angelic hosts of Islám were not highly gifted in the art of war. Compare Isa. xxxvii. 36, but see below, ver. 123, note, and on chap. viii. 45, 46.

The love and eager desire of wives, and children, and sums heaped up of gold and silver, and excellent horses, and cattle, and land, is prepared for men: this is the provision of the present life; but unto GOD shall be the most excellent return. (15) Say, Shall I declare unto you better *things* than this? For those who are devout *are prepared* with their LORD gardens through which rivers flow; therein shall they continue for ever: and *they shall enjoy* wives free from impurity, and the favour of GOD; for GOD regardeth *his* servants, (16) who say, O LORD, we do sincerely believe; forgive us therefore our sins, and deliver us from the pain of *hell* fire: (17) the patient, and the lovers of truth, and the devout, and the almsgivers, and those who ask pardon *early* in the morning. (18) GOD hath borne witness that there is no GOD but he; and the angels, and *those who are* endowed with wisdom, *profess the same*; who executeth righteousness; there is no GOD but he; the mighty, the wise.

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|| (19) Verily the *true* religion in the sight of GOD is

(15) *Shall I declare unto you better things than this?* This verse, taken in connection with the preceding, clearly shows that the joys of the Muslim heaven are carnal. "The provision of the present life," viz., women, gold and silver, horses, cattle, and land, were such as could alone gratify the "eager desire" of an Arab in this life. All these are to be infinitely multiplied amid the pavilions and gardens of paradise. See also notes on chap. ii. 25.

The attempt to explain these passages as figurative and symbolical of spiritual blessing, while sanctioned by the teaching of some Muslim writers, does violence to the language of the Qurán as well as to the faith of the orthodox in all ages of Islám. It is unfair to quote in evidence the dreamy statements of the Sûfis or the rationalistic pleading of modern free-thinkers. These are alike regarded as infidels by the orthodox Muhammadan. There cannot be a shadow of a doubt that the heaven of Muslims is a place of sensual delights. No orthodox Muslim commentator takes any other view, "and it is impossible for any candid mind to read the Qurán and the traditions and arrive at any other conclusion on the subject." See *Hughes's Notes on Muhammadanism*, 2d ed., pp. 91-95.

God regardeth his servants who say, &c. The ground of forgiveness, as here stated, is faith in Islám and obedience to its precepts.

(19) *The true religion . . . is Islám.* "The proper name of the Muhammadan religion, which signifies the *resigning* or *devoting one's self* entirely to God and his service. This they say is the religion

Islám: and they who had received the scriptures dissented not *therefrom*, until after the knowledge of *God's unity* had come unto them, out of envy among themselves; but whosoever believeth not in the signs of GOD, verily GOD will be swift in *bringing him to account*. (20) If they dispute with thee, say, I have resigned myself unto GOD, and he who followeth me *doth the same*; and say unto them who have received the scriptures, and to the ignorant, Do ye profess *the religion of Islám*? now if they embrace Islám, they are surely directed; but if they turn their backs, verily unto thee *belongeth preaching only*; for GOD regardeth his servants.

|| (21) And unto those who believe not in the signs of R $\frac{3}{11}$. GOD, and slay the prophets without a cause, and put those men to death who teach justice; denounce unto them a painful punishment. (22) These are they whose works perish in this world, and in that which is to come; and they shall have none to help them. (23) Hast thou not observed those unto whom part of the scripture was

which all the prophets were sent to teach, being founded on the unity of God."—*Salé, Jaláluddín*.

See also below, on vers. 83, 84.

They who had received the Scriptures dissented, &c. The meaning of this passage seems to be that Jews and Christians belonged to this true religion of Islám *until* the revelation of the Qurán came. They were then filled with envy, and on this account dissented from the truth.

Muhammad, therefore, again attests the truth of Judaism and Christianity, and in this passage seems clearly to state that the Jews and Christians were the followers of the true religion up to the date of his prophetic claim. If so, a comparison of the religions will show how far Islám falls short of being the true religion taught by the prophets and Jesus, and also how far the charge of *envy* is justified.

(20) *Do ye profess Islám?* See Rodwell's note on this passage. The mission of Muhammad thus far was that of a *preacher* only. Although the enemies of Islám were threatened, the policy of Muhammad was as yet purely defensive.

(21, 22) The Jews are referred to in these verses. The intensity of the opposition is very marked.

(23) *Part of the Scripture, i.e., the Scriptures given to the Jews.* This verse shows clearly that these Jews possessed copies of the Scriptures attested as the word of God by the Qurán. Some com-

given? They were called unto the book of God, that it might judge between them; then some of them turned their backs, and retired afar off. (24) This *they did* because they said, the fire of hell shall by no means touch

mentators regard the word *nasīban* = *part*, as designating only a portion of the Pentateuch, but "the book of God" in the following sentence is evidently the equivalent of "part of the Scriptures" here, and that undoubtedly refers to the volume of the Jewish Scriptures.

They were called unto the book of God. The following is Sale's note on this passage :—

"This passage was revealed on occasion of a dispute Muhammad had with some Jews, which is differently related by the commentators.

"Al Baidhāwī says that Muhammad, going one day into a Jewish synagogue, Nāīm Ibn Amr and al Hārith Ibn Zaid asked him what religion he was of. To which he answering, 'Of the religion of Abraham,' they replied, 'Abraham was a Jew;' but on Muhammad's proposing that the Pentateuch might decide the question, they would by no means agree to it.

"But Jalāluddīn tells us that two persons of the Jewish religion having committed adultery, their punishment was referred to Muhammad, who gave sentence that they should be stoned, according to the law of Moses. This the Jews refused to submit to, alleging there was no such command in the Pentateuch; but on Muhammad's appealing to the book, the said law was found therein. Whereupon the criminals were stoned, to the great mortification of the Jews.

"It is very remarkable that this law of Moses concerning the stoning of adulterers is mentioned in the New Testament [John viii. 5], (though I know some dispute the authenticity of that whole passage), but it is not now to be found either in the Hebrew or Samaritan Pentateuch, or in the Septuagint; it being only said that such *shall be put to death* [Lev. xx. 10]. This omission is insisted on by the Muhammadans as one instance of the corruption of the law of Moses by the Jews.

"It is also observable that there was a verse once extant in the Qurān commanding adulterers to be stoned; and the commentators say the words only are abrogated, the sense of the law still remaining in force."

On the question of the law relating to *stoning* raised here, see Alford's Greek Testament, notes on John viii. 5. Stoning was the *ordinary* mode of execution among the Jews (Exod. xvii. 4; Luke xx. 6; John x. 31; and Acts xiv. 5), and therefore the general statement of Lev. xx. 10 would designate this mode, *unless some other mode were distinctly commanded*. Besides, Deut. xxii. 21-24 very clearly appoints this as the mode of punishment. This suggests a sufficient reply to the Muslim claim referred to by Sale in the note just quoted.

us, but for a *certain* number of days; and that which they had falsely devised hath deceived them in their religion. (25) How then *will it be with them*, when we shall gather them together at the day of *judgment*, of which there is no doubt; and every soul shall be paid that which it hath gained, neither shall they be treated unjustly? (26) Say, O GOD, who possessest the kingdom; thou givest the kingdom unto whom thou wilt, and thou takest away the kingdom from whom thou wilt: thou exaltest whom thou wilt, and thou humblest whom thou wilt: in thy hand is good, for thou art almighty. (27) Thou makest the night to succeed the day: thou bringest forth the living out of the dead, and thou bringest forth the dead out of the living; and providest food for whom thou wilt without measure. (28) Let not the faithful take the infidels for their protectors, rather than the faithful: he who doth this shall not be *protected* of GOD at all; unless ye fear any

(24) *A certain number of days.* The number, according to the commentators, is *forty* or *seven* or *four*. It is worth noting the fact that this claim ascribed here to the presumption of the Jews is precisely the claim of all Muhammadans who believe that all believers in God and Muhammad will certainly reach the joys of paradise. Some may have to undergo purgatorial sufferings, but only for "a certain number of days."

That which they have falsely devised, i.e., their imagining that their sins would be lightly punished through the intercession of their fathers (*Tafsir-i-Raufi*).

(25) *How then will it be, &c.* Sale gives a tradition on the authority of Baidhawi, "that the first banner of the infidels that shall be set up on the day of judgment will be that of the Jews, and that God will first reproach them with their wickedness over the heads of those who are present, and then order them to hell."

(26, 27) Rodwell regards these verses as misplaced here. They are probably the fragment of some Makkan chapter.

(28) *Unless ye fear any danger from them.* There shall be no friendship between Muslims and unbelievers, unless fear of the enmity of the infidels should make it *necessary*. Here we find a divine sanction to that duplicity so prevalent among Muslims. Taken in connection with the preceding context, this passage would seem to sanction apparent estrangement from Islám, provided expediency should demand it. Under such circumstances a Muslim may *appear to be more friendly* towards the unbelievers than he is towards his co-religionists.

danger from them: but GOD warneth ye to beware of himself: for unto GOD must ye return. (29) Say, Whether ye conceal that which is in your breasts, or whether ye declare it, GOD knoweth it; for he knoweth whatever is in heaven, and whatever is on earth: GOD is almighty. (30) On the *last* day every soul shall find the good which it hath wrought, present; and the evil which it hath wrought, it shall wish that between itself and that were a wide distance: but GOD warneth you to beware of himself; for GOD is gracious unto his servants.

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|| (31) Say, if ye love GOD, follow me: *then* God shall

(29) *Whether ye conceal, &c., i.e.,* God knows the faith of your hearts. If, therefore, you should find it necessary to dissemble so as *apparently* to deny the faith, be of good cheer—God knows your *heart-faith*—“God knowest whatever is in heaven, whatever is in earth.”

(31) *Say, if ye love God, follow me.* Passages inculcating the duty of love to God are of rare occurrence in the Qurán. Here it is made the ground or reason of acceptance with God and of the pardon of sin. In other places salvation is made to depend on *faith and good works* (chap. ii. 3-5, 37, 38; chap. iii. 194; chap. iv. 55, 121-123, &c.), on *repentance* (chap. ii. 161; chap. xxv. 69-76, &c.), on *pilgrimage and warring for the faith* (chap. ii. 217; chap. iii. 196; chap. lxi. 12, &c.), on *almsgiving* (chap. ii. 271-274), on *the grace of God* (chap. xxxvii. 39, 55), &c. Everywhere the plan of salvation by atonement, as clearly taught in the Christian Scriptures, is ignored. It is in reference to *this fact* that missionaries have been led to make the statement, controverted by Mr. Bosworth Smith (“Muhammad and Muhammadanism,” 2d ed. p. 332), that “even the religious creed of Muhammadanism is further removed from the truth than is that of the heathen.” We think there can be scarcely any doubt as to the truth of this statement. All heathen forms of religion have relics of truth bound up in their doctrines and rites, handed down, probably, by tradition from ancient times, which afford to the Christian evangelist some kind of common ground in his endeavour to lead them to accept Christ as their substitute, and to believe in him as their Saviour, because he alone satisfies the conditions of their own religion and the cravings of their souls for a Divine Helper. But Muhammadanism strikes at this most important doctrine—this very heart of Christianity. It sweeps away almost every vestige of Bible truth as to the way of pardon. It fills the mind of its votaries with complacent pride and self-satisfaction. It destroys the last workings of a guilty conscience. In short, it imports all the evils of that form of Judaism against which our Lord hurled his “woes,” saying, among other things, “Ye compass sea and land to make one prose-

love you, and forgive you your sins; for GOD is gracious and merciful. (32) Say, Obey GOD, and *his* apostle; but if ye go back, verily GOD loveth not the unbelievers. (33) GOD hath surely chosen Adam, and Noah, and the family of Abraham, and the family of Imrán above the *rest of the world*; (34) a race *descending* the one from the other: GOD is he who heareth and knoweth. (35) *Remember* when the wife of Imrán said, LORD, verily I

lyte; and when he is made, ye make him twofold more a child of hell than yourselves." Does Mr. Smith deny the justice of this declaration of our Lord? If not, does he infer that our Lord himself thought "polytheism better than monotheism, and idolatry than a sublime spiritualism"?

(33) *The family of Abraham.* This expression, say the commentators, includes a number of prophets descended from Abraham, including Muhammad. It probably is intended to include all the prophets from Abraham to Moses. See *Tafsír-i-Raufi* and *Abdul Qádir*.

Family of Imrán. This expression, like the one just noted, also includes all prophets descended from Imrán, *e.g.*, Moses, Aaron, Zacharias, John, and Jesus. Mary, the mother of Jesus, is said to have been "the daughter of the son of Imrán" (*Tafsír-i-Raufi*, &c.)

(34) *A race descending the one from the other.* This seems to show that Muhammad regarded the prophets as either lineally descended one from another, or that they were successors to each other in office, both of which ideas are incorrect.

(35) *When the wife of Imrán said, &c.* According to the commentators her name was Anna or Hannah. In the Apocryphal Gospels the parents of Mary are called Joachim and Anna. The name was probably derived from Christian tradition (see Arnold, *Islám and Christianity*, p. 150), but the "wife of Imrán" in this verse looks very like the wife of Elkanah in 1 Sam. i. 11. All the stories related by the commentators confirm this impression.

Again, the statement here, that the Virgin Mary was the "daughter of Imrán," coupled with that of chap. xix. 29, that she was "the sister of Aaron," certainly looks as if the Virgin Mary were confounded with the sister of Moses and Aaron. That there is in this passage a medley of Jewish and Christian traditionary fiction and Bible story, learned from hearsay, I think indisputable. I will quote briefly the views of several writers, giving both sides of the question, and leave the reader to draw his own inference:—

"From her (Mary) being called the sister of Aaron and the daughter of Aníran, it has been justly concluded that Muhammad considered the Virgin Mary and Miriam, the sister of Moses and Aaron, as identical; and no sophistry on the part of Muhammadan

have vowed unto thee that which is in my womb, to be dedicated *to thy service*; accept *it* therefore of me;

divines or European writers can remove this impression.”—*Arnold, Islām and Christianity*, p. 149.

“It is concluded by some that Mahomet confounded Mary (Maryam) with the sister of Moses. The confusion of names is the more suspicious, as it is not favoured by Christian authority of any description—the traditional names of Mary’s parents being Joachim and Anna.”

“Gerock combats this idea at some length (p. 24), showing that Imrán is never named in the Coran as the father of Moses, nor Mary (Maryam) as his sister, and that Mahomet is seen elsewhere to be well aware of the interval between Jesus and Moses. The latter fact cannot, of course, be doubted; Mahomet could never have imagined that Mary, the mother of Jesus, was the sister of Moses and Aaron. But it is still extremely probable that the confusion of this misnomenclature originated in the notions of Jewish informants, amongst whom the only notorious Mary (Maryam) was the daughter of Imrán and sister of Moses; and they could ordinarily give the name of *Maryam* those accompaniments; that is, they would speak of ‘Mary the daughter of Imrán.’ Mahomet adopted the phraseology (for his informants were mainly, if not solely, Jews) probably through inadvertence and without perceiving the anachronism it involved.”—*Muir, Life of Mahomet*, vol. ii. pp. 281, 282, note.

The following is Sale’s note on this passage, in which he combats the charge of anachronism brought by Reland, Marracci, and Prideaux; his Muslim authorities are, as usual, Baidhāwī and Zamakhsharī:—

“Amrán is the name of two several persons, according to the Muhammadan tradition. One was the father of Moses and Aaron, and the other was the father of the Virgin Mary; but he is called by some Christian writers Joachim. The commentators suppose the first, or rather both of them, to be meant in this place; however, the person intended in the next passage, it is agreed, was the latter, who, besides Mary the mother of Jesus, had also a son named Aaron, and another sister named Ishá (or Elizabeth), who married Zacharias, and was the mother of John the Baptist; whence that prophet and Jesus are usually called by the Muhammadans, *The two sons of the aunt*, or the cousins-german.

“From the identity of names it has been generally imagined by Christian writers that the Qurán here confounds Mary the mother of Jesus with Mary or Miriam the sister of Moses and Aaron; which intolerable anachronism, if it were certain, is sufficient of itself to destroy the pretended authority of this book. But though Muhammad may be supposed to have been ignorant enough in ancient history and chronology to have committed so gross a blunder, yet I do not see how it can be made out from the words of the Qurán. For it does not follow, because two persons have the same name, and have each a father and brother who bear the

for [thou art he who heareth and knoweth. (36) And when she was delivered of it, she said, LORD, verily I have brought forth a female (and GOD well knew what she had brought forth), and a male is not as a female.

same names, that they must therefore necessarily be the same person : besides, such a mistake is inconsistent with a number of other places in the Qurán, whereby it manifestly appears that Muhammad well knew and asserted that Moses preceded Jesus several ages. And the commentators accordingly fail not to tell us that there had passed about one thousand eight hundred years between Amrán the father of Moses and Amrán the father of the Virgin Mary : they also make them the sons of different persons ; the first, they say, was the son of Yeshar, or Izhar (though he was really his brother), the son of Káhath, the son of Levi ; and the other was the son of Mathán, whose genealogy they trace, but in a very corrupt and imperfect manner, up to David, and thence to Adam.

"It must be observed that though the Virgin Mary is called in the Qurán the sister of Aaron, yet she is nowhere called the sister of Moses ; however, some Muhammadan writers have imagined that the same individual Mary, the sister of Moses, was miraculously preserved alive from his time till that of Jesus Christ, purposely to become the mother of the latter."

To be dedicated. "The Arabic word is *free*, but here signifies particularly one that is *free* or detached from all worldly desires and occupations, and wholly devoted to God's service."—*Sule, Jalálhuddín.*

(36) *I have brought forth a female.* Hannah prayed for a son (1 Sam. i. 11 ; see note on ver. 35). The birth of a female seemed to be a disappointment, as such would not be suitable for the service of the Temple. For extracts from the spurious Gospels containing the traditions which are here incorporated in the Qurán, see Arnold's *Islám and Christianity* (pp. 150-155) and Muir's *Life of Mahomet* (vol. ii. pp. 282, 283). These both draw from the *Christologie des Koran*, by Gerock, 1839, pp. 30-47.

I have called her Mary, &c. "This expression alludes to a tradition that Abraham, when the devil tempted him to disobey God in not sacrificing his son, drove the fiend away by throwing stones at him ; in memory of which, the Muhammadans, at the pilgrimage of Makkah, throw a certain number of stones at the devil, with certain ceremonies, in the valley of Miná. (See Prelim. Disc., p. 188.)

"It is not improbable that the pretended immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary is intimated in this passage ; for according to a tradition of Muhammad, every person that comes into the world is touched at his birth by the devil, and therefore cries out : Mary and her son only excepted, between whom and the evil spirit God placed a veil, so that his touch did not reach them. And for this reason, they say, neither of them were guilty of any sin, like the rest of the children of Adam : which peculiar grace they obtained

I have called her MARY; and I commend her to thy protection, and *also* her issue; against Satan driven away with stones. (37) Therefore the LORD accepted her with a gracious acceptance, and caused her to bear an excellent offspring. (38) And Zacharias took care of *the child*; whenever Zacharias went into the chamber to her, he found provisions with her: *and* he said, O Mary whence hadst thou this? she answered, This is from GOD: for GOD provideth for whom he pleaseth without measure. There Zacharias called on his LORD, *and* said, LORD, give me from thee a good offspring, for thou art the hearer of prayer. (39) And the angels called to him, while

by virtue of this recommendation of them by Hannah to God's protection."—Sale, *Jaláluddín*, and *Baidhāwī*.

(37) *The Lord accepted her*, i.e., though a female, she was received into the Temple as one dedicated to God. Zacharias became her guardian and cared for her.

(38) *He found provisions with her*. "The commentators say that none went into Mary's apartment but Zacharias himself, and that he locked seven doors upon her; yet he found she had always winter fruits in summer and summer fruits in winter."—Sale.

This story owes its origin to Christian tradition. See *Historia de Nativ. Marie et de Infam. Salv.* (chap. vi.) and *Protev. Jacob.* (chap. viii.), quoted in Muir's *Life of Mahomet* (p. 283) and in Arnold's *Islām and Christianity* (pp. 150, 151).

There Zacharias called on his Lord. The prayer would seem to have been offered in the inner chamber of the Temple assigned, according to the story, to Mary. The commentators think the prayer was suggested by the miraculous supply of food furnished to Mary. Zacharias was at this time ninety-nine years old, and his wife ninety-eight (*Tafsīr-i-Rauḍ*). Abdul Qādir says Zacharias prayed in secret, because, at this age, to have prayed openly for *offspring* would have exposed him to ridicule.

Offspring. In chap. xix. 5, "a successor," from which Gerock would infer that Zacharias did not pray for a son, but for an heir only. But in the ninth verse of that same chapter he says, "How shall I have a son?" &c. This decides clearly in favour of that interpretation which makes offspring to mean an heir from his own body.

(39) *The angels*. In chap. xix. 17 it is said that a "spirit" (Gabriel) came to Mary. The commentators interpret "angels" to be equivalent to "spirit," and understand Gabriel to be meant. They account discrepancies of this sort as of little moment.

The word which cometh from God. See notes on chap. ii. 86. The Muslim interpretation, that Jesus is here called the WORD because

he stood praying in the chamber, *saying*, Verily GOD promiseth thee *a son named* John, who shall bear witness to the Word *which cometh* from GOD; an honourable person, chaste, and one of the righteous prophets. (40) He

he was conceived by the word or command of God is, to say the least, unsatisfactory.

The "witness" of John concerning the WORD was very different from that of Muhammad. Is it possible that he should have learned so much of John and Jesus from tradition, and not have known more of the character of the latter, as witnessed by John and Jesus himself? In answer to this question, I venture to give the following:—(1.) Muhammad *heard* more than he *believed*. This is evident from the effort he made to refute the doctrine of the Trinity, the Sonship of Christ, and the doctrine of Christ's death and resurrection. (2.) What he learned concerning these and other doctrines he learned from *hearsay*, and usually from unreliable sources. Hence the indiscriminate mixing up of statements obtained originally from the Bible and tradition—Jewish and Christian. (3.) He seems to have learned most of what he knew of Christianity, and perhaps of Judaism also, after his arrival in Madína, and consequently after his claim to be a prophet had been assumed. His most definite and extended statements regarding Bible story are found in the Madína chapters. (4.) The criterion by which he decided the true and false as to what he heard was *his own prophetic claims and the character of his religion*. Whatever would exalt Jesus over himself was rejected. Hence Jesus is only "the son of Mary;" he is born miraculously, but is not divine; he wrought miracles, but always by "the permission of God" (ver. 48), &c. Again, whatever was contrary to the religion he promulgated was either refuted or ignored; the character of the prophets is always moulded after his own; the character of all infidels in former ages is like that of the unbelieving Quraish and Jews of Arabia.

Making every reasonable allowance for the Arabian prophet on the score of ignorance and on the score of misrepresentations to which he was no doubt subjected, still enough remains to substantiate the charge of imposture, however displeasing this charge may be to his admirers and friends. The facts in this matter are against them. Muhammad put these statements concerning matters of history into the mouth of God, and so promulgated them as his infallible word, confirming the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments—Scriptures of whose teaching he was personally ignorant. Make out half as strong a case against any one of the inspired writers of the Bible, and who among these apologists for Islám would defend him? Truly the glory of this hero-god seems to have dazzled their eyes.

Chaste. Sale says, "The original word signifies one who refrains not only from women, but from all other worldly delights and desires."

(40) *How shall I have a son?* See note on ver. 38. Sale states, on

answered, LORD, how shall I have a son, when old age hath overtaken me, and my wife is barren? *The angel* said, So GOD doth that which he pleaseth. (41) *Zacharias* answered, LORD, give me a sign. *The angel* said, Thy sign shall be, that thou shalt speak unto no man for three days, otherwise than by gesture: remember thy LORD often, and praise *him* evening and morning.

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|| (42) And when the angels said, O Mary, verily GOD hath chosen thee, and hath purified thee, and hath chosen thee above *all* the women of the world: (43) O Mary, be devout towards thy LORD, and worship, and bow down with those who bow down. (44) This is a secret history: we reveal it unto thee, although thou wast not present with them when they threw in their rods *to cast lots* which of them should have the education of Mary;

the authority of Jaláluddín, that the wife of Zacharias was eighty-nine.

(41) *Thy sign shall be, &c.* This statement disagrees with that of Luke in two particulars—(1) In duration of Zacharias's dumbness; and (2) in regarding this dumbness as merely a sign given in answer to prayer, and in no way a punishment for unbelief. The "three days," say the commentators, began with John's being conceived in his mother's womb.

Remember thy Lord often. Zacharias's tongue was only free to speak the praise of God.

(42) *The angels.* Gabriel. Compare Luke i. 28.

(43) *Be devout, &c.* This passage is also based on Christian tradition. See Rodwell's note.

Bow down, &c. The forms of worship ascribed to Jews in the Qurán are, as here, distinctively Muslim.

(44) *When they threw in their rods.* "When Mary was first brought to the Temple, the priests, because she was the daughter of one of their chiefs, disputed among themselves who should have the education of her. Zacharias insisted that he ought to be preferred because he had married her aunt; but the others not consenting that it should be so, they agreed to decide the matter by casting of lots; whereupon twenty-seven of them went to the river Jordan, and threw in their rods (or arrows without heads or feathers, such as the Arabs used for the same purpose), on which they had written some passages of the law, but they all sunk except that of Zacharias, which floated on the water; and he had thereupon the care of the child committed to him."—*Sale, Jaláluddín.*

The casting of lots, attributed here to the Jewish priests, is the same in spirit as that forbidden in chap. ii. 218.

neither wast thou with them when they strove among themselves. (45) When the angels said: O Mary, verily God sendeth thee good tidings, *that thou shalt bear the Word proceeding from himself*; (46) his name shall be CHRIST JESUS. the son of Mary, honourable in this world and in the world to come, and *one* of those who approach near to the presence of God; and he shall speak unto men in the cradle, and when he is grown up; and he shall be *one* of the righteous: (47) she answered, LORD, how shall I have a son, since a man hath not touched me? *the angel* said, So God createth that which he pleaseth: when he decreeth a thing, he only saith unto it, Be, and it is: (48) God shall teach him the scripture, and wisdom, and the law, and the gospel; and *shall appoint him his*

(45) *The son of Mary.* See note on ver. 39. The phrase "Jesus, son of Mary," had become so stereotyped in Muhammad's mind, that he here puts it in the mouth of the angels when addressing Mary herself.

Christ Jesus. The Messiah Jesus. He is honourable in this world as a prophet, and in the next as an intercessor. Muslims, however, only regard him as the intercessor of his own followers, *i.e.*, of those who lived during the period intervening between the times of Jesus and Muhammad.

(46) *He shall speak . . . in the cradle.* For his words see chap. xix. 28-34. The commentators tell many stories to illustrate this text. In regard to these Sale says:—"These seem all to have been taken from some fabulous traditions of the Eastern Christians, one of which is preserved to us in the spurious Gospel of the *Infancy of Christ*, where we read that Jesus spoke while yet in the cradle, and said to his mother, 'Verily I am Jesus the Son of God, the Word which thou hast brought forth, as the Angel Gabriel did declare unto thee; and my Father hath sent me to save the world.'"

When he is grown up. The original word (*kāhlan*) describes a person of between thirty and fifty years of age.

(47) Compare with Luke i. 34, &c., to see how far this comes short of attesting the former Scriptures.

(48) *Scripture . . . wisdom . . . law . . . gospel.* The last two expressions describe more clearly the meaning of the first two. Jesus is said to have acquired a perfect knowledge of the law without any course of human instruction (*Abdul Qādir*).

A bird. "Some say it was a bat (*Jalāhuddīn*), though others suppose Jesus made several birds of different sorts (*Al Thālāṭi*).

"This circumstance is also taken from the following fabulous tradition, which may be found in the spurious Gospel above men-

apostle to the children of Israel; *and he shall say*, Verily I come unto you with a sign from your LORD; for I will make before you, of clay, as it were the figure of a bird; then I will breathe thereon, and it shall become a bird, by the permission of GOD; and I will heal him that hath been blind from his birth; and the leper: and I will raise the dead by the permission of GOD: and I will prophesy unto you what ye eat, and what ye lay up for store in your houses. Verily herein will be a sign unto you, if ye believe. And (49) *I come* to confirm the law which was *revealed* before me, and to allow unto you as lawful part of that which hath been forbidden you: and I come unto you with a sign from your LORD; therefore fear GOD, and obey me. (50) Verily GOD is my LORD, and your LORD; therefore serve him. This is

tioned. Jesus being seven years old, and at play with several children of his age, they made several figures of birds and beasts, for their diversion, of clay; and each preferring his own workmanship, Jesus told them that he would make his walk and leap; which accordingly, at his command, they did. He made also several figures of sparrows and other birds, which flew about or stood on his hands as he ordered them, and also ate and drank when he offered them meat and drink. The children telling this to their parents, were forbidden to play any more with Jesus, whom they held to be a sorcerer" (*Evang. Infant.*)—*Sale*.

By the permission of God. See note on ver. 39. The commentators, Baidhāwī, &c., understand this phrase to have been added lest any one should suppose Jesus to be divine. See *Sale*.

What ye eat, &c. This would furnish evidence of the power of Jesus to reveal secrets. These miracles were the seal of prophecy to Jesus, as were the verses (*ayāt* = signs) of the Qurān to the prophetic claim of Muhammad.

(49) *To confirm the law, i.e.*, Jesus attested the genuineness and credibility of the Jewish Scriptures. The language implies the presence of these Scriptures in the time of Jesus, as does similar language imply that the Christian Scriptures were present in the days of Muhammad.

Part of that . . . forbidden you. "Such as the eating of fish that have neither fins nor scales, the caul and fat of animals, and camels' flesh, and to work on the Sabbath. These things, say the commentators, being arbitrary institutions in the law of Moses, were abrogated by Jesus, as several of the same kind instituted by the latter have been since abrogated by Muhammad."—*Sale, Jalāl-uddin.*

the right way. (51) But when Jesus perceived their unbelief, he said, Who *will be* my helpers towards God? The apostles answered, We *will be* the helpers of God; we believe in God, and do thou bear witness that we are true believers. (52) O LORD, we believe in that which thou hast sent down, and we have followed thy apostle; write us down therefore with those who bear witness of him. (53) And the Jews devised a stratagem

As intimated in note on ver. 39, we here see that Muhammad's endeavour is to make Christ appear to be a prophet *like himself*. The mission, character, authority, and experience of all the prophets were none other than those assumed by Muhammad for himself.

(51) *The apostles*. The twelve disciples of Jesus are here likened to the companions and helpers of Muhammad.

"In Arabic *al Hawāriyūn*, which word they derive from *Hāra*, to be white, and suppose the apostles were so called either from the candour and sincerity of their minds, or because they were princes and wore white garments, or else because they were by trade fullers (*Jalāluddīn*) According to which last opinion, their vocation is thus related: That as Jesus passed by the seaside, he saw some fullers at work, and accosting them, said, 'Ye cleanse these cloths, but cleanse not your hearts;' upon which they believed on him. But the true etymology seems to be from the Ethiopic verb *Hawrya*, to go; whence *Hawārya* signifies one that is sent, a messenger or apostle."—Sale.

The *Tafsīr-i-Raūfi* relates a story current among Muslims as to the calling of these disciples, to the effect that Jesus, being persecuted by the Jews, fled to Egypt. On the banks of the river Nile he found some fishermen, whom he invited to accept Islām and to become his followers, which they did.

(52) *We believe on the gospel. We have followed the apostle, i.e., Jesus.*

(53) *Stratagem*. This is better translated by Rodwell, *plot*. The plotting of the Jews was to kill Jesus; God plotted for his delivery. Sale remarks on this as follows:—"This stratagem of God's was the taking of Jesus up into heaven, and stamping his likeness on another person, who was apprehended and crucified in his stead. For it is the constant doctrine of the Muhammadans that it was not Jesus himself who underwent that ignominious death, but somebody else in his shape and resemblance (chap. iv. 156, 157). The person crucified some will have to be a spy that was sent to entrap him; others that it was one Titian, who by the direction of Judas entered in at a window of the house where Jesus was, to kill him; and others that it was Judas himself, who agreed with the rulers of the Jews to betray him for thirty pieces of silver, and led those who were sent to take him.

"They add, that Jesus, after his crucifixion in *effigy*, was sent

against him ; but GOD devised a stratagem against them ; and GOD is the best deviser of stratagems.

down again to the earth to comfort his mother and disciples, and acquaint them how the Jews were deceived ; and was then taken up a second time into heaven.

"It is supposed by several that this story was an original invention of Muhammad's ; but they are certainly mistaken ; for several sectaries held the same opinion long before his time. The Basilidians, in the very beginning of Christianity, denied that Christ himself suffered, but that Simon the Cyrenean was crucified in his place. The Cerinthians before them, and the Carpocratians next (to name no more of those who affirmed Jesus to have been a mere man), did believe the same thing ; that it was not himself, but one of his followers very like him that was crucified. Photius tells us that he read a book entitled, *The Journeys of the Apostles*, relating the acts of Peter, John, Andrew, Thomas, and Paul ; and among other things contained therein, this was one, *that Christ was not crucified, but another in his stead*, and that therefore he laughed at his crucifiers, or those who thought they had crucified him.

"I have in another place mentioned an apocryphal Gospel of Barnabas, a forgery originally of some nominal Christians, but interpolated since by Muhammadans, which gives this part of the history of Jesus with circumstances too curious to be omitted. It is therein related, that the moment the Jews were going to apprehend Jesus in the garden, he was snatched up into the third heaven by the ministry of four angels, Gabriel, Michael, Raphael, and Uriel ; that he will not die till the end of the world, and that it was Judas who was crucified in his stead, God having permitted that traitor to appear so like his master in the eyes of the Jews that they took and delivered him to Pilate ; that this resemblance was so great that it deceived the Virgin Mary and the apostles themselves ; but that Jesus Christ afterwards obtained leave of God to go and comfort them ; that Barnabas having then asked him why the Divine Goodness had suffered the mother and disciples of so holy a prophet to believe even for one moment that he had died in so ignominious a manner, Jesus returned the following answer : 'O Barnabas, believe me that every sin, how small soever, is punished by God with great torment, because God is offended with sin. My mother therefore and faithful disciples, having loved me with a mixture of earthly love, the just God has been pleased to punish this love with their present grief, that they might not be punished for it hereafter in the flames of hell. And as for me, though I have myself been blameless in the world, yet other men having called me God and the son of God, therefore God, that I might not be mocked by the devils at the day of judgment, has been pleased that in this world I should be mocked by men with the death of Judas, making everybody believe that I died upon the cross. And hence it is that this mocking is still to continue till the coming of Muhammad, the messenger of God, who, coming into the world, will undeceive every one who shall believe in the law of God from this mistake.'"

|| (54) When GOD said, O Jesus, verily I will cause ^{SULS.} thee to die, and I will take thee up unto me, and I will ^R ₁₄ ⁶ deliver thee from the unbelievers; and I will place those who follow thee above the unbelievers, until the day of resurrection: then unto me shall ye return, and I will judge between you of that concerning which ye disagree. (55) Moreover, as for the infidels, I will punish them with a grievous punishment in this world, and in that which is to come; and there shall be none to help them. (56) But they who believe, and do that which is right, he shall give them their reward: for GOD loveth not the wicked doers. (57) These signs and this prudent admonition do we rehearse unto thee. (58) Verily the likeness of Jesus in the sight of GOD is as the likeness of Adam; he created him out of the dust, and then said unto him, Be; and he was. (59) *This is the truth from thy LORD;*

(54) *I will cause thee to die, &c.* These words are a source of great difficulty to the commentators, as they seem clearly to contradict the statement of chap. iv. 156. All Muslims agree that Jesus was taken up to heaven. This verse, however, taken as a chronological statement of events, would make it necessary to believe he had died *before* he "was taken up" into heaven. The same is true of chap. v. 117. To evade this, some deny the chronological arrangement demanded by the copulative *and*. Others admit the order, and either claim that Jesus did die a natural death—remaining under its power for three hours—or explain the death spoken of here in a figurative manner, regarding it as a promise that God would cause him "to die a spiritual death to all worldly desires." (See notes by Rodwell and Sale *in loco*.) Others refer the passage to the time when Jesus will come to destroy *Dajjál*; when, say the commentators, Jesus will die and be buried in the empty tomb prepared for him at Madína, and afterwards arise at the judgment day.

These interpretations are manifestly mere attempts at evasion. But for chap. iv. 156, no Muslim would have any difficulty in accepting the plain common-sense import of this verse.

I will place those . . . above unbelievers. By unbelievers Muslims understand the *Jews* to be meant. This is, however, a limitation no way justified by the Qurán. The term is general, and fairly indicates all who reject the gospel of Jesus "until the judgment day." The allusion is, therefore, to the final and constant victory of Islám, and the followers of Jesus are here regarded as true Muslims.

(58) *The likeness of Jesus, &c., i.e.,* both were brought into being miraculously, neither having a human father. "Jaláluddín says the resemblance consists in this—both were created by the word of

be not therefore *one* of those who doubt; (60) and whoever shall dispute with thee concerning him, after the knowledge which hath been given thee, say *unto them*, Come, let us call together our sons and your sons and our wives and your wives, and ourselves and yourselves; then let us make imprecations, and lay the curse of God on those who lie. (61) Verily this is a true history: and there is no GOD but GOD; and GOD is most mighty and wise. (62) If they turn back, GOD well knoweth the evil-doers.

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|| (63) Say, O ye who have received the scripture, come to a just determination between us and you; that we wor-

God (compare the verses in 1 Cor. xv.) Adam made from the dust, Christ took flesh from the Virgin; Adam sinned, Christ sinned not; Adam a man, Christ a spirit proceeding from God, according to Muhammad."—*Brinckman in Notes on Islām*.

(60) *Come let us call together our sons, &c.* This passage refers to a visit paid to Muhammad at Madīna by Abu Hārith, bishop of Najrān, with other Christians, who came to make a treaty of peace with the prophet of Arabia, now rapidly growing in political power. A controversy having arisen between them and Muhammad, the latter proposed to settle it in the strange manner proposed in the text. The Christians very consistently declined the test proposed. The spirit of the two religions is well illustrated by the conduct of Muhammad and Jesus under similar circumstances. See also notes of *Rodwell in loco*, and of *Muir's Life of Mahomet*, vol. ii. pp. 302, 303.

Sale gives the story of the commentators Jalāluddīn and Baidhāwī as follows:—"Some Christians, with their bishop, named Abu Hārith, coming to Muhammad as ambassadors from the inhabitants of Najrān, and entering into some disputes with him touching religion and the history of Jesus Christ, they agreed the next morning to abide the trial here mentioned, as a quick way of deciding which of them were in the wrong. Muhammad met them accordingly, accompanied by his daughter Fátima, his son-in-law Ali, and his two grandsons, Hasan and Husain, and desired them to wait till he had said his prayers. But when they saw him kneel down, their resolution failed them, and they durst not venture to curse him, but submitted to pay him tribute.

(63) *Ye who have received the Scriptures, i.e., Jews and Christians.*

A just determination. The proposal here, though carrying great pretension of liberality and reason, really means out-and-out acceptance of Islām.

Lords. This expression has special reference to the dignity accorded by Jews and Christians to their religious guides. None are

ship not *any* except GOD, and associate no creature with him; and that the one of us take not the other for lords, beside GOD. But if they turn back, say, Bear witness that we are true believers. (64) O ye to whom the scriptures have been given, why do ye dispute concerning Abraham, since the Law and the Gospel were not sent down until after him? (65) Do ye not therefore understand? Behold ye are they who dispute concerning that which ye have some knowledge in; why therefore do you dispute concerning that which ye have no knowledge of? GOD knoweth, but ye know not. (66) Abraham was neither a Jew nor a Christian; but he was of the true religion, one resigned *unto God*; and was not of the *number of the idolaters*. (67) Verily the men who are the nearest of *kin*

more addicted to the practice here condemned than the Muslims themselves. The worship of *Walīs* and *Pīrs* is of a kind with the worship of saints among certain sects of Christians.

(64) *Why do ye dispute?* The commentators say both Jews and Christians claimed that Abraham belonged to their religion; Muhammad here decides that he belongs to neither. He, however, thereby contradicts his oft-repeated claim that every new revelation confirmed that which had preceded it; that the prophets belonged to a common "race" or class (ver. 34, and note); and that all true believers in *every* dispensation were true Muslims, professing the "religion of Abraham the orthodox." See also notes on chap. ii. 135-140.

This passage implies that the Jews and Christians were in possession of the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament current in his day. The same is implied in Baidhāwī's note on the next verse, quoted by Sale:—"Ye perversely dispute even concerning those things which ye find in the Law and the Gospel, whereby it appears that they were both sent down long after Abraham's time: why then will ye offer to dispute concerning such points of Abraham's religion of which your Scriptures say nothing, and of which ye consequently can have no knowledge?"

(66) See notes on chap. ii. 135-140. It would seem that Muhammad was ignorant of the national relationship existing between Abraham and the Jews. The term *Jew* was probably understood by him in an ecclesiastical sense only. Yet this is the teaching of God and his prophet! See also Rodwell's note on chap. xvi. 121.

(67) *Nearest of kin.* The relationship here spoken of is not necessarily one of kindred; the words of *kin* do not belong to the original Arabic. The *nearness* spoken of here should rather refer to nearness in point of religious faith and practice. See vers. 64-66, and *Tafsīr-i-Raufi in loco*.

unto Abraham are they who follow him : and this prophet, and they who believed *on him* : GOD is the patron of the faithful. (68) Some of those who have received the scriptures desire to seduce you ; but they seduce themselves only, and they perceive *it* not. (69) O ye who have received the scriptures, why do ye not believe in the signs of GOD, since ye are witnesses *of them* ?

R $\frac{s}{16}$

|| (70) O ye who have received the scriptures, why do you clothe truth with vanity, and knowingly hide the truth ? (71) And some of those to whom the scriptures were given say, Believe in that which hath been sent down unto those who believe, in the beginning of the day ; and deny *it* in the end thereof ; that they may go back *from their faith* ; (72) and believe him only who followeth your religion. Say, Verily the *true* direction is the direc-

And this prophet, i.e., Muhammad. The meaning is that Muhammad, and those who believe on him, are most nearly related to Abraham.

(68) *Some . . . desire to seduce you.* Sale, on the authority of Baidhāwī, refers this passage to the time when certain Jews endeavoured to pervert Hudhaifa, Amār, and Muādh to their religion. So too *Tafsīr-i-Rauḍī*.

(69) *Why not believe ?* The signs to be believed were the *incomparable verses* of the Qurān. The argument of the prophet was certainly not convincing.

(70) *Clothe truth with vanity, &c.* See note on chap. ii. 41.

(71) *Deny it in the end thereof.* "The commentators, to explain this passage, say that Qāb Ibn al Ashraf and Mālik Ibn al Saif (two Jews of Madīna) advised their companions, when the Qibla was changed (chap. ii. 142), to make as if they believed it was done by the divine direction, and to pray towards the Kaabah in the morning, but that in the evening they should pray as formerly towards the Temple of Jerusalem, that Muhammad's followers, imagining that the Jews were better judges of this matter than themselves, might imitate their example. But others say these were certain Jewish priests of Khaibar, who directed some of their people to pretend in the morning that they had embraced Muhammadanism, but in the close of the day to say that they had looked into their books of Scripture and consulted their Rabbins, and could not find that Muhammad was the person described and intended in the law ; by which trick they hoped to raise doubts in the minds of the Muhammadans."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*.

(72) *Your religion, i.e., Judaism.*

That there may be given, &c. This passage is very obscure, but the idea seems to be that if the Jews are directed by God, they should bring forth verses like unto those of the Qurān.

tion of GOD, that there may be given unto some other *a revelation* like unto what hath been given unto you. Will they dispute with you before your Lord? Say, Surely excellence is in the hand of GOD, he giveth it unto whom he pleaseth; GOD is bounteous and wise: (73) he will confer peculiar mercy on whom he pleaseth; for GOD is endued with great beneficence. (74) There is of those who have received the scriptures, unto whom if thou trust a talent he will restore it unto thee; and *there is also* of them, unto whom if thou trust a dinâr, he will not restore it unto thee, unless thou stand over him continually *with great urgency*. This *they do*, because they say, We are not obliged to observe justice with the heathen: but they utter a lie against GOD, knowingly. (75) Yea, whoso keepeth his covenant, and feareth *GOD*, GOD surely loveth those who fear *him*. (76) But they who make merchandise of GOD's covenant, and of their oaths, for a small price, shall have no portion in the next life, neither shall GOD speak to them or regard them on the day of resurrection, nor shall he cleanse them; but they shall suffer a grievous punishment. (77) And there are certainly some of them who read the scriptures perversely, that ye may think

(74) *A talent . . . a dinâr*. As usual, the commentators have a story to illustrate the text. A Jew, by name Abdullah Ibn Salâm, having borrowed twelve hundred ounces of gold from a Quraishite, paid it back punctually at the time appointed. Another Jew, Phineas Ibn Azûra, borrowed a dinâr, and afterwards denied having received it! The followers of the Arabian prophet must have been very simple-minded indeed to make this *revelation* necessary.

Sale thinks the person especially intended was Qâb Ibn Ashraf, a Jew, who finally became so inimical that Muhammad proscribed him and caused him to be slain.

Some commentators (Baidhâwî, &c.) think the trustworthy persons referred to here are Christians and the dishonest ones Jews. This view agrees very well with the sentiments of contempt for the heathen attributed to these covenant-breakers in the latter portion of this verse.

(75) *Whoso keepeth his covenant, &c.* Muslims showing the spirit attributed to Jews in the preceding verse cannot quote this precept of Muhammad in justification of their conduct.

(77) *Some . . . read the Scriptures perversely*. The charge here is

what they read to be really in the scriptures, yet it is not in the scripture; and they say, This is from GOD; but it is not from GOD: and they speak that which is false concerning GOD, against their own knowledge. (78) It is not *fit* for a man that GOD should give him a book of *revelations*, and wisdom, and prophecy; and then he should say unto men, Be ye worshippers of me, besides GOD; but *he ought to say*, Be ye perfect in knowledge and in works, since ye know the scriptures, and exercise yourselves therein. (79) GOD hath not commanded *you* to take the angels and the prophets for *your* lords: Will he command *you* to become infidels after ye have been true believers?

R $\frac{9}{17}$.

|| (80) And *remember* when GOD accepted the covenant of the prophets, *saying*, *This verily is the scripture and*

that Jews and Christians misrepresent the teaching of their own Scriptures. The author of the notes on the Roman Urdú Qurán thinks this passage and others like it show the eagerness of Muhammad to find a sanction for his prophetic claims in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament. When, however, the Jews frankly told him what their Scriptures taught, he charged them with wicked concealment of the prophecies concerning himself. It is possible that Muhammad was himself the victim of misrepresentation on this subject by interested parties.

This passage, too, shows beyond dispute that Muhammad regarded the Scriptures in the hands of the Jews and Christians as credible. No charge is ever brought against the Scriptures, but invariably against the interpreters.

(78) *It is not fit, &c.* This verse is evidently directed against Christians, who worship Jesus.

Sale says, "This passage was revealed, say the commentators, in answer to the Christians, who insisted that Jesus had commanded them to worship him as God."

Worshippers of me besides God. Here again we see that Muhammad's conception of Christian theology was all wrong.

(79) *The angels.* The idolaters of Makkah worshipped angels. *The prophets for your lords, e.g.,* the Jews worship Ezra and the Christians worship Jesus.—*Tafsír-i-Raufi.*

(80) *The covenant of the prophets.* "Some commentators interpret this of the children of Israel themselves, of whose race the prophets were. But others say the souls of all the prophets, even of those who were not then born, were present on Mount Sinai when God gave the law to Moses, and that they entered into the covenant here mentioned with him. A story borrowed by Muhammad from the

the wisdom which I have given you: hereafter shall an apostle come unto you, confirming the truth of that *scripture* which is with you; ye shall surely believe in him, and ye shall assist him. GOD said, Are ye firmly resolved, and do ye accept my covenant on this *condition*? They answered, We are firmly resolved: GOD said, Be ye therefore witnesses; and I also bear witness with you: (81) and whosoever turneth back after this, they are surely the transgressors. (82) Do they therefore seek any other religion but GOD's? since to him is resigned whosoever is in heaven or on earth, voluntarily or of force: and to him shall they return. (83) Say, We believe in GOD,

Talmudists, and therefore most probably his true meaning in this place."—Sale.

The prophecy alluded to here is probably the general promise of the Messiah contained in such passages as Deut. xviii. 15-18, and which constituted the *spirit of prophecy*. The only direct statement in the Qurán giving the very words of prophecy is found in chap. lxi. 6, where the allusion is to the Paraclete. In either case the prophet of Arabia made a serious mistake. The desperation of his followers to find the prophecies of the Bible relating to him is manifested at one time by their attempts to disprove the genuineness of the same, at another time by their endeavours to show that Deut. xviii. 15-18, John xiv. 16, 26, and xvi. 13, &c., really refer to their prophet. For a specimen of the latter the reader is referred to *Essays on the Life of Mohammad* by Sayd Ahmad Khan, Bahadur, C.S.I.

(82) *Resigned . . . voluntarily or of force*. The idea of converting men by force is here said to have belonged to the covenant of Sinai. The verse, however, conveys a threat against unbelieving Arabs.

(83) This verse very well illustrates the kind of attestation borne to the former Scriptures and to the prophetic character of the prophets by whom they were revealed. An array of names and a general statement declaring their truly prophetic character is given, but everywhere their doctrine is ignored or rejected when conceived of as in conflict with the Qurán and the Arabian prophet. Now, Muhammad must be regarded as either making a *statement of fact* as to the oneness of his faith with that of the persons he mentions, or he was ignorant of what he here states as a fact. In either case he seems to me fairly chargeable with imposture. For even if he were ignorant of what he pretends to know, his pretence is a deception, and no reasonable apology can be offered for his putting a statement of this character in the mouth of God. How, then, Mr. Smith (*Muhammad and Muhammadanism*, p. 25) can so positively assert the impossibility of any longer regarding Muhammad as an impostor,

and that which hath been sent down unto us, and that which was sent down unto Abraham, and Ismaël, and Isaac, and Jacob, and the tribes, and that which was delivered to Moses, and Jesus, and the prophets from their LORD; we make no distinction between any of them; and to him are we resigned. (84) Whoever followeth any other religion than Islâm, it shall not be accepted of him: and in the next life he shall be of those who perish. (85) How shall GOD direct men who have become infidels after they had believed, and borne witness that the apostle was true, and manifest declarations of *the divine will* had come unto them? for GOD directeth not the ungodly people. (86) Their reward shall be, that on them *shall fall* the curse of GOD, and of angels, and of all mankind: (87) they shall remain under the same for ever; their torment shall not be mitigated, neither shall they be regarded; (88) except those who repent after this and amend; for GOD is gracious and merciful. (89) Moreover they who become infidels after they have believed, and yet increase in infidelity, their repentance shall in nowise be accepted, and they are those who go astray. (90) Verily they who

I can only understand by supposing him to be blinded to the faults of his hero by the glory of his own ideal. See also notes on chap. ii. 61.

Whosoever . . . any other religion. Islâm is here contemplated by the prophet as equivalent, or rather as identical with, the true religion of Abraham, Moses, and Jesus. Were Islâm so identified with the one true religion of God, then all might assent to the statement of the text; but as a matter of fact there never was any such recognition of Judaism or Christianity in practice among Muslims. They have never been the preservers of the Scriptures herein attested as the Word of God; and any man preferring either religion to Islâm is thereby stigmatised as an infidel.

(85-89) *How shall God direct . . . infidels, &c.* This passage seems to teach that apostasy from Islâm can never be repented of. Such a person is a reprobate. See *Tafsîr-i-Raufi in loco*. God is merciful to forgive those who repent in time, but for those who "yet increase in infidelity," *i.e.*, go on in an obstinate course of apostasy, there is no forgiveness.

(90) *For his ransom.* The punishment of infidels is eternal and without remedy. The idea of a *ransom* for a sinner is recognised

believe not, and die in their unbelief, the world full of gold shall in nowise be accepted from any of them, even though he should give it for his ransom; they shall suffer a grievous punishment, (91) and they shall have none to help them.

|| (92) Ye will never attain unto righteousness until ye give in alms of that which ye love: and whatever ye give, GOD knoweth it. (93) All food was permitted unto

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here only to be rejected. Yet this passage obscurely recognises the infinite value of the soul.

(92) *Alms.* See notes on chap. ii. 42, and Prelim. Disc., p. 172.

(93) *Except what Israel forbade, &c.* Sale says:—"This passage was revealed on the Jews reproaching Muhammad and his followers with their eating of the flesh and milk of camels (Lev. xi. 4, Deut. xiv.), which they said was forbidden Abraham, whose religion Muhammad pretended to follow. In answer to which he tells them, that God ordained no distinction of meats before he gave the law to Moses, though Jacob voluntarily abstained from the flesh and milk of camels; which some commentators say was in consequence of a vow, made by that patriarch when afflicted with the *sciatica*, that if he were cured he would eat no more of that meat which he liked best, and that was camel's flesh; but others (Baidhāwī, Jalāluddīn) suppose he abstained from it by the advice of physicians only.

"This exposition seems to be taken from the children of Israel's not eating of the sinew on the hollow of the thigh, because the angel with whom Jacob wrestled at Peniel touched the hollow of his thigh in the sinew that shrank (Gen. xxxii. 32)."

Bring hither the Pentateuch and read it. This is a clear acknowledgment that the Pentateuch, which the Qurán attests as the Word of God, was in the possession of the Jews in the time of Muhammad. Yet, while the Prophet was ever ready to challenge Jews and Christians to bring their Scriptures that he might therewith prove to them his apostleship, it is a remarkable fact that he never permitted his own followers to read or hear those Scriptures. The *Mishqāt-ul-Masābīh* (Book i. chap. vi. part 2, Matthews' translation, vol. i. p. 53) contains the following tradition, on the authority of JĀBIR:—"Jābir said, Verily OMAR IBN-AL-KHATTĀB brought a copy of the Pentateuch to the Prophet, and said, 'This is a copy of the Pentateuch.' Muhammad was silent, and Omar was very near reading part of it, and the face of the Prophet changed; when Abu Baqr said: 'Your mother weeps for you. Do you not look on the Prophet's face?' Then Omar looked and said, 'God protect me from the anger of God and his Prophet. I am satisfied with this, that God is my cherisher, and Islām my religion, and Muhammad my prophet.' Then Muhammad said, 'If Moses were alive and found my prophecy, he would follow me.'"

the children of Israel, except what Israel forbade unto himself before the Pentateuch was sent down. Say *unto the Jews*, Bring hither the Pentateuch and read it, if ye speak truth. (94) Whoever therefore contriveth a lie against God after this, they will be evil-doers. (95) Say, GOD is true : follow ye therefore the religion of Abraham the orthodox ; for he was no idolater. (96) Verily the first house appointed unto men *to worship in* was that which was in Bakkah ; blessed, and a direction to all creatures. (97) Therein are manifest signs : the place where Abraham

Matthews gives another tradition of similar import in vol. i. p. 50. A remarkable tradition, on the authority of ABU HURÁIRAH, states that the Jews and Christians had translated the Scriptures from the *Hebrew*, for the benefit of "the people of Islám." It is as follows :— "Abu Huráirah said there were people of the book who read the *Bible* in *Hebrew* and translated it into *Arabic* for the people of Islám. And the Prophet said, 'Do not consider them liars or tellers of truth ; but say to them, We believe in God and that which is sent to us, and what was sent to Moses and Jesus.'"—*Mishqât-ul-Masâbih*, book i. chap. vi. part i.

From these traditions it is quite clear that Muhammad was not sincere in his claim that the former Scriptures testified concerning his apostleship. Had he been sincere, how very easy it would have been to *confirm the faith of his own disciples* as well as to convince all sincere Jews and Christians that he was the prophet of God foretold by Moses and Jesus ! Instead of this, however, he forbade his disciples investigating this matter for themselves, *even in his presence* ; and when Jews and Christians declared what was written in their Scriptures, he charged them with dishonesty in translation. Controversy from the Jewish or Christian standpoint was, therefore, quite out of the question.

(95) *Abraham the orthodox*. In Arabic, *Hanîf*. There seems to have been a sect of deistic Arabs before Muhammad declared himself a prophet, who called themselves by this title, and claimed to be the followers of the religion of Abraham. Sprenger gives the names of four of these, viz., Waraqa, Othmán, Obaid, and Zaid (R. B. Smith's *Muhammad and Muhammadanism*, pp. 108, 109). This is one of Sprenger's arguments to prove that Muhammadanism existed prior to Muhammad, as the Reformation existed prior to Luther.

(96) *The first house . . . in Bakkah, i.e., Makkah*. Baidhâwî says *m* and *b* are frequently interchanged (*Sale in loco*). The *first house* was the Kaabah. See notes on chap. ii. 125, 142–146.

(97) *Manifest signs*. "Such as the stone wherein they show the print of Abraham's feet, and the inviolable security of the place, immediately mentioned ; that the birds light not on the roof of the

stood; and whoever entereth therein shall be safe. And *it is a duty* towards GOD, *incumbent* on those who are able to go thither, to visit this house; but whosoever disbelieveth, verily GOD needeth not *the service* of any creature. (98) Say, O ye who have received the scriptures, why do ye not believe in the signs of GOD? (99) Say, O ye who have received the scriptures, why do ye keep back from the way of GOD him who believeth? Ye seek to make it crooked, and yet are witnesses *that it is the right*: but GOD will not be unmindful of what ye do. (100) O true believers, if ye obey some of those who have received the scripture, they will render you infidels, after ye have believed; (101) and how can ye be infidels, when

Kaabah, and wild beasts put off their fierceness there; that none who came against it in a hostile manner ever prospered, as appeared particularly in the unfortunate expedition of Abrahā al Ashram (chap. cv.); and other fables of the same stamp which the Muhammadans are taught to believe."

The place of Abraham. See note on chap. ii. 125; also Rodwell *in loco*.

Those who are able. "According to an exposition of this passage attributed to Muhammad, he is supposed to be able to perform the pilgrimage who can supply himself with provisions for the journey and a beast to ride upon. Al Shāfa'i has decided that those who have money enough, if they cannot go themselves, must hire some other to go in their room. Mālik Ibn Ans thinks he is to be reckoned *able* who is strong and healthy, and can bear the fatigue of the journey on foot, if he has no beast to ride, and can also earn his living by the way. But Abu Hanīfah is of opinion that both money sufficient and health of body are requisite to make the pilgrimage a duty."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*.

(99) *Him who believeth.* The person alluded to here is said to be 'Amār or Sarhān, whom the Jews endeavoured to pervert from the way of Islām (*Tafsīr-i-Rauḍī*).

(100-109) *If ye obey, &c.* "This passage was revealed on occasion of a quarrel excited between the tribes of al Aus and al Khazraj by one Shās Ibn Qais, a Jew, who, passing by some of both tribes as they were sitting discoursing familiarly together, and being inwardly vexed at the friendship and harmony which reigned among them on their embracing Muhammadanism, whereas they had been for 120 years before most inveterate and mortal enemies, though descendants of two brothers, in order to set them at variance sent a young man to sit down by them, directing him to relate the story of the battle of Bu'āth (a place near Madīna), wherein, after a bloody fight, al Aus had the better of al Khazraj, and to repeat some verses

the signs of GOD are read unto you, and his apostle is among you? But he who cleaveth firmly unto GOD is already directed in the right way.

R $\frac{11}{2}$.

|| (102) O believers, fear GOD with his true fear; and die not unless ye also be true believers. (103) And cleave all *of you* unto the covenant of GOD, and depart not *from it*, and remember the favour of GOD towards you: since ye were enemies, and he reconciled your hearts, and ye became companions and brethren by his favour: and ye were on the brink of a pit of fire, and he delivered you thence. Thus GOD declareth unto you his signs, that ye may be directed. (104) Let there be people among you who invite to the best *religion*; and command

on that subject. The young man executed his orders; whereupon those of each tribe began to magnify themselves, and to reflect on and irritate the other, till at length they called to arms, and great numbers getting together on each side, a dangerous battle had ensued if Muhammad had not stepped in and reconciled them by representing to them how much they would be to blame if they returned to paganism and revived those animosities which Islām had composed, and telling them that what had happened was a trick of the devil to disturb their present tranquillity."—Sale, *Baidhāwī, Tafsīr-i-Raūfī*.

The incident here related shows the powerful influence Muhammad had acquired over these fiery young men. Spirits aroused to a frenzy of excitement are calmed in a moment by the presence of the prophet and the voice of the oracle giving expression to the words of this verse.

(102) *Fear God with his true fear.* The *Tafsīr-i-Raūfī* says most commentators regard this verse as abrogated, on the ground that it is impossible for man to fear God as he ought to be feared. It is more likely that the passage was addressed to certain *adherents* of the tribes of Aus and Khazraj at Madīna; these are here exhorted to remain steadfast in the faith even unto death.

(103) *And cleave . . . unto the covenant.* In Arabic, *Hold fast by the cord of God.* The allusion may be either to the Qurān, sometimes called by Muhammad *Habl Allāh al matān*, i.e., the sure cord of God (Sale, on authority of *Baidhāwī*), or to Islām, as the means of salvation.

Since ye were enemies. The tribes of Aus and Khazraj are here reminded of what Islām had done for them.

(104) *A people who invite, &c.* Abdul Qādir thinks this verse required that a body of men should be kept for religious warfare (Jihād), which should extirpate all heresy, as well as propagate the true faith. This view certainly accords with the spirit of Islām. The sword is its strong argument, and the end of all controversy.

that which is just, and forbid that which is evil; and they shall be happy. (105) And be not as they who are divided, and disagree *in matters of religion*, after manifest proofs have been brought unto them: they shall suffer a great torment. (106) On the day of *resurrection* some faces shall become white, and *other* faces shall become black. And unto them whose faces shall become black *God will say*, Have you returned unto *your* unbelief after ye had believed? therefore taste the punishment for that ye have been unbelievers: (107) but they whose faces shall become white *shall be* in the mercy of God, therein shall they remain for ever. (108) These are the signs of GOD: we recite them unto thee with truth. GOD will not deal unjustly with *his* creatures. (109) And to GOD *belongeth* whatever is in heaven and on earth; and to GOD shall *all* things return.

|| (110) Ye are the best nation that hath been raised up R ^{1 2} / 3 unto mankind: ye command that which is just, and ye forbid that which is unjust, and ye believe in GOD. And if they who have received the scriptures had believed, it had surely been the better for them: there are believers

(105) *They who are divided, i.e., Jews and Christians.* Nevertheless Muslims are as thoroughly divided in matters of religion as ever Christians were.

(106) *Faces . . . white . . . and black.* See Prelim. Disc., pp. 149, 150.

(109) This verse ends the passage said to have been revealed on the occasion of the threatened outbreak between the tribes of Aus and Khazraj. See note on ver. 101.

(110) *Ye are the best nation.* The Muslims are now regarded as the chosen people of God. The word *ummat* is here translated "nation," and by Rodwell "folk." It is, however, used to describe the followers of the prophets, *e.g.*, the *ummat* of Moses (Jews), the *ummat* of Jesus (Christians), the *ummat* of Muhammad (Muslims). This statement is hardly reconcilable with the claim that the *ummat* of every true prophet belongs to Islām. The comparison is probably drawn between the Jews, Christians, and Muslims of Muhammad's day. It must be observed that the reason given for their superiority is not very convincing, and the high claim set up here for Muslim integrity is not borne out by historical evidence.

There are believers. "As Abdullah Ibn Salām and his companions, and those of the tribes of al Aus and al Khazraj, who had embraced Muhammadanism."—Sale.

among them, but the greater part of them are transgressors. (111) They shall not hurt you, unless with a *slight* hurt; and if they fight against you, they shall turn their backs to you; and they shall not be helped. (112) They are smitten with vileness wheresoever they are found; unless *they obtain security by entering into* a treaty with GOD, and a treaty with men: and they draw on themselves indignation from GOD, and they are afflicted with poverty. This *they suffer* because they disbelieved the signs of GOD and slew the prophets unjustly; this, because they were rebellious and transgressed. (113) *Yet* they are not *all* alike: there are of those who have received the scriptures, upright people; they meditate on the signs of GOD in the night season, and worship; (114) they believe in GOD, and the last day; and command that which is just, and forbid that which is unjust, and zealously strive *to excel* in good works; these are of the righteous. (115) And ye shall not be denied *the reward*

(111) *They shall not be helped.* "This verse, al Baidhāwī says, is one of those whose meaning is mysterious, and relates to something future; intimating the low condition to which the Jewish tribes of Quraidha, Nadir, Bani Qáinuqáa, and those who dwelt at Khaibar, were afterwards reduced by Muhammad."—Sale.

(112) *They are smitten.* The past tense used for the future, meaning that they *shall certainly* be smitten, &c. The passage indicates the change of policy in respect to the Jews of Madína and the vicinity. They are now to submit to be plundered and exiled as the Bani Nadhír, or be slaughtered as the Bani Quraidha, as the only alternative to their accepting Islám. The fate of these tribes at the hands of Muhammad sadly illustrates Matt. xxvii. 25. It is remarkable that the reason given here for the punishment of the Jews accords with the denunciations of the Bible, and this notwithstanding the selfish and cruel designs of the Arabian prophet. "They slew the prophets, . . . were rebellious and transgressed."

(113) *They are not all alike.* Some had become Muslims. These meditate on the "signs of God," *i.e.*, the Qurán. Whether any were good or bad, just or unjust, depended now upon their being Muslims or unbelievers. Compare our Lord's words, Matt. vii. 22, 23.

Night-season. Night devotions, especially those performed between midnight and morning, are regarded as peculiarly meritorious: See *Mishqát ul Masábih*, book iv. chap. xxxvi.

(115) *And ye shall not be denied, &c.* Rodwell also translates "ye shall not be denied," &c. Sale says, "Some copies have a different

of the good which ye do; for GOD knoweth the pious. (116) As for the unbelievers, their wealth shall not profit them at all, neither their children, against GOD: they *shall be* the companions of *hell* fire; they shall continue therein for ever. (117) The likeness of that which they lay out in this present life is as a wind wherein there is a scorching cold: it falleth on the standing corn of those men who have injured their own souls, and destroyeth it. And GOD dealeth not unjustly with them; but they injure their own souls. (118) O true believers, contract not an intimate friendship *with any* besides yourselves; they will not fail to corrupt you. They wish for that which may cause you to perish: their hatred hath already appeared

reading," viz., *they shall not be denied*. This reading, in the *third* person instead of the second, is that of all Arabic copies I have seen. The reading of the text is contrary to the analogy of the previous context. I think, therefore, the reading of Fluegel, though doubtless sanctioned by good authority, is in error. A careful collation of any considerable number of ancient MSS. would no doubt bring to light many such various readings.

(117) Savary translates, "Their alms are like unto an icy wind, which bloweth on the fields of the perverse and destroyeth their productions." The idea seems to be, that while the alms (*good*, ver. 115) of the faithful will bring back a certain reward, those of the unbelievers will be as a drain on their wealth, a blight on their crops. Good works without faith in Islám are of no avail.

(118) *Contract not . . . friendship, &c.* Muhammad was exceedingly jealous of counter-influences. Such friendships were sure to result in apostasy from Islám. The sentiment of chap. v. 104 seems to be the reverse of this. There he says, "He who erreth shall not hurt you while you are directed." The consistency of these statements is to be found in the circumstances of the new religion. Before the political power of the Prophet was secured, it was his policy to preserve his people from the contaminating influences of the unbelievers. They were to be avoided, no friendships were to be formed with them. In argument no reply was to be made beyond a declaration of adherence to Islám. Afterwards, however, when the power of the Muslims was supreme, they could afford to defy opposition. Success had rendered the chances of apostasy from Islám almost nil. The erring ones had therefore little power to injure. Yet, with all the power of Islám, it has been, and is still, the most intolerant of all religions.

Their hatred. See the suspicious fears of Muhammad illustrated by his treatment of the Baní Nadhír in Muir's *Life of Mahomet*, vol. iii. pp. 209, 210.

from out of their mouths; but what their breasts conceal is yet more inveterate. We have already shown you signs of *their ill-will towards you*, if ye understand. (119) Behold, ye love them, and they do not love you: ye believe in all the scriptures, and when they meet you, they say, We believe; but when they assemble privately together, they bite their fingers' ends out of wrath against you. Say *unto them*, Die in your wrath: verily God knoweth the innermost part of *your* breasts. (120) If good happen unto you, it grieveth them; and if evil befall you, they rejoice at it. But if ye be patient and fear *God*, their subtlety shall not hurt you at all; for God comprehendeth whatever they do. (121) *Call to mind* when thou wentest forth early from thy family, that thou

(119) *Ye love them.* The spirit of the prophet's love is shown in the last clause of this verse—"Die in your wrath!" The evident purpose of the exhortation here is to eradicate every vestige of natural affection for unbelieving friends and neighbours from the hearts of his followers. Nothing was too heartless or cruel for Muhammad to counsel or perform, provided his interest or his revenge could thereby be satisfied—to wit, the assassination of Asma, Abu Afaq, and Káb Ibn Ashraf, the exile of the Jewish tribes of Nadhír and Qainuqáa, and the inhuman slaughter of eight hundred prisoners of the Bani Quraidha, and many other instances of a similar nature.

Ye believe in all the Scriptures. This is no doubt what Muhammad intended they should do, but in the sense of simply acknowledging them to be the Word of God, and not in the sense that they should read them or hear them read (see note on ver. 93). This is the practice of Muslims still, showing how well they understand their prophet. They profess to accept the Pentateuch, Psalms, and Gospels as the Word of God, but the moment these are produced and made to testify against Islám, they declare they have been corrupted. All arguments are set aside by the claim that whatever is in accord with Islám is true, and whatever is not in accord therewith is either false, or, if true, abrogated.

(121) *When thou wentest forth, &c.* "This was at the battle of Ohod, a mountain about four miles to the north of Madína. The Quraish, to revenge their loss at Badr (ver. 13, note), the next year, being the third of the Hijra, got together an army of 3000 men, among whom there were 200 horse and 700 armed with coats of mail. These forces marched under the conduct of Abu Sufián and sat down at Dhu'l Hulaifa, a village about six miles from Madína. Muhammad, being much inferior to his enemies in numbers, at first determined to keep himself within the town, and receive them there; but afterwards, the advice of some of his companions prevailing, he

mightest prepare the faithful a camp for war; and God heard and knew *it*; (122) when two companies of you were anxiously thoughtful, so that ye became faint-hearted,

marched out against them at the head of 1000 men (some say he had 1050 men, others but 900), of whom 100 were armed with coats of mail, but he had no more than one horse, besides his own, in his whole army. With these forces he formed a camp in a village near Ohod, which mountain he contrived to have on his back; and the better to secure his men from being surrounded, he placed fifty archers in the rear, with strict orders not to quit their post. When they came to engage, Muhammad had the better at first, but afterwards, by the fault of his archers, who left their ranks for the sake of the plunder, and suffered the enemy's horse to encompass the Muhammadans and attack them in the rear, he lost the day, and was very near losing his life, being struck down by a shower of stones, and wounded in the face with two arrows, on pulling out of which his two foreteeth dropped out. Of the Muslims seventy men were slain, and among them Hamza, the uncle of Muhammad, and of the infidels twenty-two. To excuse the ill success of this battle and to raise the drooping courage of his followers is Muhammad's drift in the remaining part of this chapter."—*Sale*.

Muir gives a wonderfully vivid description of the crisis through which Muhammad was called to pass after the defeat at Ohod. "The scoffs and taunts of infidels and Jews well-nigh overthrew the faith of the Muslims. 'How can Mahomet pretend now,' they asked, 'to be anything more than an aspirant to the *kingly* office? No true claimant of the *prophetic* dignity hath ever been beaten in the field, or suffered loss in his own person and that of his followers, as he hath.' Under these circumstances it required all the address of Mahomet to avert the dangerous imputation, sustain the credit of his cause, and reanimate his followers. This he did mainly by means of that portion of the Qurán which appears in the latter half of the third Sura."—*Life of Mahomet*, vol. iii. p. 189.

Students of the Qurán will not fail to notice here that every device of the Prophet to encourage his crestfallen people is clothed in the garb of inspiration. Every exhortation to steadfastness in the cause of Islám, every rebuke for unfaithfulness, every plaudit bestowed upon the brave, is presented as coming from the mouth of God.

(122) *Two companies*. "These were some of the families of Baní Salma of the tribe of al Khazraj, and Bani ul Hárith of the tribe of al Aus, who composed the two wings of Muhammad's army. Some ill impression had been made on them by Abdullah Ibn Ubai Sulúl, then an infidel, who having drawn off 300 men, told them that they were going to certain death, and advised them to return back with him; but he could prevail on but a few, the others being kept firm by the divine influence, as the following words intimate."—*Sale*, *Baidhâwî*.

Muir expresses the belief that "the *two companies*" were the

but GOD was the supporter of them both; and in GOD let the faithful trust.

R $\frac{13}{4}$.

|| (123) And GOD had already given you the victory at Badr, when ye were inferior *in number*; therefore fear GOD, that ye may be thankful. (124) When thou saidst unto the faithful, Is it not enough for you that your LORD should assist you with three thousand angels sent down from heaven? (125) Verily if ye persevere and fear God, and *your enemies* come upon you suddenly, your LORD will assist you with five thousand angels, distinguished by *their horses and attire*.

RUPA. || (126) And this GOD designed only as good tidings for

refugees and citizens. The flight was caused by their losing heart in the midst of the battle (*Life of Mahomet*, vol. iii. p. 191, note).

(123) *Victory at Badr*. See note on ver. 113. The word translated *victory* here means *help*. The angels, say the commentators, did not do the fighting, but rendered miraculous assistance by warding off the blows of the enemy and by appearing to them in human form, thus working dismay in their ranks by multiplying the number of Muslims in their sight.

(124) *Three thousand angels*. Muhammadan tradition gives numerous instances of similar interference of angels on behalf of the Muslims. See references at p. lxiv., Muir's *Life of Mahomet*, vol. i., *Introduction*.

(125) *Angels, distinguished*. The word *musawwamina* is the same as that translated *excellent horses* in ver. 14. The primary reference is to horses distinguished by white feet and a streak of white on the face, a sign of special excellence in horses. The passage may therefore mean that the angels rode on horses distinguished by the marks of excellence.

"The angels who assisted the Muhammadans at Badr rode, say the commentators, on black and white horses, and had on their heads white and yellow sashes, the ends of which hung down between their shoulders."—Sale, *Baidhawi*.

(126) *Good tidings*. Muhammad very adroitly argues that the question of victory or defeat does not rest with the Muslims. It is God's war against the infidels, and he cannot be defeated. If Muslims suffer defeat, it is for their discipline, to teach them to trust God and his prophet.

The commentators tell a story to the effect that when at the battle of Badr seventy Quraish fell into the hands of the Muslims as prisoners, Muhammad advised their summary execution, but the Muslims preferred to let them go on condition of a ransom price being paid. Muhammad yielded, but at the same time foretold that seventy Muslims would lose their lives in lieu of the seventy ransomed infidels. This prophecy was fulfilled in the defeat of Ohod.

you, that your hearts might rest secure; for victory is from GOD alone, the mighty, the wise. (127) That he should cut off the uttermost part of the unbelievers, or cast them down, or that they should be overthrown and unsuccessful, *is nothing to thee*. (128) It is no business of thine; whether *God* be turned unto them, or whether he punish them; they are surely unjust doers. (129) To GOD belongeth whatsoever is in heaven and on earth; he spareth whom he pleaseth, and he punisheth whom he pleaseth; for GOD is merciful.

|| (130) O true believers, devour not usury, doubling it R $\frac{14}{5}$. twofold, but fear GOD, that ye may prosper: (131) and fear the fire which is prepared for the unbelievers; (132) and obey GOD and *his* apostle, that ye may obtain mercy. (133) And run with emulation to *obtain* remission from your LORD, and paradise, whose breadth *equalleth* the

This story was invented in order to cover up the disgrace of the ignominious defeat of the Muslims. This defeat was due to the disobedience of the followers of Muhammad (see note on ver. 122). This fact the prophet keeps in the background. 'The interests of Islām require that the Muslims should rather be encouraged than rebuked. They are therefore exhorted to trust God, and to look for certain victory in the future.

(127) This verse should be connected with the one preceding, and should depend upon the words "And this God designed." To connect it with the following verse, as Sale does, destroys the main point of the exhortation, which promises certain victory over the unbelievers.

(128) *They are surely unjust doers*. "This passage was revealed when Muhammad received the wounds above mentioned at the battle of Ohod, and cried out, 'How shall that people prosper who have stained their prophet's face with blood, while he called them to their Lord?' The person who wounded him was Otha the son of Abbu Wakkās."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*.

(129) *He spareth*. In original *he pardoneth*. *He is merciful*. The original would better be rendered *He is forgiving, kind*. Every exhortation of the Prophet ends with a doxology of this sort, the sentiment being in accord with the character of the revelation preceding.

(130) *Devour not usury*. See note on chap. ii. 275. Abdul Qádir conjectures that the subject of usury is here spoken of because of the previous mention of cowardice, which is usually produced by habits of extortion. The passage seems to be misplaced, the sentiment having no perceptible connection with that of ver. 129, which is closely connected with ver. 139.

heavens and the earth, which is prepared for the godly; (134) who give alms in prosperity and adversity; who bridle their anger and forgive men; for GOD loveth the beneficent. (135) And who, after they have committed a crime, or dealt unjustly with their own souls, remember GOD, and ask pardon for their sins (for who forgiveth sins except GOD?), and persevere not in what they have done knowingly; (136) their reward shall be pardon from their LORD, and gardens wherein rivers flow; they shall remain therein forever: and how excellent is the reward of those who labour! (137) There have already been before you examples of punishment of *infidels*, therefore go through the earth, and behold what hath been the end of those who accuse *God's apostles* of imposture. (138) This *book*

(134) "It is related of Hasan the son of Ali, that a slave having once thrown a dish on him boiling hot as he sat at table, and fearing his master's resentment, fell on his knees and repeated these words, 'Paradise is for those who bridle their anger:' Hasan answered, 'I am not angry.' The slave proceeded—'and for those who forgive men.' 'I forgive you,' said Hasan. The slave, however, finished the verse, adding, 'for God loveth the beneficent.' 'Since it is so,' replied Hasan, 'I give you your liberty, and four hundred pieces of silver.' A noble instance of moderation and generosity."—*Sale, Tafsír-i-Raufi*.

Forgive men. "The best kind of forgiveness is to pardon those who have injured you."—*Tafsír-i-Raufi*.

(135) *What they have done knowingly, i.e., the pious do not sin deliberately.* The duty of repentance for known sin is here clearly enjoined, and the test of true repentance is also given.

(136) *Their reward.* This statement contradicts the teaching of the former Scriptures. However sincere repentance, its *reward* cannot be pardon. Repentance can affect the conduct of the *future*, but it has no power to atone for the crimes of the *past* (see note on ver. 31).

(137) *Those who accuse of imposture.* This passage gives another illustration of the constant and strained effort of Muhammad to refute the charge of imposture. In reply to his accusers, he says others were accused of like imposture, and the end of their accusers was dreadful. But the author of the notes on the Roman Urdú Qurán points out the fact that *no true prophet ever showed the anxiety of Muhammad to establish his claim to the prophetic office.* We may therefore fairly conclude that Muhammad's imposture was not, in the first instance at least, unconscious.

(138) See note, chap. ii. 2.

is a declaration unto men, and a direction and an admonition to the pious. (139) And be not dismayed, neither be ye grieved; for ye shall be superior *to the unbelievers* if ye believe. (140) If a wound hath happened unto you *in war*, a like wound hath already happened unto the *unbelieving* people: and we cause these days of *different success* interchangeably to succeed each other among men; that GOD may know those who believe, and may have martyrs from among you: (GOD loveth not the workers of iniquity;) (141) and that GOD might prove those who believe, and destroy the infidels. (142) Did ye imagine that ye should enter paradise, when as yet GOD knew not those among you who fought strenuously *in his cause*, nor knew those who persevered with patience? (143) Moreover ye did sometimes wish for death before that ye

(139) The thread of discourse dropped at ver. 129 is here taken up again. This verse reveals something of the demoralization of Muhammad's followers after the defeat of Ohod, and he uses every effort to inspire courage for a new conflict. Muhammad's high moral courage, strong will, and capability as a leader are well illustrated here.

(140) *A like wound, i.e.*, at Badr, where forty-nine of the Quraish were killed and an equal number wounded. Muslim accounts say seventy were killed and seventy wounded. Muir says, "The number *seventy* has originated in the supposition of a correspondence between the *fault* of Mahomet in taking (and not slaying) the prisoners of Badr and the retributive reverse at Ohod; hence it is assumed that seventy Meccans were taken prisoners at Badr."—*Life of Mahomet*, vol. iii. p. 107, note.

We cause these days, &c. The idea here is that God, by this reverse, intended to sift the true from the false among the number of those who professed themselves Muslims, and, so far as the slain were concerned, he desired to have them be martyrs. Thus comfort is bestowed upon the faithful, both for the disgrace of defeat and the loss of relatives in battle.

(142) *God knew not.* This is translated by Rodwell, *God had taken knowledge*. So also Abdul Qádir and others. This is certainly the meaning of the original. Those who catch at the form of the words (notes on Roman Urdú Qurán) to raise an objection lay themselves open to a charge of cavilling. The same cavil could be raised against Gen. xxii. 12.

(143) *Ye did . . . wish for death.* "Several of Muhammad's followers who were not present at Badr wished for an opportunity of obtaining, in another action, the like honour as those had gained

met it; but ye have now seen it, and ye looked on, *but retreated from it.*

R $\frac{15}{6}$.

|| (144) Muhammad is no more than an apostle; the *other* apostles have already deceased before him: if he die, therefore, or be slain, will ye turn back on your heels? but he who turneth back on his heels will not hurt GOD at all; and GOD will surely reward the thankful. (145) No soul can

who fell martyrs in that battle, yet were discouraged on seeing the superior numbers of the idolaters in the expedition of Ohod. On which occasion this passage was revealed."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*.

But retreated. The succeeding context justifies these words as necessary to fill in the ellipsis.

(144) *Muhammad is no more than an apostle.* In this passage Muhammad declares himself mortal, and these words were repeated by Abu Baqr at the death of Muhammad to convince Omar and other Muslims that their prophet was actually dead.

Arnold holds (on the authority of an ancient writer, Al Kindy) that Muhammad had prophesied that he would rise from the dead within three days. He thinks this prophecy—carefully suppressed by Muslim writers, however—alone accounts for the conduct of Omar at Muhammad's death, and that this alone explains why "Muhammad's body was buried *unwashed*, without the burial linen, but with the red scarf around his waist which he had worn during his last illness" (*Islām and Christianity*, p. 351, note). Were the statement of Al Kindy well founded, we could still accept this verse as genuine, for it does not deny the possibility of Muhammad's *rising from the dead*, but only implies that he would *die*. But, granting that Muhammad ever did prophesy his resurrection after three days, and that, according to the story of Al Kindy, the Muslims had waited three days for his resuscitation, how would the invention of this verse or the repetition of it if genuine—a verse which does not give a shadow of a hope of a resurrection in three days—account for the sudden acquiescence of the Muslims in the view of Abu Baqr that he was dead, and acquiesce at the same time in his conduct in having *during these very three days* assumed the authority of the caliphate? The fact is, that Omar was not looking for the resurrection of Muhammad, but he could not believe him *dead*; and, as Muir clearly points out, the power of these words to persuade the people "was solely due to *their being at once recognised as a part of the Coran*" (*Life of Mahomet*, vol. i. Introd., p. xx., and vol. iv. p. 284, notes).

Will not hurt God, i.e., the cause of Islām will prosper in spite of the defection of unbelievers. Sale says, "It was reported in the battle of Ohod that Muhammad was slain: whereupon the idolaters cried out to his followers, 'Since your prophet is slain, return to your ancient religion, and to your friends; if Muhammad had been a prophet he had not been slain.'"

(145) *No soul can die*, &c. "Muhammad, the more effectually to

die unless by the permission of GOD, according to *what is written in* the book containing the determinations of things. And whoso chooseth the reward of this world, we will give him thereof : but whoso chooseth the reward of the world to come, we will give him thereof : and we will surely reward the thankful. (146) How many prophets have encountered those who had many myriads of troops : and yet they desponded not in their mind for what had befallen them in fighting for the religion of GOD ; and were not weakened, neither behaved themselves in an abject manner ? GOD loveth those who persevere patiently.

still the murmurs of his party on their defeat, represents to them that the time of every man's death is decreed and predetermined by God, and that those who fell in the battle could not have avoided their fate had they stayed at home ; whereas they had now obtained the glorious advantage of dying martyrs for the faith."—*Sale*.

See also Prelim. Disc., p. 164.

The book. Rodwell tells us that the Rabbins teach a similar doctrine ; see, his note *in loco*. The *Tafsir-i-Raufi* says that this verse was revealed to incite the Muslims to acts of daring. Since the hour of death is fixed for every man, every one is immortal until that hour arrive.

Whoso chooseth. These words seem clearly to recognise the free agency of men, and the statement is the more remarkable, coming as it does immediately after another which clearly teaches the absolute predestination of all things. The meaning of the whole passage is, I think, that the hour of death is fixed. Whether in the battlefield or in the quiet of domestic surroundings, each man must die at the appointed hour. Those, therefore, who choose ease and freedom from danger in this life will be permitted to secure them, though they will not thereby avert death for a moment beyond the time written in the book, while those who choose martyrdom will yet live out their appointed time, and receive the martyr's reward beside. It would be very easy to raise an objection to the Qurán on the ground of contradiction between the doctrine of God's sovereignty and man's free will ; but we consider this difficult ground for a Christian to take, for while there is a strong element of fatalism permeating Islám, it is no easy task to fasten that doctrine upon the Qurán without laying Christianity open to a counter-charge from the Muslim side.

(146) *How many of the prophets.* Muhammad again likens himself, even in his misfortune, to the former prophets ; many of them had reverses in fighting for the religion of God. Why should he then behave himself in an abject manner ? The plain inference from this passage is that in Muhammad's mind many of the prophets were warriors like himself, "fighting for the religion of God."

(147) And their speech was no other than what they said, Our LORD forgive us our offences, and our transgressions in our business; and confirm our feet, and help us against the unbelieving people. (148) And GOD gave them the reward of this world, and a glorious reward in the life to come; for GOD loveth the well-doers.

R $\frac{16}{7}$.

|| (149) O ye who believe, if you obey the infidels, they will cause you to turn back on your heels, and ye will be turned back and perish: (150) but GOD is your LORD; and he is the best helper. (151) We will surely cast a dread into the hearts of the unbelievers, because they have associated with GOD that concerning which he sent them down no power: their dwelling shall be the fire of *hell*: and the receptacle of the wicked shall be miserable. (152) GOD

(147) *Forgive us our offences.* This verse clearly disproves the popular doctrine that the prophets were *sinless*.

(148) *The reward of this world, i.e., victory over the infidels (Tafsir-i-Raufi).* The marked difference between the teaching of the Qurán and the Bible as to the condition of the people of the Lord in this world is worthy of note. The Qurán everywhere teaches that though they had trials similar to those endured by Muhammad and the Muslims of Makkah and Madína, yet *in the end* they were manifestly triumphant over the infidels in this world. The Christian need not be told that this is very far from the teaching of the Bible. Final triumph is certain, but it may be wrought out on the cross or amidst the faggots and instruments of persecution and death.

(149) "This passage was occasioned by the endeavours of the Quraish to seduce the Muhammadans to their old idolatry as they fled in the battle of Ohod."—Sale.

Turn back on your heels, i.e., to relapse into idolatry.

(151) *We will surely cast a dread, &c.* "To this Muhammad attributed the sudden retreat of Abu Sufián and his troops, without making any farther advantage of their success, only giving Muhammad a challenge to meet them next year at Badr, which he accepted. Others say that as they were on their march home, they repented that they had not utterly extirpated the Muhammadans, and began to think of going back to Madína for that purpose, but were prevented by a sudden consternation or panic fear, which fell on them from God."—Sale, *Baidháwi*.

Associated with God. This formula, oft-repeated, expresses the Muslim idea of idolatry. It correctly describes it as bestowing upon the creature the worship belonging solely to the Creator.

No power should be translated *no authority*.

(152) *When ye destroyed them, &c., i.e., in the beginning of the battle at Ohod.*

had already made good unto you his promise, when ye destroyed them by his permission; until ye became faint-hearted, and disputed concerning the command of the apostle, and were rebellious; after God had shown you what ye desired. (153) Some of you chose this present world, and others of you chose the world to come. Then he turned you to flight from before them, that he might make trial of you: (but he hath now pardoned you: for God is endued with beneficence towards the faithful;) (154) when ye went up as ye fled, and looked not back on any: while the apostle called you, in the uttermost

Were rebellious. "That is, till the bowmen, who were placed behind to prevent their being surrounded, seeing the enemy fly, quitted their post, contrary to Muhammad's express orders, and dispersed themselves to seize the plunder; whereupon Khálid Ibn al Walid perceiving their disorder, fell on their rear with the horse which he commanded, and turned the fortune of the day. It is related that though Abdullah Ibn Jubair, their captain, did all he could to make them keep their ranks, he had not ten that stayed with him out of the whole fifty."—Sale, *Baidhawi*.

What ye desired, i.e., victory and spoils. This is a very characteristic confession, pointing to the motive that really inspired the courage of the Muslims. And yet throughout this discourse the prophet offers the rewards of piety to all who fought in the way of God, and declares that those who lost their lives received the crown of martyrdom. The purpose to plunder and destroy their enemies is sanctified by executing it in "the way of the Lord," and in obedience to the command of the prophet. How far this permission to plunder comes short of confirming the former Scriptures may be seen by comparing therewith the regulations made by Moses, Joshua, and Samuel to check this disposition of all invaders (Num. xxxi., Josh. vi. and vii., and 1 Sam. xv.)

(153) *Some . . . and others, i.e., some sought the spoil in disobedience to the command of Muhammad, others stood firm at the post of duty.* See note on ver. 152.

The faithful = Muslims. Their conduct had been very *unfaithful*, but they were now pardoned—not because they had repented, for they were murmuring, and almost ready to apostatise, but because it was now *politic* to show clemency rather than severity. See ver. 160.

(154) *While the apostle called, "Crying aloud, Come hither to me, O servants of God! I am the apostle of God; he who returneth back shall enter paradise.* But notwithstanding all his endeavours to rally his men, he could not get above thirty of them about him."—Sale.

Rodwell's translation is much more graphic: *When ye came up the*

part of you. Therefore *God* rewarded you with affliction on affliction, that ye be not grieved *hereafter* for the *spoils* which ye fail of, nor for that which befalleth you, for *GOD* is well acquainted with whatever ye do. (155) Then he sent down upon you after affliction security; a soft sleep which fell on some part of you; but *other* part were troubled by their own souls; falsely thinking of *GOD*, a foolish imagination, saying, Will anything of the matter *happen* unto us? Say, Verily, the matter *belongeth* wholly unto *GOD*. They concealed in their minds what they declared not unto thee; saying, If anything of the matter had happened unto us, we had not been slain here. Answer, If ye had been in your houses, verily they would have gone forth to fight, whose slaughter was decreed, to the places where they died, and *this came to pass* that *GOD* might try what was in your breasts, and might discern what was in your hearts; for *GOD* knoweth the innermost parts of the breasts of men.

height, and took no heed of any one, while the prophet in your rear was calling to the fight.

Therefore God rewarded, &c., i.e., "God punished your avarice and disobedience by suffering you to be beaten by your enemies, and to be discouraged by the report of your prophet's death, that ye might be inured to patience under adverse fortune, and not repine at any loss or disappointment for the future."—Sale.

(155) *He sent down . . . security.* After the battle of Ohod the Muslims fell asleep. Some slept soundly and were refreshed, others were excited, indulging in wild imaginations, supposing themselves to be on the verge of destruction. So the commentators generally.

We had not been slain. The meaning is that they considered God to be against them because they had not secured any gain in the battle. They therefore said to themselves or one to another, "If God had assisted us according to his promise;" or, as others interpret the words, "If we had taken the advice of Abdullah Ibn Ubai Sulûl, and had kept within the town of Madiua, our companions had not lost their lives."—Sale, Jalâluddîn.

Answer, if ye had been in your houses. See note on ver. 145. The teaching of this verse is decidedly fatalistic, and, *taking it by itself*, the only conclusion one could logically draw would be that Muhammad was a fatalist. But there are many passages asserting the freedom of the will. We regard Muhammad as having been strongly inclined to fatalism, owing to the emphasis which he laid upon the doctrine of God's absolute sovereignty. But *being a man*, his own

|| (156) Verily they among you who turned their backs NISF. on the day whereon the two armies met each other *at Ohod*, Satan caused them to slip for some *crime* which they had committed: but now hath God forgiven them; for GOD is gracious and merciful.

|| (157) O true believers, be not as they who believed R $\frac{17}{8}$. not, and said of their brethren when they had journeyed in the land or had been at war, If they had been with us, those had not died, nor had these been slain: *whereas what befell them was so ordained* that GOD might take it *matter of* sighing in their hearts. GOD giveth life and causeth to die: and GOD seeth that which ye do. (158) Moreover if ye be slain, or die in defence of the religion

consciousness of freedom asserted itself, and so he was saved from that "belief in an absolute predestination, which turns men into mere puppets, and all human life into a grim game of chess, wherein men are the pieces, moved by the invisible hand of but a single player, and which is now so general in Muhammadan countries" (R. B. Smith's *Muhammad and Muhammadanism*, pp. 191, 192.) And yet, while believing Muhammad much less a fatalist than his disciples, whose wild fanaticism is described so eloquently by Gibbon, yet we can by no means go the length of saying with Mr. Smith, that "there is little doubt that Muhammad himself, if the alternative had been clearly presented to him, would have had more in common with Pelagius than with Augustine, with Arminius than with Calvin." Muhammad was not a "consistent fatalist"—*no man ever was*. Yet, notwithstanding his having "made prayer one of the four practical duties enjoined upon the faithful," and his constant use of language freely asserting the freedom of the will, there is such a multitude of passages in the Qurán which clearly make God the author of sin (chap. vii. 155, 179, 180; xv. 39-43; xvi. 95; xvii. 14-16, &c.), so many which assert the doctrine of absolute predestination, and all this so constantly confirmed by tradition, that the conclusion is irresistibly forced upon us that Muhammad is responsible for the fatalism of Islám.

(156) *Satan caused them to slip, i.e., by tempting them to disobedience. For some crime, &c.*—"For their covetousness in quitting their post to seize the plunder."

(157) *Who believed not, i.e., the hypocrites of Madína who declined to fight at Ohod. Had journeyed, with a view to merchandise, or been at war for the cause of religion (Tafsir-i-Raufi).* The sentiment of this and the two following verses is like that of vers. 139-143; the hour of death is fixed for every man in the eternal decree of God, and those who die fighting for Islám shall be pardoned and accepted of God, and be made partakers of the joys of paradise.

of GOD; verily pardon from GOD, and mercy, is better than what they heap together *of worldly riches*. (159) And if ye die or be slain, verily unto GOD shall ye be gathered. (160) And as to the mercy *granted unto the disobedient* from GOD, thou, *O Muhammad*, hast been mild towards them; but if thou hadst been severe and hard-hearted, they had surely separated themselves from about thee. Therefore forgive them, and ask pardon for them: and consult them in the affair *of war*; and after thou hast deliberated, trust in GOD; for GOD loveth those who trust *in him*. (161) If GOD help you, none shall conquer you; but if he desert you, who is it that will help you after him? Therefore in GOD let the faithful trust. (162) It is not *the part* of a prophet to defraud, for he who

(160) *If thou hadst been severe, &c.* The *policy* of Muhammad in dealing with his followers is here distinctly announced. They had certainly merited severe punishment. But there were powerful adversaries in Madīna who would have taken advantage of any attempt to enforce punishment of a severe nature. Besides, no slight shock to the new faith had been felt owing to the defeat, and it became a matter of the utmost importance to establish that faith. Hence the *mild* words, and the forgiveness so freely bestowed.

Let it be observed that all these mild words and expressions of forgiveness are set forth as coming from the mouth of God, and yet the same Divinity commends the mildness of the Prophet! Surely there is more of the politician than of the prophet here.

(162) *It is not the part of a prophet to defraud.* Sale says, on the authority of Baidhāwī and Jalāluddīn, that "this passage was revealed, as some say, on the division of the spoil at Badr, when some of the soldiers suspected Muhammad of having privately taken a scarlet carpet, made all of silk and very rich, which was missing. Others suppose the archers, who occasioned the loss of the battle of Ohod, left their station because they imagined Muhammad would not give them their share of the plunder; because, as it is related, he once sent out a party as an advanced guard, and in the meantime attacking the enemy, took some spoils which he divided among those who were with him in the action, and gave nothing to the party that was absent on duty."

The *Tafsīr-i-Rauḍī* says the passage was occasioned by certain of the companions desiring a larger share of the booty than their weaker brethren. God here signifies that all are to be treated alike, and that partiality in the division of booty would be dishonest. This passage is regarded as vindicating the prophet from every charge of dishonesty.

defraudeth shall bring with him what he hath defrauded *any one of*, on the day of the resurrection. Then shall every soul be paid what he hath gained; and they shall not be treated unjustly. (163) Shall he therefore who followeth that which is well-pleasing unto GOD be as he who bringeth on himself wrath from GOD, and whose receptacle is hell? an evil journey shall it be *thither*. (164) There shall be degrees of rewards and punishments with GOD, for GOD seeth what they do. (165) Now hath GOD been gracious unto the believers when he raised up among them an apostle of their own nation, who should recite his signs unto them, and purify them, and teach them the book of the *Qurán* and wisdom: whereas they were before in manifest error. (166) After a misfortune had befallen you at *Ohod* (ye had already obtained two equal advantages), do ye say, Whence

He who defraudeth shall bring, &c. "According to a tradition of Muhammad, whoever cheateth another will, on the day of judgment, carry his fraudulent purchase publicly on his neck."—Sale.

(164) *There shall be degrees, &c.* This explains the purport of ver. 163. God will reward his servants in accordance with their works. The brave companions (note, ver. 162) need not be troubled by an equal division of the booty. God will reward, for "God seeth what ye do." As indicated by Sale in his translation, this principle applies to *punishments* as well as to *rewards*.

(165) *An apostle of their own nation.* Sale, on the authority of Baidhāwī, says some manuscripts have *min anfasihim* instead of *min anfusihim*, whence it would read, *An apostle of the noblest among them*, meaning the Quraish, of which tribe Muhammad was descended. I have not been able to find any copy of the *Qurán* containing this reading. It is not likely that the spirit of Muhammad's inspiration would have made, *at this time*, any such invidious distinction between the tribes of Arabia, especially when as yet the Quraish were the mortal enemies of Muhammad. The expression is better understood as having reference to the Arabs in general.

Purify them, i.e., from idolatry and evil customs, such as infanticide, &c.

And wisdom. Baidhāwī understands this expression to refer to the *Sunnat*, or Book of Traditions.

(166) *Two equal advantages.* "In the battle of Badr, where he slew seventy of the enemy, equalling the number of those who lost their lives at Ohod, and also took as many prisoners."—Sale. See notes on vers. 13 and 152.

cometh this? Answer, This is from yourselves: for GOD is almighty. (167) And what happened unto you, on the day whereon the two armies met, was certainly by the permission of GOD; (168) and that he might know the ungodly. It was said unto them, Come, fight for the religion of GOD, or drive back *the enemy*: they answered, If we had known *ye went out* to fight, we had certainly followed you. They were on that day nearer unto unbelief than they were to faith; they spake with their mouths what was not in their hearts: but GOD perfectly knew what they concealed; (169) who said of their brethren, *while themselves* stayed at home, If they had obeyed us, they had not been slain. Say, Then keep back death from yourselves, if ye say truth. (170) Thou shalt in nowise reckon those who have been slain *at Ohod*, in the cause of GOD, dead; nay, they are sustained alive

God is almighty, i.e., he could not suffer defeat, wherefore your reverse has been a punishment for your disobedience.

(168) *That he might know the ungodly.* See note on ver. 142.

If we had known, &c. "That is, if we had conceived the least hope of success when ye marched out of Madína to encounter the infidels, and had not known that ye went rather to certain destruction than to battle, we had gone with you. But this Muhammad here tells them was only a feigned excuse; the true reason of their staying behind being their want of faith and firmness in their religion."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*.

Rodwell translates this phrase, *Had we known how to fight*. This agrees with the various translations in Persian and Urdú. The meaning is, that the *hypocrites* feigned not to have known the Muslims were going out *to fight*. To this Muhammad replies in the remainder of the verse by telling them plainly that they lied.

(169) This verse gives the reason for the charge against the hypocrites in the previous verse. They are judged out of their own mouths.

Keep back death. See notes on vers. 145 and 155.

(170) *Thou shalt in nowise reckon, &c.* See note on chap. ii. 155. The crown of martyrdom was easily won. Even those slain because of their disobedience and covetousness (vers. 3, 122, 152, and 153, &c.) are now to be regarded as "alive with their God," and "rejoicing for what God of his favour hath granted them" (next verse). There is here a striking contrast between the teaching of the Qurán and the Word of God. It is the contrast between a counterfeit and the genuine article.

with their LORD, (171) rejoicing for what GOD of his favour hath granted them; and being glad for those who, coming after them, have not as yet overtaken them; because there shall no fear come on them, neither shall they be grieved. (172) They are filled with joy for the favour *which they have received* from GOD and *his* bounty; and for that GOD suffereth not the reward of the faithful to perish.

|| (173) They who hearkened unto GOD and *his* apostle, R ^{18.}₉. after a wound had befallen them *at Ohod*, such of them as do good works, and fear *God*, shall have a great reward; (174) unto whom *certain* men said, Verily the men of *Makkah* have already gathered *forces* against you, be ye therefore afraid of them: but *this* increased their faith, and they

(171) *Those who, coming after them, i.e., who are yet destined to suffer martyrdom.*

(173) *They who hearkened.* "The commentators differ a little as to the occasion of this passage. When news was brought to Muhammad, after the battle of Ohod, that the enemy, repenting of their retreat, were returning towards Madína, he called about him those who had stood by him in the battle, and marched out to meet the enemy as far as Humará al Asad, about eight miles from that town, notwithstanding that several of his men were so ill of their wounds that they were forced to be carried; but a panic fear having seized the army of the Quraish, they changed their resolution, and continued their march home; of which Muhammad having received intelligence, he also went back to Madína: and according to some commentators the Qurán here approves the faith and courage of those who attended the prophet on this occasion. Others say the persons intended in this passage were those who went with Muhammad the next year to meet Abu Sufián and the Quraish, according to their challenge, at Badr, where they waited some time for the enemy, and then returned home; for the Quraish, though they set out from Makkah, yet never came so far as the place of appointment, their hearts failing them on their march; which Muhammad attributed to their being struck with a terror from God. This expedition the Arabian histories call the *second* or *lesser expedition of Badr*."—Sale, *Baidháwi*.

Muir, in his *Life of Mahomet*, vol. iii. p. 222, refers this passage to Muhammad's advance against Abu Sufián as far as Badr. The first story of the commentators given by Sale seems to be borne out by the statement, "They who hearkened unto God and his apostle after a wound had befallen them." The following verse applies better to the second story. It is possible that two distinct revelations have been here blended together by the compilers of the Qurán.

(174) *Be ye afraid of them.* "The persons who thus endeavoured

said, GOD is our support, and the most excellent patron. (175) Wherefore they returned with favour from GOD, and advantage: no evil befell them: and they followed what was well-pleasing unto GOD: for GOD is endowed with great liberality. (176) Verily that devil would cause you to fear his friends: but be ye not afraid of them: but fear me, if ye be true believers. (177) They shall not grieve thee who emulously hasten unto infidelity; for they shall never hurt GOD at all. GOD will not give them a part in the next life, and they shall suffer a great punishment. (178) Surely those who purchase infidelity with faith shall by no means hurt GOD at all, but they shall suffer a grievous punishment. (179) And let not the unbelievers think, because we grant them lives long and prosperous, that it is better for their souls: we grant them

to discourage the Muhammadans were, according to one tradition, some of the tribe of Abd Qais, who going to Madina, were bribed by Abu Sufián with a camel's load of dried raisins; and according to another tradition, it was Nuaim Ibn Masúd al Ashjai, who was also bribed with a she-camel ten months gone with young (a valuable present in Arabia). This Nuaim, they say, finding Muhammad and his men preparing for the expedition, told them that Abu Sufián, to spare them the pains of coming so far as Badr, would seek them in their own houses, and that none of them could possibly escape otherwise than by timely flight. Upon which Muhammad, seeing his followers a little dispirited, swore that he would go himself, though not one of them went with him. And accordingly he set out with seventy horsemen, every one of them crying out *Hashna Alláh, i.e., God is our support.*"—Sale, *Baidháwi*.

Muir says Muhammad went forth with a force of 1500 men (*Life of Mahomet*, vol. iii. p. 221).

(175) *And advantage.* They had taken with them merchandise, and had held a fair at Badr for several days, disposing of their goods to great advantage. So *Baidháwi*, see *Sale*. From this fact Muir conjectures that Muhammad had knowledge of the change of purpose among the Quraish before he set out so boldly for Badr. See *Life of Mahomet*, vol. iii. p. 221, note.

(176) *That devil.* This probably refers to Abu Sufián. Some refer it to Nuaim, an emissary of the Quraish sent to Madina to excite fear among the Muslims. See note above on 174.

(177) *Who . . . hasten unto infidelity, i.e.,* the hypocrites of Madina, who professing themselves Muslims, talked like infidels (*Abdul Qádir*).

(179) See note on chap. ii. 211.

long and prosperous lives only that their iniquity may be increased; and they shall suffer an ignominious punishment. (180) God is not *disposed* to leave the faithful in the condition which ye are now in, until he sever the wicked from the good; nor is GOD *disposed* to make you acquainted with what is a hidden secret, but GOD chooseth such of his apostles as he pleaseth, *to reveal his mind unto*: believe therefore in GOD and his apostles; and if ye believe and fear God, ye shall receive a great reward. (181) And let not those who are covetous of what GOD of his bounty hath granted them imagine that *their avarice* is better for them: nay, rather it is worse for them. That which they have covetously reserved shall be bound as a collar about their neck on the day of the resurrection: unto GOD *belongeth* the inheritance of heaven and earth: and GOD is well acquainted with what ye do.

(180) *God is not disposed, &c., i.e.,* he will not suffer the good and sincere among you to continue indiscriminately mixed with the wicked and hypocritical.

A hidden secret. The author of the notes on the Roman Urdú Qurán thinks that Muhammad here disclaims all knowledge of the "hidden" things revealed to the *chosen apostles* of God. But the *Tafsir-i-Rawfi* says the very reverse is the meaning of this passage. Muhammad here numbers himself among the *chosen apostles*, to whom God is pleased to make known the "hidden secrets" of his purpose. God does not, however, reveal secret things to hypocrites.

Believe . . . in God and his apostles. The use of the plural here shows that the revelations of God's *hidden* purposes made to apostles other than Muhammad were to be accepted by the Muslims. *There were then genuine and credible scriptures*, containing these revelations, in the hands of the contemporaries of Muhammad.

(181) *Those who are covetous.* The following tradition is given on the authority of *Abu Hurairah*:—"To whosoever God gives wealth, and he does not perform the charity due from it, his wealth will be made into the shape of a serpent on the day of resurrection, which shall not have any hair upon its head; and this is a sign of its poison and long life, and it has two black spots upon its eyes, and it will be twisted round his neck like a chain on the day of resurrection; then the serpent will seize the man's jawbone, and will say, 'I am thy wealth, the charity for which thou didst not give; and I am thy treasure, from which thou didst not separate any alms.'"—*Mishqât-al-Masâbih*, book vi, chap. i. pt. 1.

R $\frac{19}{10}$

|| (182) GOD hath already heard the saying of those who said, Verily GOD is poor, and we are rich: we will surely write down what they have said, and the slaughter which they have made of the prophets without a cause; and we will say *unto them*, Taste ye the pain of burning. (183) This *shall they suffer* for the *evil* which their hands have sent before them, and because GOD is not unjust towards mankind; (184) who *also* say, Surely GOD hath commanded us, that we should not give credit to *any* apostle, until *one* should come unto us with a sacrifice, which should be consumed by fire. Say, Apostles have already come unto you

(182) *Verily God is poor.* "It is related that Muhammad, writing to the Jews of the tribe of Qainuqáa to invite them to Islám, and exhorting them, among other things, in the words of the Qurán, (chap. ii. 245), *to lend unto God on good usury*, Phineas Ibn Azúra, on hearing that expression, said, 'Surely God is poor, since they ask to borrow for him.' Whereupon Abu Baqr, who was the bearer of that letter, struck him on the face, and told him that if it had not been for the truce between them, he would have struck off his head; and on Phineas's complaining to Muhammad of Abu Baqr's ill usage, this passage was revealed."—*Sale, Baidháwi.*

The slaughter . . . of the prophets. See note on ver. 112.

(184) *A sacrifice . . . consumed by fire.* "The Jews, say the commentators, insisted that it was a peculiar proof of the mission of all the prophets sent to them that they could, by their prayers, bring down fire from heaven to consume the sacrifice, and therefore they expected Muhammad should do the like. And some Muhammadan doctors agree that God appointed this miracle as the test of all their prophets, except only Jesus and Muhammad (*Jaláluddín*): though others say any other miracle was a proof full as sufficient as the bringing down fire from heaven (*Baidháwi*).

"The Arabian Jews seem to have drawn a general consequence from some particular instances of this miracle in the Old Testament (Lev. ix. 24, &c.), and the Jews at this day say that first the fire which fell from heaven on the altar of the tabernacle (Lev. ix. 24), after the consecration of Aaron and his sons, and afterwards that which descended on the altar of Solomon's Temple at the dedication of that structure (2 Chron. vii. 1), was fed and constantly maintained there by the priests, both day and night, without being suffered once to go out, till it was extinguished, as some think, in the reign of Manasses (*Talmud Zebachim*, chap. vi.), but, according to the more received opinion, when the Temple was destroyed by the Chaldeans. Several Christians have given credit to this assertion of the Jews, with what reason I shall not here inquire: and the Jews, in consequence of this notion, might probably expect that a prophet who came to restore God's true religion should rekindle for them this

before me, with plain proofs, and with the *miracle* which ye mention : why therefore have ye slain them, if ye speak truth? (185) If they accuse thee of imposture, the apostles before thee have also been accounted impostors, who brought evident demonstrations, and the scriptures, and the book which enlighteneth *the understanding*. (186) Every soul shall taste of death, and ye shall have your reward on the

heavenly fire, which they have not been favoured with since the Babylonish captivity.”—*Sale*.

There are a number of passages showing how Muhammad was challenged to work miracles in attestation of his prophetic claim, e.g., chap. ii. 118, 119, vi. 34-36 and 109-111, x. 21, xvii. 92-95, xx. 134, &c. In every one of these passages the reply of Muhammad clearly indicates that he did not claim the power to work miracles. This matter is very clearly set forth in Prideaux's *Life of Mahomet*, 8th edition, p. 25, to which the reader is referred. I would also refer the reader to R. Bosworth Smith's *Muhammad and Muhammadanism*, 2d edition, pp. 185-191.

Why therefore have ye slain them, i.e., the former prophets wrought miracles and ye slew them; wherefore should I gratify your desire and cause fire to come down from heaven; would ye believe? Sale says, “Among these the commentators reckon Zacharias and John the Baptist!”

(185) *If they accuse thee of imposture.* This passage, following closely upon the apology of Muhammad for not giving the usual signs of apostleship demanded by the Jews and others, seems to give the ground of this accusation; i.e., Muhammad's imposture was evident, *because* he refused to perform miracles which would prove that he had been sent from God. Muhammad's reply to this charge is not in accordance with facts—“The apostles before thee have been accounted impostors.” It is not true that *all* apostles were regarded as impostors. Certainly, such as were so accused were enabled to work such miracles as proved even to their enemies that “there was a prophet of God in Israel,” 1 Kings xviii. 36, &c. Such “evident demonstrations” were expected of Muhammad, but never given. Even his own followers have been driven to invent a multitude of stories detailing the miracles wrought by their prophet. These have been recorded in their traditions. The following are samples of the miracles thus invented:—“A camel weeps, and is calmed at the touch of Muhammad; the hair grows upon a boy's head when the prophet lays his hand upon it; a horse is cured from stumbling; the eye of a soldier is healed and made better than the other; he marked his sheep on the ear, and the species retain the mark to this day, &c.”—*Arnold's Islām and Christianity*, p. 352. See *Mishqāt-ul-Masābih*, Urdū edition, vol. iv. pp. 571-623.

(186) *Every soul shall taste of death.* Some Muslims understand this as applying to *all created things*. At the first sound of the last

day of resurrection; and he who shall be far removed from *hell* fire, and shall be admitted into paradise, shall be happy; but the present life is only a deceitful provision. (187) Ye shall surely be proved in your possessions, and *in* your persons; and ye shall bear from those unto whom the scripture was delivered before you, and from the idolaters, much hurt; but if ye be patient and fear *God*, this is a matter that is absolutely determined. (188) And when *GOD* accepted the covenant of those to whom the book of *the law* was given, *saying*, Ye shall surely publish it unto mankind, ye shall not hide it: yet they threw it behind their backs, and sold it for a small price: but woful *is the price* for which they have sold *it*. (189) Think not that they who rejoice at what they have done, and expect to

trump all angels will die, including *Isráfil*, who will blow the trumpet. *God* will then raise *Isráfil*, who will again sound the trump, and all the dead will rise to judgment.

Shall be admitted into paradise, i.e., at the resurrection. For the state of the dead between death and the resurrection, see Prelim. Disc., pp. 127-138.

(187) *Proved in your possessions, &c.* The *Tafsir-i-Raufi* refers this passage to the loss of property at the flight from Makkah, and the loss of life in the wars for the faith. It seems to me, however, the passage better applies to the temporary ascendancy of the Jews and hypocrites of *Madína* after the battle of *Ohod*.

(188) *Ye shall surely publish it, i.e., the prophecies concerning Muhammad contained in the Pentateuch.* The claim set up here is virtually this, that the great burden of prophecy was the advent of Muhammad, just as Christians regard the spirit of prophecy to be the testimony of *God* to Jesus as the Christ. It would appear from this passage that Muhammad, consciously or unconsciously,—being deceived by designing converts from Judaism,—had conceived that the prophecies of the Old Testament concerning the *Coming One* related to him. Accordingly, those Jewish Rabbies who denied the existence of any prophecies relating to him are here stigmatised as having sold themselves to the work of perverting their Scriptures so as to oppose him.

Let it again be observed that the charge of corruption is not laid upon the volume of Scriptures extant in the days of Muhammad, but against the living *interpreters* of those Scriptures.

Woful is the price. "Whoever concealeth the knowledge which *God* has given him," says Muhammad, "God shall put on him a bridle of fire on the day of resurrection."—*Salé*.

(189) *They who rejoice, &c., i.e., who think they have done a com-*

be praised for what they have not done; think not, *O prophet*, that they shall escape from punishment, for they shall suffer a painful punishment.

|| (190) And unto GOD *belongeth* the kingdom of heaven R 11.
and earth: GOD is almighty. (191) Now in the creation of heaven and earth, and the vicissitude of night and day, are signs unto those who are endued with understanding; (192) who remember GOD standing, and sitting, and *lying* on their sides; and meditate on the creation of heaven and earth, *saying*, O LORD, thou hast not created this in vain; far be it from thee: therefore deliver us from the torment of *hell* fire: (193) O LORD, surely whom thou shalt throw into the fire, thou wilt also cover with shame: nor shall the ungodly have any to help them. (194) O LORD, we have heard a preacher inviting *us* to the faith *and saying*, Believe in your LORD: and we believed. O LORD, forgive us therefore our sins, and expiate our evil

mendable deed in concealing and perverting the testimonies in the Pentateuch concerning Muhammad, and in disobeying God's commands to the contrary. "It is said that Muhammad once asking some Jews concerning a passage in their law, they gave him an answer very different from the truth, and were mightily pleased that they had, as they thought, deceived him. Others, however, think this passage relates to some pretended Muhammadans who rejoiced in their hypocrisy and expected to be commended for their wickedness."—*Sale, Baidhāwī*.

(191) This verse belongs to the Makkan revelations. Comp. chap. ii. 165.

(192) *Who remember God standing, &c.*, viz., "at all times and in all postures. Al Baidhāwī mentions a saying of Muhammad to one Imrān Ibn Husain, to this purpose: 'Pray standing, if thou art able; if not, sitting; and if thou canst not sit up, then as thou liest along.' Al Shāfā'ī directs that the sick should pray lying on their right side."—*Sale*.

This passage describes the character of those mentioned in the previous verse.

(194) *A preacher*. This is the name which Muhammad constantly assumed at Makkah. See chap. vii. 2, chap. xiii. 29, 40, chap. xvi. 84, &c. Nought but the political power acquired at Madīna changed the preacher into a soldier.

And expiate. The word used here is *kaffara*, which is the cognate of the Hebrew כָּפַר, *to cover*, *to expiate*. While, however, the *language* suggests atonement by sacrifice (and the idea was not

deeds from us, and make us to die with the righteous. (195) O LORD, give us also *the reward* which thou hast promised by thy apostles; and cover us not with shame

foreign to Muhammad's mind, for he offered sacrifices himself, yet in his teaching he everywhere as studiously denied the doctrine of salvation by atonement as he did the doctrine of the divinity of Christ. And yet he had the daring to appeal to the Jewish and Christian Scriptures as bearing witness to his prophetic pretensions, and to claim for his Qurán the excellency that it attested the doctrines of all the prophets.

It cannot be claimed for Muhammad that he was ignorant of Jewish belief and practice in respect to atoning sacrifices, for during his first year's residence at Madína "Mahomet kept the great day of atonement, with its sacrifices of victims, in conformity with the practice of the Jews; and had he continued on a friendly footing with them, he would probably have maintained this rite."—*Muir's Life of Mahomet*, vol. iii. p. 51. According to this author, Muhammad abandoned this Jewish rite in the second year of the Hijra, owing to his failure to win the Jews over to his cause. He then offered sacrifices himself. The following is the story of this transaction:—"After a service resembling that on the breaking of the fast, two fattened sucking kids with budding horns were placed before the prophet. Seizing a knife, he sacrificed one with his own hand, saying, 'O Lord! I sacrifice this for my whole people; all those that bear testimony to thy unity and to my mission.' Then he called for the other, and slaying it likewise, said, 'O Lord! this is for Mahomet, and for the family of Mahomet.' Of the latter kid both he and his family partook, and what was over he gave to the poor. The double sacrifice seems in its main features to have been founded on the practice of the Jewish priest at the Feast of the Atonement, when he sacrificed 'first for his own sins, and then for the people's' (Heb. vii. 27). This ceremony was repeated by Mahomet every year of his residence at Medina, and it was kept up there after his decease."—*Life of Mahomet*, vol. iii. pp. 52, 53.

In answer to the question why Muhammad should have ignored the doctrine of salvation by atonement, there is available no definite reply. It was, however, probably due to a variety of reasons. First, such a doctrine would contradict Muhammad's idea of a sovereign God. Such being the case, his conformity to Jewish and Arab practice was simply a matter of policy. Or again, we may well believe that the opposition by the Jews estranged him from everything distinctively Jewish. To accept the doctrine of the divinity of Christ would not only have seemed to militate against his idea of God's unity, but also would logically have led to a rejection of his prophetic claim. In like manner, the adoption of the doctrine of atoning sacrifices as necessary to salvation would not only have contradicted Muhammad's notion of God's sovereignty, but would logically have led to his adopting Judaism or Christianity as his

on the day of resurrection : for thou art not contrary to the promise.

|| (196) Their LORD therefore answered them, *saying*, I ^{SULS.} will not suffer the work of him among you who worketh to be lost, whether he be male or female : the one of you is from the other. They therefore who have left their country, and have been turned out of their houses, and have suffered for my sake, and have been slain in battle ; verily I will expiate their evil deeds from them, and I will surely bring them into gardens watered by rivers ; a reward from God ; and with God is the most excellent

religion, either of which conclusions would have rendered him unpopular with the Arabs, who, since the break with the Jews, had been constituted his chosen people. Either of these reasons would satisfactorily account for the fact that the doctrine of atonement as necessary to salvation is wanting in the teaching of Muhammad. When, however, he represents his own doctrine as that of all former prophets, and when, in all his allusions to the teaching of these prophets, he uniformly ignores the doctrine of salvation by atonement, we cannot but believe he did so deliberately. This is the rock upon which the cause of Islām falls, only to be dashed in pieces. The signal failure of the Qurān to attest this central doctrine of both the Old and New Testament Scriptures proves the Qurān, on its own testimony, to be a forgery, and Muhammad to be an impostor.

(196) *Male or female.* "These words were added, as some relate, on Omm Salma, one of the prophet's wives, telling him that she had observed God often made mention of the *men* who fled their country for the sake of their faith, but took no notice of the *women*." —Sale, *Baidhāwī*.

The one of you, &c., i.e., the one is born of the other. Rodwell translates "the one of you is the issue of the other." The teaching of the passage is that all, whether male or female, will be rewarded according to their works. Women are not by any means excluded from the blessings of Islām, and they have formed by no means the least devoted followers of Muhammad.

Verily I will expiate, &c. The word used here for *expiate* is the same as that used in ver. 194 (see note there). The idea attached to it here is that of *removal*.

Gardens watered by rivers. The imagery of paradise is coloured by Arab ideas of beauty and pleasure. Heaven is likened to a beautiful oasis carpeted in green, with its sparkling fountains, limpid streams, shady trees, and delicious fruits. On the question as to whether these earthly surroundings are to be understood in a literal or figurative sense, see note on ver. 15.

reward. (197) Let not the prosperous dealing of the unbelievers in the land deceive thee; *it is but* a slender provision; *and* then their receptacle shall be hell; an unhappy couch *shall it be*. (198) But they who fear the LORD shall have gardens through which rivers flow; they shall continue therein for ever: this is the gift of GOD; for what is with GOD shall be better for the righteous *than short-lived worldly prosperity*. (199) There are some of those who have received the scriptures who believe in GOD, and that which hath been sent down unto you, and that which hath been sent down to them, submitting themselves unto GOD; they sell not the signs of GOD for a small price: these shall have their reward with their

(197) *An unhappy couch*. This expression, used so frequently in the Qurán to describe the torment of hell, is probably used in contrast with the carnal and sensual delights of the Muslim heaven. There "they shall repose themselves on most delicate beds, adorned with gold and precious stones, under the shadow of the trees of paradise, which shall continually yield them all manner of delicious fruits; and there they shall enjoy most beautiful women, pure and clean, having black eyes, &c." But here, the couch shall be in the midst of fire, and be surrounded by smoke as with a coverlid, with nothing to eat "but the fruit of the tree Zaqún, which should be in their bellies like burning pitch," and nothing to drink "but boiling and stinking water," nor should they breathe ought but "exceeding hot winds," &c. (*Prideaux, Life of Mahomet*, p. 22).

(198) See notes on ver. 196.

For what is with God, &c. This passage, vers. 196-198, is said to have been revealed to comfort the Muslims, who, being in poverty and want, were surrounded by prosperous enemies.

(199) *Some . . . who believe*. "The persons here meant some will have to be Abdullah Ibn Salám and his companions; others suppose they were forty Arabs of Najrán, or thirty-two Ethiopians, or else eight Greeks, who were converted from Christianity to Muhammadanism; and others say this passage was revealed in the ninth year of the Hijra, when Muhammad, on Gabriel's bringing him the news of the death of Ashámah, king of Ethiopia, who had embraced the Muhammadan religion some years before, prayed for the soul of the departed, at which some of his hypocritical followers were displeased, and wondered that he should pray for a Christian proselyte whom he had never seen."—*Sale, Jaláluddín, Baidháwi*.

See also verse 113, and note there.

LORD; for GOD is swift in taking an account. (200) O true believers, be patient and strive to excel in patience, and be constant-minded, and fear GOD, that ye may be happy. .

God is swift, &c. See chap. ii. 201.

(200) *Be patient, i.e.,* in fighting for religion. This is the conclusion of the exhortation to the disheartened followers of Muhammad, beginning with ver. 121.

CHAPTER IV.

ENTITLED SURAT UN NISA (WOMEN).

Revealed at Madína.

INTRODUCTION.

THIS chapter contains *revelations* suited to the circumstances of the Muslim community at Madína and the interests of the new religion after the defeat of Ohod. Questions relating to inheritance, the treatment of widows and orphans, forbidden degrees, &c., naturally arose. These questions find an answer here. Besides these, there are numerous passages containing exhortations to fight for the faith of Islám, together with denunciations against the Jews and the disaffected tribes of Madína and its vicinity. The various expeditions sent against these during the year following the battle at Ohod called for certain regulations, which are the subject of a portion of this chapter. And, finally, the Christians are referred to in the latter part of the chapter, where they are reproved, partly under cover of the Jews, for their faith in the crucifixion and death of Jesus, and their belief in the doctrine of the Trinity and the Sonship of Christ.

Probable Date of the Revelations.

Nearly all the stories told by the commentators to illustrate this chapter point to a period following the battle of Ohod, the expulsion of the Bani Nadhír, and the expedition against the tribes of the Bani Ghatafán at Dzát al Riqá. It follows, therefore, that the revelations of this chapter belong in general to a period extending from the beginning of A.H. 4 to the middle or latter part of A.H. 5. The following passages *may*, however, belong to a different period, viz., ver. 42, which probably belongs to A.H. 3, and vers. 104-114 and 134, which may belong to a date later than A.H. 5, but earlier than the subjugation of Makkah (see note on ver. 186).

Vers. 115-125 and 130-132 probably belong to the number of

the early Madīna revelations. Nöldeke inclines to place them among the later Makkan revelations, because the Jews are referred to in a friendly spirit. But this circumstance would rather point to Madīna, where, during the first year of the Hijra, Muhammad courted the favour of the Jews. Still, the form of address, "O men" (ver. 132), points to Makkah. The question may therefore still be regarded as open, though we think the evidence, thus far, to be in favour of the early part of A.H. I.

Principal Subjects.

	VERSES
Man and his Creator	I
Orphans, the duty of guardians to such	2-5
The law of inheritance	6-13
The punishment of adulteresses	14, 15
Repentance enjoined	16, 17
Women's rights	18, 19
Forbidden and lawful degrees in marriage	20-27
Gaming, rapine, and suicide forbidden	28-30
Man's superiority over woman recognised	31-33
Reconcilement of man and wife	34
Parents, orphans, the poor, &c., to be kindly treated	35, 36
Hypocrisy in almsgiving condemned	37-41
Prayer forbidden to the drunken and polluted	42
Jewish mockers denounced	43-45
Idolatry the unpardonable sin	46-53
The rewards of faith and unbelief	54, 55
Trusts to be faithfully paid back	56
Disputes to be settled by God and his Apostle	57-68
Precautions, &c., in warring for the faith	69-74
The disobedient and cowardly reprov'd	75-84
Salutations to be returned	85
Treatment of hypocrites and apostates	86-90
Believers not to be slain or plundered	91-93
Believers in heathen countries to fly to Muslim lands	94-99
Special order for prayer in time of war	100-102
Exhortation to zeal for Islām	103
Fraud denounced	104-114, 133
Idolatry and Islām compared	115-125
Equity in dealing with women and orphans enjoined	126
Wives to be subject to the will of husbands	127-129
God to be feared	130-132
Muslims exhorted to steadfastness	134-138
Hypocrites to be shunned	139-143

	VERSES
The reward of hypocrisy and belief compared . . .	144-151
Presumptuous and disobedient Jews destroyed. . .	152-154
The Jews calumniate Mary and Jesus . . .	155-158
— Certain kinds of food forbidden to Jews as punishment .	159, 160
Muhammad's inspiration like that of other prophets .	161-168
Christians reproved for their faith in Jesus as the Son of	
God and in the doctrine of the Trinity . . .	169-174
— The law of inheritance for distant relatives . . .	175

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

R $\frac{1}{12}$.

|| (1) O MEN, fear your LORD, who hath created you out of one man, and out of him created his wife, and from them two hath multiplied many men and women: and fear GOD by whom ye beseech one another; and *respect* women *who have borne you*, for GOD is watching over you. (2) And give the orphans *when they come to age* their substance; and render *them* not in exchange bad for good: and devour not their substance, *by adding it* to your own substance; for this is a great sin. (3) And if ye fear that ye shall not act with equity towards orphans

(1) *O men, &c.* This chapter is entitled WOMEN because it contains, for the most part, laws and precepts relating to them. The *men* are specially addressed, but the instruction is intended for both men and women. They are addressed in the original, "*O ye people.*"

From them two, &c. The unity of the human race is here distinctly declared. All men are of "one blood."

And respect women. The word translated *women* (in the Arabic, *wombs*) is the object of the verb *fear*. Palmer translates, "*Fear God, in whose name ye beg of one another, and the wombs.*" Sale, however, expresses the meaning by inserting the word *respect*.

(2) *Give the orphans, &c.* These orphans were the children of those who lost their lives in the wars for the cause of Islām. Not only the children but their property was intrusted to those who agreed to become guardians. These orphans were defrauded in various ways. Sometimes their property was appropriated by the guardians; others "exchanged bad for good," *e.g.*, by turning the good goats or camels of the orphan ward along with their own herds, and then selecting the bad ones as the orphan's share. This law was instituted by Muhammad to prevent this kind of abuse.

(3) *If ye fear that ye cannot act equitably, &c.* "The commentators understand this passage differently. The true meaning seems

of the female sex, take in marriage of such other women as please you, two, or three, or four, and not more. But

to be as it is here translated; Muhammad advising his followers that if they found they should wrong the female orphans under their care, either by marrying them against their inclinations, for the sake of their riches or beauty, or by not using or maintaining them so well as they ought, by reason of their having already several wives, they should rather choose to marry other women, to avoid all occasion of sin. Others say that when this passage was revealed, many of the Arabians, fearing trouble and temptation, refused to take upon them the charge of orphans, and yet multiplied wives to a great excess, and used them ill; or, as others write, gave themselves up to fornication; which occasioned the passage. And according to these, its meaning must be either that if they feared they could not act justly towards orphans, they had as great reason to apprehend they could not deal equitably with so many wives, and therefore are commanded to marry but a certain number; or else, that since fornication was a crime as well as wronging of orphans, they ought to avoid that also, by marrying according to their abilities."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*.

The connection of this verse with the preceding is undoubted, and that connection is close. How the explanation of the commentators would remove the fear of acting unjustly with orphans of the female sex, I cannot see. Surely marrying two, or three, or four other women would hardly produce a moral change in a man who feared he could not act justly in the matter of a sacred trust. I therefore venture to suggest that Muhammad here advises his followers to marry their orphan wards, and so, by fixing upon them a lawful dowry and exalting them to the position of lawful wives, avoid the evil of committing a breach of trust or an act of immorality. This view seems to me to be required by the preceding context. The word *other*, inserted by Sale and others before *women*, is not required. The Muslim may marry of women such as are pleasing to him, two, three, or four, whether his orphan wards or not.

Two, or three, or four. Literally, *two and two, three and three, and four and four.* The meaning is, that each might have two, or three, or four lawful wives. See Prelim. Disc., p. 206. Muhammad did not bind himself by this law. See chap. xxxiii. 49.

The statement of Mīr Aulād Ali, professor of Oriental languages at Trinity College, Dublin, "that Muhammad had not enjoined polygamy," but only permitted it, quoted by Mr. R. Bosworth Smith (*Mohammed and Mohammedanism*, p. 144, note), is hardly borne out by this passage. Nor is such a statement borne out by the example of the Prophet. Nor is Mr. Smith's plea, that this permission may be placed in the same category as *slavery not forbidden in the Bible*, at all justified by the facts. Slavery is contrary to the whole spirit of the Bible, while polygamy is in accord with the whole spirit of the Qurán. Even the heaven of Islām is to witness the perpetuation of almost unlimited polygamy (see chaps. lv. and lvi.) The attempt to apologise for the polygamy of Islām, when made by

if ye fear that ye cannot act equitably towards so many, marry one only, or the slaves which ye shall have acquired.

Europeans, indicates either prejudice or a want of information on the part of the writer; when made by a few "enlightened Orientals," it indicates their desire to cover up what they, by an English education and by mingling in Christian society, have learned to be thoroughly ashamed of.

One only, or the slaves. Were the requirements of this rule strictly observed, there would be no polygamy in practice, for the simple reason that the impartial treatment of two or more wives is with man an impossibility. Muhammad did not fulfil this his own precept, as his marked preference, now for the Coptic Mary and again for the sprightly Ayesha, clearly shows.

But whilst polygamy would be impracticable, the floodgates of vice would be, and now are, opened wide by the permission to add to the one wife any number of slave girls. Those who quote this passage to show that Muhammad restricted polygamy and that monogamy is entirely in accord with Muhammadanism, fail to quote the words, "or the slaves which ye shall have acquired." The whole force of the restriction is evaporated by these words. There is absolutely no restriction in this direction. The number of concubines may be as great as any Osmánli could desire, and yet it receives the sanction of the Qurán.

Instead, therefore, of any "strong moral sentiment" being aroused by these laws, by which Muhammad "has succeeded, down to this very day, and to a greater extent than has ever been the case elsewhere, in freeing Muhammadan countries from those professional outcasts who live by their own misery,"* the very reverse is true. No countries under heaven present such a cesspool of seething corruption and sensuality as those ruled over by the Muslims. To be sure, the form under which it appears is different, but the fact, no man acquainted with the state of things in Muslim harems, can honestly deny. The distrust which Muslims show towards their own wives and daughters testifies to the low state of morality among them. "It is the Moslim theory that women can never, in any time, place, or circumstances, be trusted; they must be watched, veiled, suspected, secluded." "In these days, when so much has been written about the high ethical tone of Islám, we shall speak plainly on this subject, unpleasant though it is. We would reiterate the position already taken, that polygamy has not diminished licentiousness among the Mohammedans. The sin of Sodom is so common among them as to make them in many places objects of dread to their neighbours. The burning denunciations of the Apostle Paul in the first chapter of Romans, vers. 24 and 27, are applicable to tens of thousands in Mohammedan lands to-day." "In the city of Hamath, in Northern Syria, the Christian population, even to this day, are afraid to allow their boys from ten to fourteen years of age to appear

* R. B. Smith's *Mohammed and Mohammedanism*, p. 242.

This will be easier, that ye swerve not *from righteousness*. And give women their dowry freely; but if they voluntarily remit unto you any part of it, enjoy it with satisfaction and advantage. (4) And give not unto those who are weak of understanding the substance which GOD hath appointed you to preserve *for them*; but maintain them thereout, and clothe them, and speak kindly unto them. (5) And examine the orphans until they attain *the age of*

in the streets after sunset, lest they be carried off by the Moslems as victims of the horrible practice of Sodomy. Mohammadan pashas surround themselves with fair-faced boys, nominally scribes and pages, when in reality their object is of entirely another character." This, and much more, is told by Dr. Henry H. Jessup in his book entitled *The Mohammedan Missionary Problem*, pp. 46-48.

In India the case may not be as bad as it is in Turkey, but I think we can fairly agree with the Rev. J. Vaughan, who says:—"However the phenomenon may be accounted for, we, after mixing with Hindoos and Mussulmans for nineteen years back, have no hesitation in saying that the latter are, as a whole, some degrees lower in the social and moral scale than the former." Nor have we any hesitation in saying that the law here recorded, permitting as many as four lawful wives and any number of slave women besides, *with whom even the form of a marriage is in no way necessary to legalise cohabitation*, is responsible in large measure for this state of things. It is one of the darkest of the many spots which mar the pages of the Qurán.

Or the slaves. It is not even necessary that a Muslim have even one lawful wife. Should he feel it difficult to be impartial toward many wives, he may take his slave girls, whom he may treat as he please, and so avoid the responsibility of providing a dowry for even one wife!

Give women their dowry. The lawful and required amount of dowry is ten dirhams, but it may be fixed at any amount to which the contracting parties agree. See chap. ii. 229, note.

If they voluntarily remit, &c. A woman may legally insist upon the payment of the "lawful dowry," or that agreed upon by contract, in case she be divorced, unless she voluntarily remits it in part or altogether. In every case of dispute such remission must be proved by competent witnesses or by legal documents.

(4) *Those of weak understanding, i.e.,* idiots or persons of weak intellects, whose property is to be administered so as to provide for their necessities. Their treatment must also be kindly. Here is the Muslim lunatic asylum.

(5) *Examine the orphans.* If males, see to their intellect and capacity to care for themselves; if females, examine them as to their ability to perform household duties.

The age of marriage. "Or age of maturity, which is generally

marriage: but if ye perceive they are able to manage their affairs well, deliver their substance unto them; and waste it not extravagantly or hastily, because they grow up. Let him who is rich abstain *entirely from the orphans' estates*; and let him who is poor take *thereof* according to what shall be reasonable. And when ye deliver their substance unto them, call witnesses *thereof* in their presence: GOD taketh sufficient account of your actions. (6) Men ought to have a part of what *their* parents and kindred leave *behind them when they die*: and women also ought to have a part of what *their* parents and kindred leave, whether it be little, or whether it be much; a determinate part *is due to them*. (7) And when they who are of kin are present at the dividing of *what is left*, and also the orphans and the poor, distribute unto them *some part* thereof; and *if the estate be too small, at least*

reckoned to be fifteen; a decision supported by a tradition of their prophet; though Abu Hanifah thinks eighteen the proper age."—*Sale, Baidhawi*.

Waste it not . . . hastily, i.e., when ye see them growing up rapidly to years of discretion, do not hasten to expend the orphan's inheritance, seeing it is soon to pass from your hands."—*Tafsir-i-Raufi*.

What shall be reasonable. "That is, no more than what shall make sufficient recompense for the trouble of their education."—*Sale, Baidhawi*.

Call witnesses, to prevent future dispute and trouble.

(6) *Women also ought to have a part, &c.* "This law was given to abolish a custom of the pagan Arabs, who suffered not women or children to have any part of their husband's or father's inheritance, on pretence that they only should inherit who were able to go to war."—*Sale, Baidhawi*.

Complaints were first made against this old Arab custom by Omm Kuha, in consequence of which this passage was revealed.—*Tafsir-i-Raufi*.

The importance of this reform cannot be overrated. Previous to this, women and helpless children might be disinherited by the adult male heirs, and thus be reduced to absolute penury, for no fault but that of being widows and orphans.

(7) *And speak comfortably.* The supposed ellipsis, filled in here by Sale, has not any real existence. See the same expression in ver. 4. The idea is that, in *any case*, some portion of the estate should be *cheerfully* given to the poor—they were to be treated kindly, notwithstanding that their presence would necessitate the

speak comfortably unto them. (8) And let those fear to *abuse orphans*, who if they leave behind them a weak offspring, are solicitous for them; let them therefore fear God, and speak that which is convenient. (9) Surely they who devour the possessions of orphans unjustly shall swallow down nothing but fire into their bellies, and shall broil in raging flames.

|| (10) GOD hath *thus* commanded you concerning your children. A male shall have as much as the share of two females; but if they be females *only*, and above two in R $\frac{2}{13}$.

parting with some portion of the property about to be divided. This verse is abrogated by ver. 11 of this chapter. See *Preface*, *R. Urdū Qurān*, Lodiāna edition, p. xx.

(8) *Let those fear.* There is in this verse a threat of retributive justice against those who would deal unjustly with the helpless orphan. Their own children might be dealt with in a similar manner.

No doubt Muhammad had learned the substance of this revelation by his own experience as an orphan. Certainly the anxiety he exhibited to alleviate the sad condition of such is most praiseworthy. His terrible curses against the oppressors of such (see next verse) evince the earnestness of his purpose to reform this abuse.

(10) *A male . . . two females.* "This is the general rule to be followed in the distribution of the estate of the deceased, as may be observed in the following cases."—*Sale*.

See also Prelim. Disc., p. 212.

Above two, or only two (Tafsīr-i-Rauḍi). The two-third share of the property must be shared equally by the daughters being the sole heirs.

One, she shall have the half. "And the remaining third part, or the remaining moiety of the estate, which is not here expressly disposed of, if the deceased leaves behind him no son, nor a father, goes to the public treasury. It must be observed that Mr. Selden is certainly mistaken when, in explaining this passage of the Qurān, he says, that where there is a son and an only daughter, each of them will have a moiety: for the daughter can have a moiety but in one case only, that is, where there is no son; for if there be a son, she can have but a third, according to the above-mentioned rule."—*Sale*.

If he have a child = a son. It is implied that the parents would receive the same were the child a daughter. But of the remaining two-thirds, while the son would get the whole, a daughter would only get three-sixths or one-half of the whole estate. See note above.

His mother . . . the third, i.e., half as much as her husband (the father), a man being entitled to the share of two women.

number, they shall have two third parts of what *the deceased* shall leave; and if there be *but* one, she shall have the half. And the parents of *the deceased* shall have each of them a sixth part of what he shall leave, if he have a child; but if he have no child, and his parents be his heirs, then his mother shall have the third part. And if he have brethren, his mother shall have a sixth part, after the legacies which he shall bequeath and his debts *be paid*. Ye know not whether your parents or your children be of greater use unto you. *This is* an ordinance from God, and God is knowing and wise. (11) Moreover, ye may claim half of what your wives shall leave, if they have no issue; but if they have issue, then ye shall have the fourth part of what they shall leave, after the legacies which they shall bequeath and the debts *be paid*. They also shall have the fourth part of

In the case where there are brethren, the mother receives a sixth only. The remainder to be divided between his brethren and his father, if living. The father would receive a sixth of the whole, the remaining two-thirds of the estate being divided equally between the brothers. If he have sisters as well as brothers, we would infer from the following verse that they would share equally with the brothers.

The legacies. Those given for charitable purposes. According to Muhammadan law in India, a man cannot, by a will, devote more than one-third of his property in charity.

Your parents or your children. The meaning seems to be that parents and children are equally near related to the deceased. From this the inference is drawn that the brothers of the deceased can only be regarded as lawful heirs in case the father be deceased also. When living, the parents are the sole heirs, except where there be children. See *Tafsir-i-Rauḍi in loco*.

(11) *Fourth part . . . eighth part.* The principle that one man is equal to two women is preserved here. There being issue to deceased wives, they inherit the remainder of the property according to the law of ver. 10. So, too, in regard to what remains after a wife's eighth has been paid her.

Where there is no issue, the part remaining after the husband's or wife's share has been paid goes to more distant relatives or to the public treasury.

A distant relation. "For this may happen by contract, or on some other special occasion."—*Sale*.

The words in Arabic indicate *a man who has neither parents nor*

what ye shall leave, in case ye have no issue; but if ye have issue, then they shall have the eighth part of what ye shall leave, after the legacies which ye shall bequeath, and your debts *be paid*. And if a man or woman's *substance* be inherited by a distant relation, and he *or she* have a brother or sister; each of them two shall have a

children, and must therefore bequeath his property to more distant relatives.

Each of them. "Here, and in the next case, the brother and sister are made equal sharers, which is an exception to the general rule of giving a male twice as much as a female; and the reason is said to be, because of the smallness of the portions, which deserve not such exactness of distribution; for in other cases the rule holds between brother and sister, as well as other relations."—*Sale*.

The case of parents receiving each a sixth when there is a child is also an exception. See note, ver. 10.

Without prejudice to the heirs, *i.e.*, the distant relatives mentioned above. Abdul Qádir, commenting on this passage, says: "This relates to the inheritance of brothers and sisters, who have no claims so long as there be father or son alive. Should there be neither father nor son, then the brothers and sisters become heirs. There are three classes of these:—*First*, brothers and sisters by the same wife; *secondly*, by different wives; and *thirdly*, by different fathers. The inheritance belonging to these three classes is as follows:—If there be a single heir, he or she will receive a sixth part of the property; if more than one, then one-third of the property will be divided among them, no distinction being made between men and women. The first and second classes mentioned above rank as members of the deceased person's family *when there is left to him neither father nor son*. First the brothers by the same mother are heirs. If there be none such, then the brothers by a different mother. It is only in case there be no heirs of these classes that those of class third become heirs.

"This passage also declares that bequests for charitable purposes have the precedence, provided no injustice be done to the heirs. This may take place in two ways: either by deceased's having bequeathed in charity more than one-third of his property—he may not give in charity more than one-third of his property; or injustice may be done the heirs by willing to some one of the heirs more than his lawful share, through partiality. Such increased bequest, beyond a third of the property, or partial bestowal of property beyond the legal share, can only become legal by the consent of the heirs at the time of bequest.

"These five classes of heirs (children, parents, widower, widow, and brothers and sisters) all have fixed *portions* or fractional parts of the inheritance. Besides these, there are other heirs, called *Usbah* (distant relations), who have not *portions*. If there be no heirs having portions, then the *usbah* receive the whole property.

sixth part of the estate. But if there be more than this number, they shall be equal sharers in a third part, after payment of the legacies which shall be bequeathed and the debts, without prejudice to the heirs. This is an ordinance from GOD, and GOD is knowing and gracious. (12) These are the statutes of GOD. And whoso obeyeth GOD and his apostle, God shall lead him into gardens wherein rivers flow, they shall continue therein for ever; and this shall be great happiness. (13) But whoso disobeyeth GOD and his apostle, and transgresseth his statutes, God shall cast him into hell fire; he shall remain therein for ever, and he shall suffer a shameful punishment.

R₁₄³.

|| (14) If any of your women be guilty of whoredom, produce four witnesses from among you against them,

But if there be both heirs with portions and *usbah*, then the latter receive what remains after the former have had their portions. An *usbah* must be a male, not a female, nor even a male connected on the mother's side only (i.e., having no relationship by blood with the father's side). These are of four degrees: *First*, son and grandson; *second*, father and grandfather (on father's side); *third*, brothers and nephews (on father's side); *fourth*, uncle (father's elder brother), his son, and his grandson (these all rank alike). If there be several persons having claims, that one has the precedence who is nearest related to the deceased, e.g., a son has the precedence of a grandson, a brother of a nephew, the brother of a step-brother, &c.

"Finally, among the children and brothers and sisters of the deceased, women have a portion, but among the *usbah* they have no claim. Should there be no heir of the kind already enumerated, then the *ziwilrihm* or relations by the 'female' (literally, *woman*) side, and who have no portion, become heirs, e.g., a daughter's son, a maternal grandfather, a sister's son, a mother's brother, a maternal aunt, a father's sister, and their children, reckoned as in the case of the *usbah*."

(14) *Whoredom*. Either fornication or adultery.

Imprison in apartments, i.e., they were to be built into a wall, and be left there until they were dead.

Or God afford, &c. "Their punishment in the beginning of Muhammadanism was to be immured till they died, but afterwards this cruel doom was mitigated, and they might avoid it by undergoing the punishment ordained in its stead by the Sunnat, according to which the maidens are to be scourged with a hundred stripes, and to be banished for a full year, and the married women to be stoned."—*Sale, Jalâluddîn*.

See also note, chap. iii. 23.

and if they bear witness *against them*, imprison them in *separate* apartments until death release them, or GOD affordeth them a way to *escape*. (15) And if two of you commit the like *wickedness*, punish them both: but if they repent and amend, let them both alone; for GOD is easy to be reconciled and merciful. (16) Verily repentance *will be accepted* with GOD from those who do evil ignorantly, and then repent speedily; unto them will GOD be turned: for GOD is knowing and wise. (17) But no repentance *shall be accepted* from those who do evil until *the time* when death presenteth itself unto one of them, *and he* saith, Verily I repent now; nor unto those

(15) *Two of you*. "The commentators are not agreed whether the text speaks of fornication or sodomy. Al Zamakhshari, and from him, al Baidhawi, supposes the former is here meant; but Jalaluddin is of opinion that the crime intended in this passage must be committed between two men, and not between a man and a woman; not only because the pronouns are in the masculine gender, but because both are ordered to suffer the same slight punishment, and are both allowed the same repentance and indulgence; and especially for that a different and much severer punishment is appointed for the women in the preceding words. Abul Qasim Hibatullah takes simple fornication to be the crime intended, and that this passage is abrogated by that of the 24th chapter, where the man and the woman who shall be guilty of fornication are ordered to be scourged with a hundred stripes each."—Sale.

Punish them both. "The original is, *Do them some hurt or damage*, by which some understand that they are only to reproach them in public, or strike them on the head with their slippers (a great indignity in the East), though some imagine they may be scourged."—Sale, Baidhawi, Jalaluddin.

The *Tafsir-i-Raufi* declares the punishment is to be inflicted with the tongue, by reproaches and admonitions; at most, they are to be smitten with the hand. Surely the partiality shown in the award of punishment to the sexes sufficiently indicates the slavish position of Muslim women. This law of Islām falls far short of attesting the former Scriptures.

(16, 17) *Repentance*. The Muhammadans understand this verse to refer to the infidels, who may be forgiven on the ground of repentance, provided it be done before death, *i.e.*, as I understand it, if they repent sincerely. For Muslims there is always full and free pardon when they repent, or even say, "I seek forgiveness, O Lord."

This view of this passage is not borne out by the last clause, "*nor unto those who die in unbelief*." The passage, therefore, probably refers to hypocritical professors of Islām.

who die unbelievers; for them have we prepared a grievous punishment. (18) O true believers, it is not lawful for you to be heirs of women against their will, nor to hinder them *from marrying others*, that ye may take away part of what ye have given them *in dowry*; unless they have been guilty of a manifest crime: but converse kindly with them. And if ye hate them, it may happen that ye may hate a thing wherein GOD hath placed much good. If ye be desirous to exchange a wife for *another* wife, and ye have already given one of them a talent, take not away anything therefrom: will ye take it by slandering *her*, and *doing her* manifest injustice? (19) And how can ye take it, since the one of you hath gone in unto the other, and they have received from you a firm covenant? (20) Marry not women whom your fathers have had to wife; (except what is already

(18) *Heirs of women.* "It was customary among the pagan Arabs, when a man died, for one of his relations to claim a right to his widow, which he asserted by throwing his garment over her; and then he either married her himself, if he thought fit, on assigning her the same dower that her former husband had done, or kept her dower and married her to another, or else refused to let her marry unless she redeemed herself by quitting what she might claim of her husband's goods. This unjust custom is abolished by this passage."—Sale.

This passage was occasioned, says the *Tafsir-i-Raufi*, by the wife of Abu Qáis, one of the companions, complaining to Muhammad against a son, who wished to treat her in accordance with the old custom.

Not hinder them. The allusion is to those who would hinder their father's widows from marrying others, in order to retain the property in the family. Some, however, think the allusion to be to those who maltreated their wives, in order to make them relinquish the dowry fixed upon them at marriage. The language will very well bear this interpretation. *Hindering* would then mean *imprisonment* in some part of the house.

Unless they have been guilty, i.e., of disobedience or shameless conduct. This passage carefully guards the right of a husband to punish his wife for whatever he may fancy a fault in her.

A wife for another wife. See notes on chap. ii. 229.

A talent. A large dowry.

Will ye take it by slandering her? i.e., by giving out a false report of infidelity, in order to escape the necessity of forfeiting the dowry. See chap. ii. 229, note.

(20) *Women whom your fathers have had.* The pre-Islamite religion.

past:) for this is uncleanness, and an abomination, and an evil way.

|| (21) Ye are forbidden to *marry* your mothers, and B $\frac{4}{1}$
 your daughters, and your sisters, and your aunts both on the father's and on the mother's side, and your brothers' daughters, and your sisters' daughters, and your mothers who have given you suck, and your foster-sisters, and your wives' mothers, and your daughters-in-law which are under your tuition, *born* of your wives unto whom ye have gone in, (but if ye have not gone in unto them, it shall be no sin in you *to marry them*;) and the *wives* of your sons who *proceed* out of your loins; and *ye are also forbidden* to take to wife two sisters, except what is already past: for GOD is gracious and merciful.

|| (22) *Ye are also forbidden to take to wife free women* FIFTH
SIPARA.
who are married, except those *women* whom your right hands shall possess *as slaves*. *This is* ordained you from GOD. Whatever is beside this is allowed you; that ye may with your substance provide *wives* for yourselves, acting that which is right, and avoiding whoredom. (23)

of Arabia not only allowed such marriages, but made such women a lawful part of the son's inheritance. See Muir's *Life of Mahomet*, vol. ii. p. 52. The reform of Muhammad had respect to the future only. What was "already past" was allowed to remain unchanged.

(21) *Ye are forbidden to marry, &c.* It is quite certain that these prohibited degrees were adapted from the Jewish law. Compare Lev. xviii. 6-18. Muhammad did not consider himself bound by this law (see chap. xxxiii. 49, 50).

(22) *Free women, except, &c.* "According to this passage, it is not lawful to marry a free woman that is already married, be she a Muhammadan or not, unless she be legally parted from her husband by divorce; but it is lawful to marry those who are slaves or taken in war, after they shall have gone through the proper purifications, though their husbands be living. Yet, according to the decision of Abu Hanifah, it is not lawful to marry such whose husbands shall be taken or be in actual slavery with them."—Sale, *Baidhawi*.

Marriage, in the Muslim sense, is not required in the case of those who are held as slaves. Sale has used the word *marry* rather freely in his italicised phrases. It is not *marriage* that is here forbidden, but *certain women*, marriage being predicated only where, according to Muhammadan law, the ceremony is required.

And for the advantage which ye receive from them, give them their reward, according to what is ordained: but it shall be no crime in you to make any other agreement among yourselves, after the ordinance *shall be complied with*; for GOD is knowing and wise. (24) Whoso among you hath not means sufficient that he may marry free women, who are believers, *let him marry* with such of

(23) *Their reward, i.e., their dowry*, which is everywhere in the Qurán spoken of in this fashion. The allusion is very suggestive of the character of the marriage bond. The power of the bond of that pure and holy love which unites the Christian wife to her husband is unknown to Islám. If ever found in a Muslim household, it is there, not because of Islám, but in spite of it.

Any other arrangement. The amount of dowry may be increased or diminished at any time subsequent to marriage by the consent of the parties. A wife may remit the whole amount.

(24) *Whoso . . . hath not means, i.e., he who is too poor to support a wife, who is free, and therefore does not possess slave girls of his own, may marry slave women with the consent of their masters.* In this case the dowry is fixed by the master.—*Tafsir-i-Raufi.*

Such . . . as are true believers. This is not the only passage antagonistic to Mr. R. Bosworth Smith's statements (*Muhammad and Muhammadanism*, p. 243) that Muhammad "laid down the principle that the captive who embraced Islám should be *ipso facto* free."

The Qurán provides not only for enslaving conquered infidels, thus justifying the cruellest war ever waged by Arab slave-traders in the heart of Africa, but it provides for their retention even when converted, and, although masters are forbidden to maltreat them, yet they are enjoined to *sell them in case they are displeased with them*. See Muir's *Life of Mahomet*, vol. iv. p. 239. "As regards female slaves," says the same author (vol. iii. p. 305) "under the thralldom of Mahometan masters, it is difficult to conceive more signal degradation of the human species; they are treated as an inferior class of beings. Equally restricted as if they had entered the marriage state, they are expressly excluded from any title to conjugal rights. They are purely at the disposal of their proprietors." Here the learned author is compelled to stop, being unable to say more without offence to morality, adding, that "the reader must believe at second-hand that the whole system is vile and revolting."

That system of slavery prevalent among the so-called Christian nations was utterly opposed to the clearest precepts of the Bible, and cannot be fairly compared with the system of slavery sanctioned by the Qurán, even granting the claim that the rigour of the latter is less than that of the former. The abolition of slavery by Christian nations was the natural result of obedience to the teaching of the Bible, applying in practice the doctrine of man's common brotherhood, and the duty of loving our neighbour as ourselves. The

your maid-servants whom your right hands possess, as are true believers; for GOD well knoweth your faith. Ye are the one from the other: therefore marry them with the consent of their masters; and give them their dower according to justice; *such as are* modest, not guilty of whoredom, nor entertaining lovers. And when they are married, if they be guilty of adultery, they shall suffer half the punishment which is appointed for the free women. This is allowed unto him among you who feareth to sin by marrying free women; but if ye abstain from marrying slaves, it will be better for you; GOD is gracious and merciful.

|| (25) GOD is willing to declare *these things* unto you, and to direct you according to the ordinances of those who *have gone* before you, and to be merciful

R 5.

abolition of slavery in Muslim states would be equivalent to the abrogation of a large part of the teaching of the Qurán. As a matter of fact, Muslim states never did anything voluntarily towards abolishing slavery, and we may safely predict that they never will. The social interest in slave women is too great, and too firmly rooted in the Qurán to permit it.

One from the other. "Being alike descended from Adam, and of the same faith."—Sale, Baidhāwi.

Such as are modest, &c.—These crimes would cause them to forfeit their dowry.

Half the punishment.—"The reason of this is because they are not presumed to have had so good education. A slave, therefore, in such a case, is to have fifty stripes, and to be banished for half a year; but she shall not be stoned, because it is a punishment which cannot be inflicted by halves."—Sale, Baidhāwi.

Who feareth to sin. Not merely by marrying free women when unable to support them or pay the dowry, but also by remaining unmarried.—Tafsír-i-Raufi.

If ye abstain, &c. "Because he could not marry a free woman and a slave" (Abdul Qádir, i.e., no free woman would consent to be co-wife with a slave, but he could easily divorce the slave wife, and so avoid the difficulty.

The Tafsír-i-Raufi says the reason why abstaining from marrying slaves is here recommended is because of the "stain of slavery which would belong to the children."

(25) *The ordinances, &c.* The claim here made is that these laws concerning marriage are in accord with the teaching of the former prophets. I think we have here a declaration clearly indicating the source from which Muhammad drew his inspiration on this point. He does not, however, scruple to represent this new law as coming

unto you. GOD is knowing and wise. (26) GOD desireth to be gracious unto you; but they who follow *their* lusts, desire that ye should turn aside *from the truth* with great deviation. (27) GOD is minded to make *his religion* light unto you; for man was created weak. (28) O true believers, consume not your wealth among yourselves in vanity, unless there be merchandising among you by mutual consent: neither slay yourselves; for GOD is merciful towards you: (29) and whoever doth this maliciously and wickedly, he will surely cast him to be broiled in *hell* fire; and this is easy with GOD. (30) If ye turn aside from the grievous sins of those which ye

from GOD and place himself in the position of a disciple learning for the first time that this new revelation is in accord "with the ordinances of those who have gone before."

(26) *They who follow their lusts.* "Some commentators suppose that these words have a particular regard to the Magians, who formerly were frequently guilty of incestuous marriages, their prophet Zerdusht having allowed them to take their mothers and sisters to wife; and also to the Jews, who likewise might marry within some of the degrees here prohibited."—*Sale, Baidhawī.*

According to the *Tafsīr-i-Raūfi*, the allusion is to the Jews.

(27) *God is minded, &c.* The spirit of this verse, as well as the opinions of the commentators, clearly shows that the legislation in the preceding verses was intended to remove the temptation to fornication and adultery by facilitating marriage and concubinage.

God created man weak. This sentence indicates a low conception of morals, not to say of God's holiness. Man's immorality is excused on the ground that God made him liable to sins of incontinency. This doctrine plainly makes God the author of sin.

(28) *Consume not your wealth, &c., i.e.,* "employ it not in things prohibited by God, such as usury, extortion, rapine, gaming, and the like."—*Sale.*

Unless there be merchandising. The merchant's calling receives the imprimatur of the Qurān. The faithful are encouraged to unite together for purposes of trade.

Neither slay yourselves. This is understood to forbid suicide, which the heathen were in the habit of committing in honour of the idols (*Tafsīr-i-Raūfi*); or it may be understood in a spiritual sense, as an exhortation to avoid all sin. The words may be translated *slay not your souls* (see *Sale*). Abdul Qādir understands the command to be *not to slay one another.*

(29) *And whosoever doeth this.* This statement best agrees with Abdul Qādir's interpretation, and therefore teaches that those who maliciously slay their brethren in the faith are doomed to hell fire.

(30) *If ye turn aside, &c.* Sins are divided by this and other pas-

are forbidden *to commit*, we will cleanse you from your *smaller* faults, and will introduce you *into paradise* with an honourable entry. (31) Covet not that which God hath bestowed on some of you preferably to others. Unto the men *shall be given* a portion of what they shall have gained, and unto the women *shall be given* a portion of what they shall have gained : therefore ask GOD of his bounty ; for GOD is omniscient. (32) We have appointed unto every one kindred, *to inherit part* of what their parents and relations shall leave *at their deaths*. And unto those with whom your right hands have made an alliance, give their part *of the inheritance* ; for GOD is witness of all things.

sages into two classes, *kabîra* and *saghîra*, or *great* and *small*. The commentators differ as to which are great. Some say they are seven : idolatry, murder, false charge of adultery against virtuous women, wasting the substance of orphans, usury, desertion in time of a religious war, and disobedience to parents (*Sale in loco*). Others enumerate seventeen (see Hughes's Notes, p. 139). Still others say there are as many as seven hundred great sins. The majority regard only those sins as *kabîra* which are *described* in the Qurân as meriting hell fire, the chief of all great sins being idolatry, or the associating of any thing with God so as to express or imply a participation in the attributes of God.

Muhammad's teaching must lead his followers to carelessness in regard to all sins except those regarded as *kabîra*. As a matter of fact, this is true. Lying, deception, anger, lust, &c., are all numbered among the smaller and lighter offences. All such sins will be forgiven if men only keep clear of the great sins. Such passages exhibit to the Christian the sad fact that Muhammad had no true conception of the nature of sin. Great sins and small sins alike spring from an evil heart. But Muhammad seems not to have ascribed any moral character to simple states of the heart ; the sins here described are the doing of what is *forbidden*. The Christian regards all such sin as rebellion against God, but Muhammad conceived of only a portion of these as great, which, if forgiven, would predicate the forgiveness of the smaller crimes also.

(31) *Covet not, &c.* "Such as honour, power, riches, and other worldly advantages. Some, however, understand this of the distribution of inheritances according to the preceding determinations, whereby some have a larger share than others."—*Sale*.

What they shall have gained, i.e., "What is gained *by men* in their warring for the faith and in other good works ; *by women*, in their chaste behaviour, and in submission to the will of their husbands."—*Tafsîr-i-Ranfi in loco*.

(32) *Those with whom . . . an alliance.* "A precept conformable

R $\frac{6}{3}$

|| (33) Men shall have the pre-eminence above women, because of those *advantages* wherein GOD hath caused the one of them to excel the other, and for that which they expend of their substance in *maintaining their wives*. The honest women *are* obedient, careful in the absence of *their husbands*, for that GOD preserveth *them*, by *committing them to the care and protection of the men*. But those whose perverseness ye shall be apprehensive of, rebuke; and remove them into separate apartments, and chastise them. But if they shall be obedient unto you, seek not an occasion of *quarrel* against them: for GOD

to an old custom of the Arabs, that where persons mutually entered into a strict friendship or confederacy, the surviving friend should have a sixth part of the deceased's estate. But this was afterwards abrogated, according to Jaláluddín and al Zamakhsharí, at least as to infidels. The passage may likewise be understood of a private contract, whereby the survivor is to inherit a certain part of the substance of him that dies first."—*Sale, Baidhawí*.

Abdul Qádir says this law had relation to the circumstances which grew out of the "brotherhood" established by Muhammad soon after his arrival in Madína, whereby "each of the refugees selected one of the citizens as his brother. The bond was of the closest description, and involved not only a peculiar devotion to each other's interests in the persons thus associated, but in case of the death it superseded the claims of blood, the 'brother' becoming exclusive heir to all the property of the deceased."—*Muir's Life of Mahomet*, vol. iii. p. 17.

The custom was abolished after the lapse of eighteen months. It has, therefore, no present application to Muslims.

(33) *Men shall have the pre-eminence.* The ground of the pre-eminence of man over woman is here said to be man's natural superiority over woman. Women are an inferior class of human beings. "The advantages wherein God hath caused the one of them to excel the other" are said by the commentators to be "superior understanding and strength, and the other privileges of the male sex," e.g., ruling in church and state, warring for the faith, and receiving double portions of the estates of deceased ancestors (see *Sale in loco*). Men are the *lords* of the women, and women become the virtual slaves of the men. The holy, happy estate of Eve in Eden can never be even approximately secured for her daughters under Islám.

Careful to preserve their husband's property and their own chastity.—*Sale, Baidhawí*.

Those whose perverseness, &c. Recreant wives are to be punished in three degrees: (1) They are to be rebuked, (2) if they remain rebellious, they are to be assigned separate apartments, and so be

is high and great. (34) And if ye fear a breach between the *husband and wife*, send a judge out of his family, and a judge out of her family: if they shall desire a reconciliation, GOD will cause them to agree; for GOD is knowing and wise. (35) Serve GOD, and associate no creature with him; and *show* kindness unto parents, and relations, and orphans, and the poor, and *your* neighbour who is of kin to you, and also *your* neighbour who is a stranger, and to *your* familiar companion, and the traveller, and *the captives* whom your right hands shall possess; for GOD loveth not the proud or vainglorious, (36) who are covetous, and recommend covetousness unto men, and conceal that which GOD of his bounty hath given them; (we have prepared a shameful punishment for the unbelievers;) (37) and who bestow their wealth *in charity* to be observed of men, and believe not in GOD, nor in the last day; and whoever hath Satan for a companion, an evil companion

banished from the bed; and (3) they are to be beaten, but not so as to cause any permanent injury.—*Abdul Qádir*.

Seek not an occasion. Muslims are here warned not to use the authority here granted to the men to beat their wives as a means of tyrannising over them and of abusing them, being reminded that "God is high and great" above them. The difference between the home-life of the Christian and that of the Muslim cannot be more clearly indicated than by a comparison of this verse with Gen. ii. 24, Eph. v. 28, and 1 Pet. iii. 7.

(34) *If ye fear a breach, &c.* This arrangement was intended to prevent divorce. The verse is closely connected with the one preceding. When beating should prove unsuccessful, arbitration might be resorted to, each party being represented by a friend.

(35) *Serve God . . . and show kindness, &c.* This passage gives the sum of the decalogue for a Muslim: God to be served—his unity to be preserved intact—relatives and neighbours, &c., to be kindly treated. It must be remembered that a Muslim's friend or neighbour is a *Muslim*. They are expressly forbidden to have friendships with Jews, Christians, or unbelievers. See chap. v. 56.

(36) *That which God . . . hath given them, i.e., "wealth, knowledge, or any other talent whereby they may help their neighbour."*—*Salé*.

(37) *To be observed of men.* The duty of giving alms from a high motive is here enjoined. One is reminded of Matt. vi. 1-4. *Abdul Qádir* says: The miser who refuses to give in charity, and the man who gives to make a show of giving, are equally hateful in the sight of God.

hath he! (38) And what *harm would befall* them if they should believe in GOD and the last day, and give alms out of that which GOD hath bestowed on them? since GOD knoweth them *who do this*. (39) Verily GOD will not wrong *any one even* the weight of an ant: and if it be a good action, he will double it, and will recompense *it* in his sight with a great reward. (40) How *will it be with the unbelievers* when we shall bring a witness out of each nation *against itself*, and shall bring thee, *O Muhammad*, a witness against these *people*? (41) In that day they who have not believed, and have rebelled against the apostle of God, shall wish the earth was levelled with them; and they shall not *be able to* hide any matter from GOD.

R 7.

|| (42) O true believers, come not to prayers when ye are drunk, until ye understand what ye say; nor when ye are polluted by emission of seed, unless ye be travelling

(38, 39) These verses teach the truth that no man is a loser by performing his duty toward God and man.

God will not wrong, &c., i.e., "either by diminishing the recompense due to his good actions, or too severely punishing his sins. On the contrary, he will reward the former in the next life far above their deserts. The Arabic word *dharra*, which is translated *an ant*, signifies a very small sort of that insect, and is used to denote a thing that is exceeding small, as a *mite*."—Sale.

(40) *A witness out of each nation*. This verse seems to clearly teach the doctrine that God sends a prophet to every distinct nation, and that Muhammad was sent to the Arabs. If so, this passage shows that Muhammad's idea of a universal Islām, though logically connected with the teaching of the Makkan Suras, yet only took a practical form at Madina, after military and political triumphs had cleared the way to foreign conquest. See also chap. ii. 143.

(42) *Come not to prayers when ye are drunk*. "It is related, that before the prohibition of wine, Abd'ur-Rahmān Ibn Auf made an entertainment, to which he invited several of the Apostle's companions; and after they had ate and drunk plentifully, the hour of evening prayer being come, one of the company rose up to pray, but being overcome with liquor, made a shameful blunder in reciting a passage of the Qurān; whereupon, to prevent the danger of any such indecency for the future, this passage was revealed."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*.

See note on chap. ii. 218.

When polluted. Ordinarily ceremonial purity can only be had by performing ablutions in water. This verse provides for those

on the road, until ye wash yourselves. But if ye be sick, or on a journey, or any of you come from easing nature, or have touched women, and find no water; take fine clean sand and rub your faces and your hands *therewith*; for GOD is merciful and inclined to forgive. (43) Hast thou not observed those unto whom part of the Scripture was delivered? they sell error, and desire that ye may wander from the *right* way; but GOD well knoweth your enemies. GOD is a sufficient patron, and GOD is a sufficient helper. (44) Of the Jews there are some who pervert words from their places, and say, We have heard, and

who are so situated as to be unable to secure water. See Prelim. Disc., p. 167.

(43) *Those unto whom part, &c.* The Jews. They are said to *sell error* because they misrepresented the teachings of their sacred books from sordid motives.

(44) *Who pervert words from their places.* On the general subject of the corruption charged by Muslims against the Christians and Jews, much has already been said. I cannot, however, omit a somewhat lengthy quotation from *Muir's Life of Mahomet*, vol. iii. pp. 249 and 295, which affords a decided answer to this unfounded imputation of Muslims. The learned author says: "I pass over the passages in which the Jews are accused of 'hiding the signs of God,' or 'selling them for a small price.' For the meaning is evidently that the Jews merely refused to bring forward those texts which Mahomet believed to contain evidence in his favour." The renegade Jews applied the prophecies of the Messiah to Mahomet; the staunch Jews denied such application, and herein lay the whole dispute. There is no imputation or hint that any passages were *removed* from the sacred record. The Jews 'concealed the testimony of God' simply because they declined to bring it forward. The expression 'to sell a thing for a small price' is metaphorical, and signifies abandoning a duty for a worldly and sordid motive; it is used also of the disaffected citizens of Madína. [It might far more truly have been applied to the renegade Jews who purchased their safety and prosperity by pandering their evidence to Muhammad's ambition.]

"The passages in which 'dislocation' or 'perversion' is imputed are these: Sura ii. 75, v. 14, v. 47, iv. 43. The latter verse . . . well illustrates the meaning of *tahrif*, ordinarily but incorrectly translated *interpolation*; it signifies the *perversion* of a word or passage, by using it in a double or erroneous sense, or with a wrong contextual reference. The words *Raina*, &c., in the verse quoted (chap. ii. 103), are examples given by Mahomet himself. So with the passages of their Scriptures which the Jews wrested from their proper signification, as expressed in S. ii. 75, 'they perverted them after they understood them.'

have disobeyed; and do thou hear without understanding *our meaning*, and look upon us: perplexing with their tongues, and reviling the *true* religion. But if they had said, We have heard and do obey, and do thou hear and regard us; certainly it were better for them, and more right. But GOD hath cursed them by reason of their

“Next comes S. iii. 77. ‘They twist their tongues in (reading) the Book, that ye may think it is out of the Book, though it is not out of the Book; and they say it is from God, and it is not from God.’ *Twisting their tongues* is the same expression as in the verse above quoted, S. iv. 43. They read out passages which they *pretended* were from the Book, but were not (so Mahomet alleged); it was a deception of their tongues, not any corruption of their MSS.

“So also S. ii. 78. Here reference is evidently made to the ignorant Jews who copied out legends, traditions, or glosses from rabbinical books, and brought them forward as possessed of divine authority. Even if a more serious meaning were admitted, viz., that the same unscrupulous Jews copied out passages from the writings of their rabbins, &c., and brought them forward, pretending they were actual extracts from Scripture, the charge would indeed be one of fraud, but not by any means of corrupting the MSS. of the Old Testament.

“These are, I believe, the main passages alleged to contain evidence of corruption or interpolation, and even if they were capable of a more serious construction, which I believe them not to be, they must be construed in accordance with the general tenor of the Coran; and the very numerous passages, contemporary and subsequent, in which ‘the Book,’ as current in the neighbourhood and elsewhere, is spoken of as a genuine and authoritative record as containing the rule of faith and practice to be followed by Jews and Christians respectively, and as a divine record, belief in which is earnestly enjoined on the Moslems also. Assuredly such would not have been the language of Mahomet had he regarded either the Jewish or the Christian Scriptures as in any degree interpolated.

“The similitude of an ass laden with books, employed by Mahomet to describe the Jews in reference to their Scriptures (S. lxii. 5), exactly illustrates the point of his charge against them: they had indeed a precious charge in their possession, but they were ignorant of its value and use.”

See notes on chap. ii. 75-78, and chap. iii. 77.

Look upon us. “The original word is *Râina*, which, being a term of reproach in Hebrew, Muhammad forbade their using to him.”—*Sale*.

And regard us. “In Arabic *undhurna*, which, having no ill or equivocal meaning, he ordered them to use instead of the former.”—*Sale*.

Sale understands the “*pervverting* of words” charged upon the Jews in this verse to be illustrated here. See also note on chap. ii. 103.

infidelity; therefore a few of *them* only shall believe. (45) *O ye* to whom the scriptures have been given, believe in the *revelation* which ye have sent down, confirming that which is with you, before we deface *your* countenances, and render them as the back parts thereof, or curse them, as we cursed those who transgressed on the Sabbath-day, and the command of GOD was fulfilled. (46) Surely GOD will not pardon the giving him an equal, but will pardon any other *sin* except that, to whom he pleaseth; and whoso giveth a companion unto GOD hath devised a great wickedness. (47) Hast thou not observed those who justify themselves? But GOD justifieth whomsoever he pleaseth, nor shall *they* be wronged a hair. (48) Behold, how they imagine a lie against GOD; and therein is iniquity sufficiently manifest.

|| (49) Hast thou not considered those to whom part of R § the scripture hath been given? They believe in false gods and idols, and say of those who believe not, These are more rightly directed in the way of *truth* than they who believe on *Muhammad*. (50) Those are the men

(45) *Confirming that, &c.* This claim, so oft repeated, surely predicates the genuineness of the Scriptures in the hands of Jews and Christians at that time.

Those who transgressed. See note on chap. ii. 64.

(46) *God will not pardon, &c., i.e.,* idolatry, which includes the ascribing of divine attributes to a creature as well as idol-worship, is the unpardonable sin of Islām. It is unpardonable, however, only to those who, having received Islām or a knowledge of Islām, persist in this sin.

To whom he pleaseth, i.e., to those who repent before death and accept of Islām. These he forgives not on the ground of their good works, nor on account of any atonement, but because *he pleaseth*.

(47) *Those who justify, "i.e.,* the Christians and Jews, who called themselves the children of God, and his beloved people."*—Sale, Jalāl-uddin, Baidhāwī.*

A hair, literally a fibre in the cleft of a date-stone.

(48) *A lie against God.* The *lie* here seems to be their regarding themselves as the children of God. As applied to the Jews, compare John viii. 39-44.

(49) *They believe.* The commentators say this passage refers to certain Jews, who fraternised with the Makkan idolaters in their opposition to Muhammad. Modern Muslims, who join hands with

whom GOD hath cursed; and unto him whom GOD shall curse thou shalt surely find no helper. (51) Shall they have a part of the kingdom, since even then they would not bestow the smallest matter on men? (52) Do they envy *other* men that which GOD of his bounty hath given them? We formerly gave unto the family of Abraham a book of *revelations* and wisdom; and we gave them a great kingdom. (53) There is of them who believeth on him; and there is of them who turneth aside from him; but the raging fire of hell is a sufficient *punishment*. (54) Verily those who disbelieve our signs, we will surely cast to be broiled in *hell* fire; so often as their skins shall be well burned, we will give them other skins in exchange, that they may taste the *sharper* torment; for GOD is mighty and wise.

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|| (55) But those who believe and do that which is right, we will bring into gardens watered by rivers, therein shall they remain forever, *and* there shall they enjoy

idolaters in opposition to Christianity, receive no encouragement from passages like this.

False gods and idols. This is better translated *Jibt and Tághát*, reference being had to certain idols bearing these names See chap. ii. 256, note.

The story of the commentators, given by Sale, alleging that the Jews actually worshipped idols at Makkah, is most likely a fabrication.

(51) *Shall they have a part of the kingdom?* The reference is to Messiah's kingdom, in which the Jews would be restored to their former grandeur.

(52) *That which God hath given them, viz.,* "the spiritual gifts of prophecy and divine revelations, and the temporal blessings of victory and success bestowed on Muhammad and his followers."—Sale.

The family of Abraham, i.e., the children of Israel. Reference is to the Jews before their apostasy in rejecting Jesus. Compare with preceding verse: See note in chap. iii. 33.

(53) *Who believe on him.* Sale refers the *him* to Muhammad, but manifestly *primary* allusion is to Abraham. The *inference* is that those who reject the religion of Muhammad also reject the religion of Abraham the Orthodox.

(54) *To be broiled, &c.* See note, chap. ii. 38.

(55) *Who believe and do, &c.* See notes, chap. ii. 25 and 223, and chap. iii. 15, 31, and 196.

wives free from all impurity; and we will lead them into perpetual shades. (56) Moreover GOD commandeth you to restore what ye are trusted with to the owners; and when ye judge between men, that ye judge according to equity: and surely an excellent *virtue it is* to which GOD exhorteth you; for GOD *both* heareth and seeth. (57) O true believers, obey GOD and obey the apostle, and those who are in authority among you; and if ye differ in anything, refer it unto GOD and the apostle, if ye believe in GOD and the last day: this is better, and a fairer *method of determination*.

|| (58) Hast thou not observed those who pretend they R $\frac{2}{3}$

(56) *God commandeth you, &c.* "This passage, it is said, was revealed on the day of the taking of Makkah, the primary design of it being to direct Muhammad to return the keys of the Kaabah to Othmán Ibn Talha Ibn Abdul Dár, who had then the honour to be keeper of that holy place, and not to deliver them to his uncle al Abbás, who having already the custody of the well Zamzam, would fain have had also that of the Kaabah. The Prophet obeying the divine order, Othmán was so affected with the justice of the action, notwithstanding he had at first refused him entrance, that he immediately embraced Muhammadanism; whereupon the guardianship of the Kaabah was confirmed to this Othmán and his heirs for ever."—*Sale, Baidhawi*.

If this account of this *revelation* be correct, it is certainly out of place here, sandwiched in between passages of an earlier date. We think the reference is general, and that the passage is a sort of introduction to what follows. Note that the sentiment of this verse is expressive of high moral principle.

(57) *Those who are in authority.* This passage teaches the duty of submission to kings and judges, *so long as their decisions are in accord with the teaching of God and his Apostle (Abdul Qádir), i.e., so long as they are in accord with the Qurán and the traditions.*

The doctrine that Muhammad was "free from sin in what he ordered to be done, and in what he prohibited, in all his words and acts," for otherwise obedience to him would not be obedience to God, is based upon this verse among others (see *The Faith of Islám*, p. 12). But if so, the *Aulai al Amri*, or those in authority, must also be regarded as *sinless and infallible*!

The effort to establish the inspiration of the *Ahadis* or traditions of Islám on grounds like this requires not only inspired *Imáms* but also inspired *Ráwis*. But all admit that the latter were uninspired, wherefore the science of Muslim tradition is one of the most difficult as well as unsatisfactory departments of Muslim learning.

(58) *Those who pretend.* The hypocrites.

believe in what hath been revealed unto thee, and what hath been revealed before thee? They desire to go to judgment before Tághút, although they have been commanded not to believe in him; and Satan desireth to seduce them into a wide error. (59) And when it is said unto them, Come unto *the book* which GOD hath sent down, and to the apostle; thou seest the ungodly turn aside from thee with *great* aversion. (60) But how *will they behave* when a misfortune shall befall them, for that which their hands have sent before them? Then will they come unto thee, and swear by GOD, *saying*, If we intended any other than to do good, and to reconcile *the parties*. (61) GOD knoweth what is in the hearts of these *men*; therefore let them alone, and admonish them, and speak unto

Before Tághút. "That is, before the tribunals of infidels. This passage was occasioned by the following remarkable accident. A certain Jew having a dispute with a wicked Muhammadan, the latter appealed to the judgment of Qáb Ibn al Ashraf, the principal Jew, and the former to Muhammad. But at length they agreed to refer the matter to the Prophet singly, who giving it in favour of the Jew, the Muhammadan refused to acquiesce in his sentence, but would needs have it re-heard by Omar, afterwards Khalífah. When they came to him, the Jew told him that Muhammad had already decided the affair in his favour, but that the other would not submit to his determination; and the Muhammadan confessing this to be true, Omar bid them stay a little, and fetching his sword, struck off the obstinate Muslim's head, saying aloud, 'This is the reward of him who refuseth to submit to the judgment of God and his Apostle.' And from this action Omar had the surname of al Farúk, which alludes both to his *separating* that knave's head from his body, and to his *distinguishing* between truth and falsehood. The name of Tághút, therefore, in this place, seems to be given to Qáb Ibn al Ashraf."—*Sale, Baidháwi, Abdul Qádir.*

This story does not fit in well with the passage it is intended to illustrate, and is probably tagged on here by the commentators, who seem to feel that every allusion of the Qurán must be historically explained. The passage simply refers to the disaffected citizens of Madína, some of whom pretended to be favourable to Muhammad's cause when it was in their interest to do so (see ver. 60), and at other times showed too plainly their liking for the national idolatry, as is intimated in the next verse.

(60) *If we intended.* "For this was the excuse of the friends of the Muhammadan whom Omar slew, when they came to demand satisfaction for his blood."—*Sale, Baidháwi.*

them a word which may affect their souls. (62) We have not sent any apostle, but that he might be obeyed by the permission of GOD; but if they, after they have injured their own souls, come unto thee and ask pardon of GOD, and the apostle ask pardon for them, they shall surely find GOD easy to be reconciled and merciful. (63) And by thy LORD they will not *perfectly* believe until they make thee judge of their controversies; and shall not afterwards find in their own minds any hardship in what thou shalt determine, but shall acquiesce *therein* with *entire* submission. (64) And if we had commanded them, *saying*, Slay yourselves, or depart from your houses; they would not have done it except a few of them. (65) And if they had done what they were admonished, it would certainly have been better for them, and more efficacious for confirming *their faith*; and we should then have surely given them in our sight an *exceeding* great reward, (66) and we should have directed them in the right way. (67) Whoever obeyeth GOD and the apostle, they *shall be* with those

(62) *Obedied by the permission of God.* The claim of Muhammad is that he should be implicitly obeyed. All controversies were to be decided by him, and all his decisions were to be "acquiesced in with entire submission." See next verse. There is a remarkable similarity between this claim of Muhammad and that of the Pope of Rome. He holds the keys of heaven and hell, and pardon is dependent upon his intercession. He is their rightful judge, and his judgment is infallible. Muhammad seems to arrogate to himself a similar position in this passage.

(64) *If we had commanded, &c.* "Some understand these words of their venturing their lives in a religious expedition; and others, of their undergoing the same punishments which the Israelites did for their idolatry in worshipping the golden calf."—Sale.

See chap. ii. 53.

(67) *Whosoever obeyeth God and his Apostle.* Whilst it is true that rebellion against the messengers of God is rebellion against God, yet there is a vast difference between the teaching of the true messengers of God and that of Muhammad on this point. This habit of associating himself with God, and so making implicit obedience to him necessary to salvation, is not the least of the many blasphemies of Muhammad. Repudiating the divinity of our Lord, Muhammad here claims almost all our Lord claimed by virtue of his divine nature.

unto whom GOD hath been gracious, of the prophets, and the sincere, and the martyrs, and the righteous; and these are the most excellent company. (68) This is bounty from GOD; and GOD is sufficiently knowing.

R $\frac{10}{7}$. || (69) O true believers, take your *necessary* precaution against your enemies, and either go forth to war in separate parties, or go forth all together, *in a body*. (70) There is of you who tarrieth behind; and if a misfortune befall you, he saith, Verily GOD hath been gracious unto me, that I was not present with them: (71) but if success attend you from GOD, he will say (as if there was no friendship between you and him), Would to GOD I had been with them, for I should have acquired great merit. (72) Let them therefore fight for the religion of GOD, who part with the present life in exchange for that which is to come; for whosoever fighteth for the religion of GOD, whether he be slain or be victorious, we will surely give him a great reward. (73) And what ails you, that ye fight not for GOD's true religion, and *in defence* of the weak among men, women, and children, who say, O LORD,

(69) *Necessary precaution.* This verse illustrates how that every dispatch from the orderly-room, so to speak, finds a place in the Qurán. This result is probably due to the faith of the Muslims that every word spoken by their Prophet was a revelation. Hence the inspired character of the traditions. These are, so far as they represent his teaching, fragmentary revelations.

The passage beginning here and ending with verse 83 has for its object the incitement of the Muslims to fight for Islám. By counsel, by reproaches, by taunts, by threats, by exhortation, and by promises the Muslims are urged to *fight for the religion of God*.

(70) *Who tarrieth.* The reference is to the hypocrites of Madína, particularly Ibn Ubái and his companions (*Tafsír-i-Raufi*).

(71) *As if . . . not friendship, i.e.,* "as one who attendeth not to the public but his own private interest. Or else these may be the words of the hypocritical Muhammadan himself, insinuating that he stayed not behind the rest of the army by his own fault, but was left by Muhammad, who chose to let the others share in his good fortune preferably to him."—*Sale, Baidhawi*.

(72) See notes on chap. ii. 190-195, and chap. iii. 157 and 170.

(73) *And what ails you, &c., viz.,* "those believers who stayed behind at Makkah, being detained there either forcibly by the idolaters or for want of means to fly for refuge to Madína. Al Baidhawi observes

bring us forth from this city, whose inhabitants are wicked; grant us from before thee a protector, and grant us from before thee a defender. (74) They who believe fight for the religion of GOD; but they who believe not fight for the religion of Tághút. Fight therefore against the friends of Satan, for the stratagem of Satan is weak.

|| (75) Hast thou not observed those unto whom it was said, Withhold your hands *from war*, and be constant at prayers, and pay the legal alms? But when war is commanded them, behold a part of them fear men as they should fear GOD, or with a great fear, and say, O LORD, wherefore hast thou commanded us to go to war, and hast not suffered us to wait *our* approaching end? (76) Say *unto them*, The provision of this life is *but* small; but the future *shall be* better for him who feareth *God*; and ye shall not be in the least injured *at the day of judgment*. (77) Wheresoever ye be, death will overtake you, although ye be in lofty towers. If good befall them, they say, This is from GOD; but if evil befall them, they say, This is from thee, *O Muhammad*: say, All is from GOD; and what aileth these people, that they are so far from understand-

that *children* are mentioned here to show the inhumanity of the Quraish, who persecuted even that tender age."—Sale.

Bring us forth from this city. The city referred to here is Makkah. Muhammad pictures to his followers the forlorn condition of their brethren there as a motive to fight against the infidel Quraish. Weak helpless men, women, and children are crying to God for help and deliverance. Muhammad well knew how to fire the martial spirit of his countrymen.

"This petition, the commentators say, was heard. For God afforded several of them an opportunity and means of escaping, and delivered the rest at the taking of Makkah by Muhammad, who left Utáb Ibn Usaid governor of the city; and under his care and protection those who had suffered for their religion became the most considerable men in the place."—Sale.

(74) *The religion of Tághút.* See note, chap. ii. 256.

(75) *Those unto whom.* Those Muslims who were ready enough to observe the ordinary duties of Islám, but who disliked to fight. It is possible such were more averse to fighting against their relatives and neighbours than to the fear of death attributed to them here.

(77) *Wherever ye be, &c.* See notes on chap. iii. 155.

ing what is said *unto them*? (78) Whatever good be-falleth thee, *O man*, it is from GOD; and whatever evil be-falleth thee, it is from thyself. We have sent thee an apostle unto men, and GOD is a sufficient witness *thereof*. (79) Whoever obeyeth the apostle, obeyeth GOD; and whoever turneth back, we have not sent thee *to be* a keeper over them. (80) They say, Obedience: yet when they go forth from thee, part of them meditate by night *a matter* different from what thou speakest; but GOD shall write down what they meditate by night: therefore let them alone, and trust in GOD, for GOD is a sufficient protector. (81) Do they not attentively consider the Qurán? if it had been from any besides GOD, they would certainly have found therein many contradictions. (82) When any news cometh unto them, either of security or fear, they

(78) *Evil . . . is from thyself*. "These words are not to be understood as contradictory to the preceding, *that all proceeds from God*, since the evil which befalls mankind, though ordered by God, is yet the consequence of their own wicked actions."—Sale.

The passage is, however, contradictory of chap. vii. 179, 180; xv. 39-43; xvi. 95; xvii. 14-16, &c.

God . . . is witness. The allusion is probably to the verses (*ayát*) of the Qurán as being self-evidently miraculous. The ordinary testimony of God to his prophecy, viz., *prophecy* and *miracles*, was wanting. Of course this statement is only applicable to the Qurán. Tradition has provided an abundant supply of both.

(79) See note on ver. 67.

(81) *Do they not attentively consider the Qurán?* The belief that the Qurán was possessed in book form by many of the Muslims receives confirmation from this statement.

In this verse Muhammad sets up the claim that the Qurán is from God because it is free from contradictions. But notwithstanding his own convenient doctrine of abrogation (note in chap. ii. 105), he has left sufficient ground upon which to refute his prophetic pretensions on the basis of this his own claim. Compare chap. ii. 256 with chap. iv. 88; chap. v. 73 with ver. 76 of the same chapter; chap. ii. 61 with chap. iii. 84, &c. In addition to this, there is the more important as well as more palpable contradiction between the doctrine of the Qurán and that of the former Scriptures, though the former distinctly professes to confirm the latter. See notes on chap. ii. 90; chap. iii. 2, 31, 39, and 94, &c.

(82) *Any news*. This passage was occasioned thus: Muhammad sent a certain person to a neighbouring tribe to collect the legal alms. On the near approach of this messenger the people came forth

immediately divulge it; but if they told it to the apostle and to those who are in authority among them, such of them would understand *the truth* of the matter, as inform themselves thereof *from the apostle and his chiefs*. And if the favour of GOD and his mercy *had not been* upon you, ye had followed the devil, except a few of you. (83) Fight/therefore for the religion of GOD, and oblige not any to what is difficult, except thyself; however, excite the faithful *to war*, perhaps GOD will restrain the courage of the unbelievers; for GOD is stronger *than they*, and more able to punish. (84) He who intercedeth *between men* with a good intercession shall have a portion thereof; and he who intercedeth with an evil intercession shall have a portion thereof; for GOD overlooketh all things. (85) When ye are saluted with a salutation, salute *the person* with a better salutation, or *at least* return the same; for GOD taketh an account of all things.

to receive him, but he, supposing them to have come out to kill him, fled into Madína and spread the report of the disaffection of the tribe.—*Tafsir-i-Raufi*.

Ye had followed the devil. "That is, if God had not sent his Apostle with the Qurán to instruct you in your duty, ye had continued in idolatry and been doomed to destruction, except only those who, by God's favour and their superior understanding, should have true notions of the divinity; such, for example, as Zaid Ibn Amru Ibn Nufail and Waraqa Ibn Naufal, who left idols and acknowledged but one God before the mission of Muhammad."—*Sale, Baidháwi*.

(83) *Oblige not, &c.* "It is said this passage was revealed when the Muhammadans refused to follow their Prophet to the lesser expedition of Badr, so that he was obliged to set out with no more than seventy (chap. iii. ver. 174). Some copies vary in this place, and instead of *lá tukallafu*, in the second person singular, read *lá nukallafu*, in the first person plural, 'We do not oblige,' &c. The meaning being, that the Prophet only was under an indispensable necessity of obeying God's commands, however difficult, but others might choose, though at their peril."—*Sale*.

Perhaps God will restrain. This is said to have been fulfilled in the return of Abu Sufián, who had started on the second expedition to Badr. The character of this prophecy, if such were intended, is made sufficiently clear by reference to note on chap. iii. 175.

(84) *God overlooketh all things, i.e.*, God sees all things, even the secret motives which inspire your efforts at reconciliation, whether they be good or bad, and will therefore certainly reward accordingly.

(85) *A better salutation*. "By adding something further. As

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|| (86) GOD! there is no GOD but he; he will surely gather you together on the day of resurrection; there is no doubt of it: and who is more true than God in what he saith?

R $\frac{12}{9}$

|| (87) Why are ye *divided* concerning the ungodly into two parties; since GOD hath overturned them for what they have committed? Will ye direct him whom GOD hath led astray; since for him whom GOD shall lead astray, thou shalt find no *true* path? (88) They desire that ye should become infidels, as they are infidels, and that ye should be equally *wicked with themselves*. Therefore take not friends from among them, until they fly *their country* for the religion of GOD; and if they turn back *from the faith*, take them, and kill them wherever

when one salutes another by this form, 'Peace be unto thee,' he ought not only to return the salutation, but to add, 'and the mercy of God and his blessing.'—*Sale*.

The salutation in Arabic is *As salāmo ālaikum*, and the reply should be *wa ālaikomussalām o rahmat ullāh*, or if the address be *As salām ālaikum o rahmat ullāh*, the reply should add *wa barakātuh*. This salutation is used only in addressing a Muslim. If addressed to a Muslim, he may only reply as above directed when he recognises in the speaker a Muslim. The use of it is, therefore, equivalent to a profession of Islām. It is the watchword of the Muslim.

(87) *Two parties*. "This passage was revealed, according to some, when certain of Muhammad's followers, pretending not to like Madīna, desired leave to go elsewhere, and having obtained it, went farther and farther, till they joined the idolaters; or, as others say, on occasion of some deserters at the battle of Ohod, concerning whom the Muslims were divided in opinion whether they should be slain as infidels or not."—*Sale*.

Whom God hath led astray, i.e., by eternally decreeing his course of evil, or by a righteous reprobation.

(88) *They desire, &c.* "The people here meant, say some, were the tribe of Khuzāah, or, according to others, the Aslamians, whose chief, named Hilāl Ibn Uwaimar, agreed with Muhammad, when he set out against Makkah, to stand neuter; or, as others rather think, Banu Baqr Ibn Zaid."—*Sale, Baidhāwī, Jalāluddīn*.

No covenant of friendship was to be entered into with these, except in the case of those who became refugees, and of whose sincerity there could be no doubt. Should they afterwards apostatise, they were to be slain. This law was inexorably executed in all Muslim countries for over twelve hundred years. Death is still the penalty that may be legally inflicted on every convert from Islām to Christianity in every country not yet under Christian domination.

ye find them; and take no friend from among them, nor any helper, (89) except those who go unto a people who are in alliance with you, or those who come unto you, their hearts forbidding them either to fight against you, or to fight against their own people. And if God pleased he would have permitted them to have prevailed against you, and they would have fought against you. But if they depart from you, and fight not against you, and offer you peace, God doth not allow you *to take or kill* them. (90) Ye shall find others who are desirous to enter into confidence with you, and *at the same time* to preserve a confidence with their own people; so often as they return to sedition, they shall be subverted therein; and if they depart not from you, and offer you peace, and restrain their hands *from warring against you*, take them and kill them wheresoever ye find them; over these have we granted you a manifest power.

|| (91) It is not *lawful* for a believer to kill a believer, R $\frac{13}{10}$.
unless *it happen* by mistake; and whoso killeth a believer by mistake, *the penalty shall be* the freeing of a believer

(89) *Except those, &c., i.e.,* "the Bani Mudlaj, who had agreed to remain neutral between Muhammad and the Quraish."—*Tafsir-i-Raafi*. The importance of this treaty is indicated in the latter part of this verse.

(90) *Ye shall find others.* "The persons hinted at here were the tribes of Asad and Ghatfán, or, as some say, Banu Abdaldár, who came to Madína and pretended to embrace Muhammadanism, that they might be trusted by the Muslims, but when they returned, fell back to their old idolatry."—*Sale, Baidháwi*.

The history of Muslim wars with the Bani Quraidha and the Jews of Khaibar illustrate how faithfully the fierce injunction of this verse was carried out.

(91) *Unless by mistake.* "That is, by accident and without design. This passage was revealed to decide the case of Ayásh Ibn Abi Rábia, the brother by the mother's side of Abu Jahl, who, meeting Haráth Ibn Zaid on the road, and not knowing that he had embraced Muhammadanism, slew him."—*Sale, Baidháwi*.

A believer from slavery, i.e., a slave who has professed Islám. The hope of freedom must have been a strong inducement to unbelieving slaves to profess the religion of their masters.

A fine, "which is to be distributed according to the law of inheritance given in the beginning of this chapter."—*Sale, Baidháwi*.

from slavery, and a fine to be paid to the family of *the deceased*, unless they remit *it* as alms: and if *the slain person* be of a people at enmity with you, and be a true believer, *the penalty shall be* the freeing of a believer; but if he be of a people in confederacy with you, a fine to be paid to his family, and the freeing of a believer. And he who findeth not *wherewith to do this* shall fast two months consecutively *as a penance enjoined from GOD*; and GOD is knowing and wise. (92) But whoso killeth a believer designedly, his reward shall be hell; he shall remain therein *forever*; and GOD shall be angry with him, and shall curse him, and shall prepare for him a great punishment. (93) O true believers, when ye are on a march in defence of the true religion, justly discern *such as ye shall happen to meet*, and say not unto him who saluteth you, thou art not a true believer; seeking the accidental goods of the present life; for with GOD is much spoil. Such have ye formerly been; but GOD hath been gracious unto

When, however, the deceased believer's people are unbelievers, no *fine* is to be paid. The legal fine as the price of blood is one hundred camels, as follows:—Twenty males one year old, twenty females of one year, twenty of two years, twenty of three years, and twenty of four years old. If the slain person be a woman, the fine is half this sum. In the case of a slave, the price must be paid to the master. If the fine be paid in coin, then the blood price is one thousand dinars gold, or ten thousand dirhams in silver. Half this sum to be paid for a woman.

But if he be of a people in confederacy, &c. The same rule as to fine was applied to the case of a person slain, who, though not a Muslim, yet belonged to a tribe or nation with whom a treaty of peace had been formed.

(92) This verse was intended to abolish the blood feuds so prevalent among the Arabs, and no doubt it ministered to the welding together of the various factions under the banner of Islám. How many millions of Muslims have been consigned to hell by this law since the death of Muhammad the annals of Islám abundantly declare. The punishment is, say the commentators, *purgatorial*, and the Muslim will eventually be restored to paradise, for, according to the Qurán, no true Muslim can be for ever lost. This view of the matter is, however, contradicted by this very passage, which says the murderer “shall remain therein for ever,”—the same language used in speaking of the fate of infidels.

(93) *Say not . . . thou art not a true believer.* The desire for

you ; therefore make a just discernment, for GOD is well acquainted with that which ye do.

|| (94) Those believers who sit still *at home*, not having R ¹⁴/₁₁ any hurt, and those who employ their fortunes and their persons for the religion of GOD, shall not be held equal. GOD hath prepared those who employ their fortunes and their persons *in that cause* to a degree of *honour* above those who sit at home ; GOD hath indeed promised every one paradise, but GOD hath preferred those who fight *for the faith* before those who sit still, *by adding unto them* a great reward, (95) *by degrees of honour conferred on them* from him, and *by granting them* forgiveness and mercy ; for GOD is indulgent *and* merciful. (96) Moreover unto those whom the angels put to death, having injured their own

plunder, which Muhammad had stirred up, had become so insatiable, that even Muslims were slain on the pretence that they were infidels, in order that they might be lawfully plundered. See *Muir's Life of Mahomet*, vol. iii. p. 307.

With God is much spoil. The motive here was certainly suited to Arab minds : Don't rob and murder Muslims for the sake of spoil, for God will give you the opportunity of spoiling many infidels. Muhammad did not scruple to pander to the worst passions of human nature in order to advance his political ends. Let it be remembered, however, this language does not purport to be Muhammad's, but that of the only true God ! See our note in Prelim. Disc., p. 118.

(94) *Not having any hurt, i.e.*, "not being disabled from going to war by sickness or other just impediment. It is said that when this passage was first revealed there was no such exception therein, which occasioned Ibn Umm Maqtúm, on his hearing it repeated, to object, 'And what though I be blind ?' Whereupon Muhammad, falling into a kind of trance, which was succeeded by strong agitations, pretended he had received the divine direction to add these words to the text."—*Sale, Baidháwi*.

The Makkan preacher declared that force was not to be used in religion, but the Madína politician promises the highest honours to those who spend life and property in warring for the faith. The prophet has now become a soldier and a general of armies. Like Jeroboam, Muhammad, having built his altars in Bethel and Dan, no longer hesitates to make any use of the holy name and religion of Jehovah which would seem to advance his political aspirations.

(96) *Whom the angels put to death.* "These were certain inhabitants of Makkah, who held with the hare and ran with the hounds, for though they embraced Muhammadanism, yet they would not

souls, *the angels* said, Of what *religion* were ye? they answered, We were weak in the earth. *The angels* replied, Was not God's earth wide *enough*, that ye might fly therein *to a place of refuge*? Therefore their habitation shall be hell; and an evil journey *shall it be thither*: (97) except the weak among men, and women, and children, who were not able to find means, and were not directed in the way; (98) these peradventure God will pardon, for God is ready to forgive, *and* gracious. (99) Whosoever flieth *from his country* for the sake of God's true religion, shall find in the earth many forced *to do the same*, and plenty of *provisions*. And whoever departeth from his house, and flieth unto God and his apostle, if death overtake him *in the way*, God will be obliged to reward him, for God is gracious *and* merciful.

R ¹⁵/₁₂

|| (100) When ye march *to war* in the earth, it shall be

leave that city to join the Prophet, as the rest of the Muslims did, but, on the contrary, went out with the idolaters, and were therefore slain with them at the battle of Badr."—*Sale, Jalāluddīn*.

The *angels* who slew these Muslims were of the three thousand who assisted the faithful (chap. iii. 13, note), but the angels who examined them were Munkir and Nakir, "two fierce-looking black angels with blue eyes, who visit every man in his grave and examine him with regard to his faith in God and Muhammad."—*Sell's Faith of Islām*, p. 145.

(97) *Except the weak, &c.* None were excused from the duty of flight (*Hijrat*) excepting those who were unable to perform it. Muslims still recognise the duty of flight from the Dār al Harb to the Dār al Islām. This duty is so imperative that even a doubt is thrown upon the case of the "weak," &c. in the next verse.

The purpose of this law is evident from the circumstances of the Prophet at the time of its enunciation. He needed the help of the faithful. All must therefore fly to Madīna for refuge. When there, all must fight "in the way of God."

(99) *If death overtake him.* "This passage was revealed, says al Baidhawī, on account of Jundub Ibn Dhamra. This person being sick, was, in his flight, carried by his sons on a couch, and before he arrived at Madīna, perceiving his end approached, he clapped his right hand on his left, and solemnly plighting his faith to God and his Apostle, died."—*Sale*.

God will be obliged. Rodwell's translation is better, "His reward from God is sure."

(100 and 101) The service here sanctioned was called "The Service of Danger." It was introduced during the return of Muhammad

no crime in you if ye shorten your prayers, in case ye fear the infidels may attack you ; for the infidels are your open enemy. (101) But when thou, *O Prophet*, shalt be among them, and shalt pray with them, let a party of them arise to prayer with thee, and let them take their arms ; and when they shall have worshipped, let them stand behind you, and let another party come that hath not prayed, and let them pray with thee, and let them be cautious and take their arms. The unbelievers would that ye should neglect your arms and your baggage *while ye pray*, that they might turn upon you at once. It shall be no crime in you, if ye be incommoded by rain or be sick, that ye lay down your arms ; but take your *necessary* precaution : GOD hath prepared for the unbelievers an ignominious punishment. (102) And when ye shall have ended *your* prayer, remember GOD, standing, and sitting, and *lying* on your sides. But when ye are secure *from danger*, complete *your* prayers : for prayer is commanded the faithful, *and appointed to be said* at the stated times. (103) Be not negligent in seeking out the *unbelieving* people, though

and his army from Dzát al Rica, where they had captured many women. The following passage from Muir's *Life of Mahomet*, vol. iii. p. 224, relating to this *service*, well expresses the character of the revelations of this period (A.H. 5). He says : "I quote the revelation which sanctioned this practice, less for its own interest, than to illustrate the tendency of the Coran now to become the vehicle of military commands. In the Coran, victories are announced, success promised, actions recounted, failure is explained, bravery applauded, cowardice or disobedience chided, military or political movements are directed ; and all this as an immediate communication from the Deity. The following verses resemble in part what one might expect to find in the 'General Orders' of some Puritan leader or commander of a crusade in the Holy Land." Here he quotes the verses under comment.

We should like to know how the apologists for Muhammad would reconcile this practical use of inspiration to political ends with their dictum that he can no longer be regarded as an impostor.

(102) *Standing, sitting, &c.* See note on chap. iii. 192.

(103) Sale, on the authority of Baidháwi, says, "This verse was revealed on the occasion of the unwillingness of Muhammad's men to accompany him in the lesser expedition of Badr." The *Tafsír-i-Raufi* refers it to the pursuit of Abu Sufián after the battle of Ohod. The "seeking out the unbelieving people" was not *to save*, but to destroy them.

ye suffer *some inconvenience*; for they *also* shall suffer as ye suffer, and ye hope for a *reward* from GOD which they cannot hope for; and GOD is knowing *and* wise.

R $\frac{16}{13}$.

|| (104) We have sent down unto thee the book of the *Qurán* with truth, that thou mayest judge between men through that *wisdom* which GOD showeth thee *therein*; and be not an advocate for the fraudulent; (105) but ask pardon of GOD for *thy wrong intention*, since GOD is indulgent *and* merciful. (106) Dispute not for those who deceive one another, for GOD loveth not him who is a deceiver *or* unjust. (107) *Such* conceal themselves from men, but they conceal not themselves from GOD; for he is

(104) *Be not an advocate for the fraudulent.* "Tíma Abu Ubairak, of the sons of Dhafar, one of Muhammad's companions, stole a coat of mail from his neighbour, Kitáda Ibn al Numán, in a bag of meal, and hid it at a Jew's, named Zaid Ibn al Samín. Tíma being suspected, the coat of mail was demanded of him, but he denying he knew anything of it, they followed the track of the meal, which had run through a hole in the bag, to the Jew's house, and there seized it, accusing him of the theft; but he producing witnesses of his own religion that he had it of Tíma, the sons of Dhafar came to Muhammad, and desired him to defend his companion's reputation and condemn the Jew; which he having some thoughts of doing, this passage was revealed, reprehending him for his rash intention, and commanding him to judge, not according to his own prejudice and opinion, but according to the merit of the case."—*Sale, Baidháwi, Jaláluddín, Yahya.*

(105) *Ask pardon, i.e.,* for the purpose, entertained for a while, of acquitting the Muslim and of unjustly condemning the Jew. This passage affords an unanswerable argument against those modern Muslims who claim that Muhammad was sinless.

(106) *Who deceive one another.* The friends of Tíma, who were importunate in their demands for favour to the Muslims.

A deceiver or unjust. "Al Baidháwi, as an instance of the divine justice, adds, that Tíma, after the fact above mentioned, fled to Makkah and returned to idolatry; and there, undermining the wall of a house in order to commit a robbery, the wall fell in upon him and crushed him to death."—*Sale.*

Many other stories of a like nature have been related by the commentators. See *Tafsír-i-Raufi* under ver. 14.

(107) *A saying which pleaseth him not, i.e.,* "When they secretly contrive means, by false evidence or otherwise, to lay their crime on innocent persons."—*Sale.*

This verse and 108–114 refer to the case of Tíma and his associates. The whole passage shows how much superior the morality of

with them when they imagine by night a saying which pleaseth *him* not, and GOD comprehendeth what they do. (108) Behold, ye are they who have disputed for them in this present life; but who shall dispute with GOD for them on the day of resurrection, or who will become their patron? (109) Yet he who doth evil or injureth his own soul, and afterwards asketh pardon of God, shall find God gracious *and* merciful. (110) Whoso committeth wickedness, committeth it against his own soul: GOD is knowing *and* wise. (111) And whoso committeth a sin or iniquity, and afterwards layeth it on the innocent, he shall surely bear *the guilt* of calumny and manifest injustice.

|| (112) If the indulgence and mercy of GOD had not R $\frac{17}{14}$ been upon thee, surely a part of them had studied to seduce thee; but they shall seduce themselves only, and shall not hurt thee at all. GOD hath sent down unto thee the book of the *Qurán* and wisdom, and hath taught thee that which thou knewest not; for the favour of GOD hath been great towards thee.

|| (113) There is no good in the multitude of their SULS. private discourses, unless *in the discourse* of him who recommendeth alms, or that which is right, or agreement amongst men: whoever doth this out of a desire to please GOD, we will surely give him a great reward. (114) But whoso separateth himself from the apostle, after *true* direction hath been manifested unto him, and followeth any other way than that of the true believers, we will cause him to obtain that to which he is inclined, and will cast him to be burned in hell; and an unhappy journey shall it be *thither*.

Muhammad was to that of his *Arab* followers. Did he learn it from his Jewish converts?

(109) *Who . . . asketh pardon.* See note on chap. ii. 199.

(112) *A part of them.* The friends of Tíma alluded to above.

(114) *We will cause him to obtain, &c.* This refers to all deceivers and dishonest persons represented by Tíma (ver. 106). This passage has probably suggested the numerous stories of the commentators related to illustrate it.

R $\frac{18}{15}$

|| (115) Verily GOD will not pardon the giving him a companion, but he will pardon *any crime* besides that, unto whom he pleaseth : and he who giveth a companion unto GOD is surely led aside into a wide mistake; (116) the *infidels* invoke beside him only female *deities*, and

(115) *God will not pardon, &c.* See note on ver. 46.

(116) *Only female deities.* "Namely, Al Lát, al Uzza and Minát, the idols of the Makkans; or the angels whom they called the *daughters of God*."—Sale. See Prelim. Disc., pp. 39–43. The *Tafsir-i-Raufi* and the *Tafsir-i-Hussaini* tell us that the idols at Makkah were made in the form of women, and that the goddesses thus represented were called the *daughters of God*.

And only invoke rebellious Satan, i.e., when they pray to the idols. Muhammad everywhere recognises the personality of Satan as a being possessed of mighty power for evil, and he seems to have had a strong conviction of his own exposure to his influences. See chap. vi. 67, 112, xvi. 100, xix. 86, xx. 53, 54, cxiv. 1–6, &c.

Muir accounts for Muhammad's apostasy and his belief in his inspiration, in part at least, by reference to direct Satanic influence (see his *Life of Mahomet*, vol. ii. chap. iii.) This theory, while scouted by Muslims and apologists for Islám, is decidedly the most satisfactory of any yet enunciated, and to a believer in the Word of God there should be no difficulty in accepting it. It accounts for the sincere efforts at reform inaugurated at Makkah when Muhammad seemed to be really a preacher of righteousness. It accounts for his fall, and for all the deception and iniquity practised by him in later years under the garb of religion, and by what he presumed to be divine right. It accounts for his deliberate imposture, while fancying himself directed by God, for it is not impossible for Satan to have, so to speak, reflected back upon the mind of Muhammad the devices of his own heart, and so by a *revelation* not only confirm his own views, but also lead him to fancy his every thought to be born of inspiration, so that he came practically to identify himself with God, though really identified with Satan! I think that something like this is absolutely necessary to account for Muhammad's having, even in giving military orders, &c. (see vers. 100, 101), *invariably* spoken in the person as well as in the name of God.

I am aware of the reply of Mr. R. Bosworth Smith (in his *Mohammed and Mohammedanism*, p. 116, note), that "if the Spirit of Evil did suggest the idea to Mohammed, he never so completely outwitted himself, since friend and foe must alike admit that it was Mohammed's firm belief in supernatural guidance that lay at the root of all he achieved." But this is exactly what the Lying Spirit of false prophecy desires. Did Ahab's prophet think that he spoke by the dictum of a lying spirit when he withstood the prophet of God before the kings of Israel and Judah?

Again, as to Muhammad's achievements, we think Satan has no reason to believe he overstepped the matter in the accomplishment

only invoke rebellious Satan. (117) GOD cursed him; and he said, Verily I will take of thy servants a part cut off *from the rest*, (118) and I will seduce them, and will insinuate *vain* desires into them, and I will command them, and they shall cut off the ears of cattle; and I will command them, and they shall change GOD's creature. But whoever taketh Satan for his patron, besides GOD, shall surely perish with a manifest destruction. (119) He maketh them promises, and insinuateth into them vain desires: yet Satan maketh them only deceitful promises. (120) The receptacle of these shall be hell; they shall find no refuge from it. (121) But they who believe and do good works we will surely lead them into gardens, through which rivers flow; they shall continue therein for ever, *according to* the true promise of GOD; and who is more true than GOD in what he saith? (122) It shall not be according to your desires, nor *according to* the desires of those who have received the scriptures. Whoso doth evil shall be rewarded for it; and shall not find any

of these. What better achievement could he devise than the establishment of a religion which would destroy the souls of men by denying the atoning blood which alone can destroy his power? Idolatry is certainly his strong tower, but when monotheism can be made to serve the same end, his fortress is rendered doubly strong.

(117) *God cursed him*, or *God curse him*. The usual idiom would require *we* cursed him. The word *say* introduced, however, makes all consistent. See chap. i., note on ver. 2.

A part cut off, "or a part *destined* or *predetermined* to be seduced by me."—Sale.

(118) *Cut off the ears*. This was an ancient Arab custom, whereby they marked the animals devoted to their idols.

They shall change God's creature, i.e., they shall devote their property to the service of Satan by offering it to idols (*Abdül Qâdir*). Baidhâwi thinks the allusion is to the mutilation and disfigurement of the human body, *e.g.*, marking their bodies with figures, by pricking and dyeing them with wood or indigo, sharpening their teeth by filing, by unnatural amours, &c. See Sale's note.

(122) *Nor according to the desires, &c.* "That is, the promises of God are not to be gained by acting after your own fancies, nor yet after the fancies of the Jews or Christians, but by obeying the commands of God. This passage, they say, was revealed on a dispute which arose between those of the three religions, each preferring his own and

patron or helper beside GOD; (123) but whoso doth good works, whether he be male or female, and is a true believer, they shall be admitted into paradise, and shall not in the least be unjustly dealt with. (124) Who is better in point of religion than he who resigneth himself unto GOD, and is a worker of righteousness, and followeth the law of Abraham the orthodox? since GOD took Abraham for his friend; (125) and to GOD *belongeth* whatsoever is in heaven and on earth; GOD comprehendeth all things.

condemning the others. Some, however, suppose the persons here spoken to in the second person were not the Muhammadans, but the idolaters."—*Sale, Baidhāwi, &c.*

"Those who have received the Scriptures" must refer to false professors of the religion revealed in their Scriptures, else the passage contradicts the claim of the Qurán that Islām is the religion of the former Scriptures.

(123) *Male or female.* This passage clearly disproves the opinion of those who imagine that women are excluded from the paradise of Islām. See also notes on chap. iii. 196, chap. ix. 73, and chap. xlviii. 5. The ground of salvation given here is *good works*, which works are, however, *such as Islām requires*.

(124) *He who resigneth himself, i.e., a Muslim*, one who submits himself to the divine will. Such are said to be the followers of "the law of Abraham the Orthodox."

God took Abraham for his friend. Compare 2 Kings xx. 7, Isa. xli. 8, and James ii. 23. "Muhammadans usually call that patriarch, as the Scripture also does, Khalíl Ullah, the *friend of God*, and simply al Khalíl; and they tell the following story:—That Abraham in a time of dearth sent to a friend of his in Egypt for a supply of corn; but the friend denied him, saying in his excuse, that though there was a famine in their country also, yet had it been for Abraham's own family, he would have sent what he desired, but he knew he wanted it only to entertain his guests and give away to the poor, according to his usual hospitality. The servants whom Abraham had sent on this message, being ashamed to return empty, to conceal the matter from their neighbours, filled their sacks with the fine white sand, which in the East pretty much resembles meal. Abraham being informed by his servants, on their return, of their ill success, the concern he was under threw him into a sleep; and in the meantime Sarah, knowing nothing of what had happened, opening one of the sacks, found good flour in it, and immediately set about making of bread. Abraham awaking and smelling the new bread, asked her whence she had the flour. 'Why,' says she, 'from your friend in Egypt.' 'Nay,' replied the patriarch, 'it must have come from no other than my friend God Almighty.'"—*Sale, Baidhāwi, Jaláluddín, Yahya.*

|| (126) They will consult thee concerning women; R 11². Answer, GOD instructeth you concerning them, and that which is read unto you in the book of the *Qurán* concerning female orphans, to whom ye give not that which is ordained them, neither will ye marry them, and concerning weak infants, and that ye observe justice towards orphans: whatever good ye do, GOD knoweth it. (127) If a woman fear ill usage, or aversion from her husband, it shall be no crime in them if they agree the matter amicably between themselves; for a reconciliation is better than a separation. Men's souls are naturally inclined to covetousness: but if ye be kind towards women, and fear to wrong them, GOD is well acquainted with what

(126) *They will consult thee concerning women, i.e.,* "as to the share they are to have in the distribution of the inheritances of their deceased relations; for it seems that the Arabs were not satisfied with Muhammad's decision on this point against the old customs."—*Sale*.

God instructeth you, i.e., as in the earlier portion of the chapter.

Neither will ye marry them. "Or the words may be rendered in the affirmative, *and whom ye desire to marry.* For the pagan Arabs used to wrong their female orphans in both instances; obliging them to marry against their inclinations, if they were beautiful or rich; or else not suffering them to marry at all, that they might keep what belonged to them."—*Sale, Baidhāwī*.

Rodwell translates, "And whom ye refuse to marry." See also note on ver. 3.

Weak infants. See notes on vers. 6 and 8.

(127) *If a woman fear, &c.* The *Tafsīr-i-Raṣfī* says this verse was occasioned by a man's having sought an excuse for divorcing his wife. His wife, however, having a number of children, besought him not to do so, saying he might take to himself as many wives as he chose.

This verse, then, encourages wives to be reconciled to their husbands, by remitting some portion of their dower, or by granting them other wives, and thereby assuming the unenviable place of co-wife. On the other hand, it encourages the husbands to practise this kind of domestic oppression: "It shall be no crime in them if they agree" in this manner.

Souls are naturally inclined to covetousness. This is said to refer to Sauda, one of Muhammad's wives, who besought him to marry her, that she might be amongst his wives at the resurrection! It would seem, however, rather to be intended to justify the covetousness of husbands referred to above.

ye do. (128) Ye can by no means carry yourselves equally between women *in all respects*, although ye study *to do it*; therefore turn not *from* a wife with all *manner of* aversion, nor leave her like one in suspense: if ye agree, and fear *to abuse your wives*, GOD is gracious and merciful; (129) but if they separate, GOD will satisfy *them* both of his abundance; for GOD is extensive *and* wise, (130) and unto GOD *belongeth* whatsoever is in heaven and on earth. We have already commanded those unto whom the scriptures were given before you, and *we command* you also, *saying*, Fear GOD; but if ye disbelieve, unto GOD *belongeth* whatsoever is in heaven and on earth; and GOD is self-sufficient, *and* to be praised; (131) for unto GOD *belongeth* whatsoever is in heaven and on earth, and GOD is a sufficient protector. (132) If he pleaseth he will take you away, O men, and will produce others *in your stead*; for GOD is able to do this. Whoso desireth the reward of this world, verily with GOD is the reward of this world, and *also* of that which is to come; GOD *both* heareth *and* seeth.

R 20
17

|| (133) O true believers, observe justice when ye bear witness before GOD, although *it be* against yourselves, or *your* parents, or relations; whether *the party* be rich, or *whether he be* poor; for GOD is more worthy than them both; therefore follow not *your own* lust, *in bearing testimony* so that ye swerve *from justice*. And whether ye wrest *your evidence* or decline *giving it*, GOD is well

(128) *Carry yourselves equally.* See note on ver. 3.

Like one in suspense, "or like one that neither has a husband, nor is divorced, and at liberty to marry elsewhere."—*Salé*.

(129) *God will satisfy them.* They will have peace, or God will bless them with a better match.

(130) *We have already commanded, &c.* This seems to indicate that these laws, thus instituted, are in accord with the laws of the Bible. If so, the Qurán again comes far short of confirming the former Scriptures.

God is self-sufficient, i.e., needing the service of no creature.

(132) Illustrative of God's sovereign power and *self-sufficiency*.

acquainted with that which ye do. (134) O true believers, believe in GOD and his apostle, and the book which he hath caused to descend unto his apostle, and the book which he hath formerly sent down. And whosoever believeth not in GOD, and his angels, and his scriptures, and his apostles, and the last day, he surely erreth in a wide mistake. (136) Moreover they who believed, and afterwards became infidels, and then believed *again*, and after that disbelieved, and increased in infidelity, GOD will by no means forgive them, nor direct them into the *right* way. (137) Declare unto the ungodly that they shall suffer a painful punishment. (138) They who take the unbelievers for their protectors, besides the faithful, do they seek for power with them? since all power belongeth unto GOD. (139) And he hath already revealed unto you, in the book of *the Qurán*, the

(134) *Observe justice when ye bear witness.* The duty of truthfulness in witness-bearing is clearly inculcated here.

(135) *The book which he hath formerly sent down.* "It is said that Abdullah Ibn Salám and his companions told Muhammad that they believed in him, and in his Qurán, and in Moses, and the Pentateuch, and in Ezra, but no farther; whereupon this passage was revealed, declaring that a partial faith is little better than none at all, and that a true believer must believe in all God's prophets and revelations without exception."—Sale, *Baidháwi*.

The duty of believing the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments is here again inculcated. But so certainly impossible is the fulfilment, that Muslims reject the Gospels, and holding to the Qurán, deny the teaching of all former prophets. See notes on chap. ii. 105.

(136) *Who . . . increased in infidelity.* "These were the Jews, who first believed in Moses, and afterwards fell into idolatry by worshipping the golden calf; and though they repented of that, yet in after ages rejected the prophets who were sent to them, and particularly Jesus the son of Mary, and now filled up the measure of their unbelief by rejecting of Muhammad."—Sale, *Baidháwi*.

Abdul Qádir applies the passage to hypocritical professors of Islám. All such will die and suffer the penalty of infidelity.

The passage also teaches the reprobation of such hypocrites. They shall be given over to destruction, for they shall neither be pardoned nor directed.

(139) *He hath already revealed.* This passage expresses the substance of what is contained in chap. vi. If any particular verse is indicated, it is probably chap. vi. 10.

following passage—WHEN YE SHALL HEAR THE SIGNS OF GOD, THEY SHALL NOT BE BELIEVED, BUT THEY SHALL BE LAUGHED TO SCORN. Therefore sit not with them *who believe not*, until they engage in different discourse; for *if ye do*, ye will certainly *become* like unto them. GOD will surely gather the ungodly and the unbelievers together in hell. (140) They who wait *to observe what befalleth* you, if victory be *granted* you from GOD, say, Were we not with you? But if any advantage happen to the infidels, they say *unto them*, Were we not superior to you, and have we not defended you against the believers? GOD shall judge between you on the day of resurrection: and GOD will not grant the unbelievers means *to prevail* over the faithful.

R $\frac{21}{1}$.

|| (141) The hypocrites act deceitfully with GOD, but he will deceive them; and when they stand up to pray, they stand carelessly, affecting to be seen of men, and remember not GOD, unless a little, (142) wavering between *faith and infidelity*, and *adhering* neither unto these nor unto those: and for him whom GOD shall lead astray thou shalt find no true path. (143) O true believers, take not the unbelievers for *your* protectors besides the faithful. Will ye furnish GOD with an evident argument *of impiety* against you? (144) Moreover the hypocrites shall be in the lowest bottom of *hell* fire,

Sit not with them. Muslims are not allowed even to *listen* to the adverse criticisms of unbelievers, lest they should become like them. These scoffers were no doubt Jews, whose arguments were to the Muslims unanswerable. Anything like a fair investigation would have been disastrous to the cause of Islám. Ignorant bigotry has ever been its strongest defence.

(140) *They who wait.* The hypocrites who played fast and loose with the Muslims and their enemies. When the former were victorious, as at Badr, these desired to share the booty, on pretence of having been in sympathy with the victors. When, however, the latter gained the day, as at Ohod, the hypocrites could show how the victory was due to their withdrawing from the Muslims!

(141) *He will deceive them.* This is a good illustration of the play upon words frequently met with in the Qurán. See chap. iii. 53.

(144) *The lowest bottom of hell fire.* See Prelim. Disc., p. 148.

and thou shalt not find any to help them *thence*. (145) But they who repent and amend, and adhere firmly unto God; and approve the sincerity of their religion to God, they shall be *numbered* with the faithful; and God will surely give the faithful a great reward. (146) And how should God go about to punish you, if ye be thankful and believe? for GÓD is grateful and wise.

|| (147) God loveth not the speaking ill of *any* SIXTH SIPARA. *one* in public, unless he who is injured *call for assistance*; and God heareth and knoweth: (148) whether ye publish a good *action*, or conceal it, or forgive evil, verily God is gracious *and* powerful. (149) They who believe not in God and his apostles, and would make a distinction between God and his apostles, and say, We believe in some of the *prophets* and reject others of *them*, and seek to take a *middle* way in this *matter*; (150) these are really unbelievers: and we have prepared for the unbelievers an ignominious punishment. (151) But they who believe in God and his apostles, and make no distinction between any of them, unto those will ye surely give their reward; and God is gracious *and* merciful.

|| (152) They who have received the scriptures will demand of thee, that thou cause a book to descend unto R $\frac{22}{2}$

(146) *God is grateful*. The idea that God is placed under some sort of obligation to true Muslims is certainly suggested by the language of this verse, but the *meaning* is that he acts towards believers as if he were grateful. The passage may be quoted to illustrate the use of the word *repent* in Gen. vi. 6.

(147) *Unless he who is injured*. The words *call for assistance* are incorrectly supplied. The phrase gives an exception to the rule that evil-speaking is displeasing to God. The oppressed may speak evil of their oppressors. See *Tafsir-i-Raufi in loco*.

(149) *They who believe not, &c.* See chap. ii. 285.

(150) *These are really unbelievers*. The reference is to the Jews, who said, "We believe in Moses and Ezra, but we reject Jesus and Muhammad" (*Tafsir-i-Raufi*).

(152) *That thou cause a book to descend, i.e.,* "the Jews, who demanded of Muhammad, as a proof of his mission, that they might see a book of revelations descend to him from heaven, or that he would produce one written in a celestial character, like the two tables of Moses."—*Salé*.

them from heaven: they formerly asked of Moses a greater *thing* than this; for they said, Show us GOD visibly. Wherefore a storm of fire from heaven destroyed them, because of their iniquity. Then they took the calf *for their God*, after that evident proofs of the divine unity had come unto them: but we forgave *them* that, and gave Moses a manifest power to *punish them*. (153) And we lifted the mountain of *Sinai* over them *when we exacted from them* their covenant; and said unto them, Enter the gate of the city worshipping. We also said unto them, Transgress not on the Sabbath-day. And we received from them a firm covenant, *that they would observe these things*. (154) Therefore for that they have made void their covenant, and have not believed in the signs of GOD, and have slain the prophets unjustly, and have said, Our hearts are circumcised; (but GOD hath sealed them up, because of their unbelief; therefore they shall not believe, except a few of *them*;) (155) and for that they have not believed in *Jesus*, and have spoken against Mary a grievous calumny; (156) and have said, Verily we have slain Christ Jesus the son of Mary, the apostle of GOD; yet

Show us God visibly. See notes on chap. ii. 54 and 62; comp. Exod. xxiv. 9, 10, and 11.

A storm of fire, &c. There is no truth in this statement, which is here given as so much inspired history. See note, chap. iii. 39.

They took the calf. Note on chap. ii. 50.

(153) *We lifted the mountain, &c.* See note on chap. ii. 62 and 64.

(154) *For that.* "There being nothing in the following words of this sentence to answer to the casual *for that*, Jaláluddín supposes something to be understood to complete the sense, as, *therefore we have cursed them*, or the like."—Sale.

(156) *A grievous calumny.* "By accusing her of fornication."—Sale.

They slew him not. See notes on chap. iii. 53 and 54.

Who disagreed. "For some maintained that he was justly and really crucified; some insisted that it was not Jesus who suffered, but another who resembled him in the face, pretending the other parts of his body, by their unlikeness, plainly discovered the imposition; some said he was taken up into heaven; and others, that his manhood only suffered, and that his godhead ascended into heaven."—Sale, Baidhāwī.

they slew him not, neither crucified him, but he was represented *by one* in his likeness; and verily they who disagreed concerning him were in a doubt as to this *matter*, and had no *sure* knowledge thereof, but followed only an *uncertain* opinion. They did not really kill him; (157) but GOD took him up unto himself: and GOD is mighty *and* wise. (158) *And there shall not be one* of those who have received the scriptures who shall not believe in him before his death; and on the day of resur-

They did not really kill him. But the former Scriptures teach the contrary. The death of Christ was foretold to take place at the *first advent* (Dan. ix. 24). Jesus himself, according to the gospel, often foretold his death, and afterwards refers to it as past; the same Scriptures testify to his death as an accomplished fact, and all gospel preaching for eighteen centuries has been based upon it. The historians, Jewish, Heathen, and Christian, attest the fact. In short, there is no fact of either history or revelation so certainly established as that which is here contradicted. This one passage is sufficient to refute Muhammad's claim to be a prophet of God. And the Qurán, instead of attesting the former Scriptures, is found to attest a fiction of Christian heresy.

(158) *And there shall not be one of those, &c.* "This passage is expounded two ways:—

"Some, referring the relative *his* to the first antecedent, take the meaning to be that no Jew or Christian shall die before he believes in Jesus: for they say, that when one of either of those religions is ready to breathe his last, and sees the angel of death before him, he shall then believe in that prophet as he ought, though his faith will not then be of any avail. According to a tradition of Hijáj, when a Jew is expiring, the angels will strike him on the back and face, and say to him, 'O thou enemy of God! Jesus was sent as a prophet unto thee, and thou didst not believe on him;' to which he will answer, 'I now believe him to be the servant of God;' and to a dying Christian they will say, 'Jesus was sent as a prophet unto thee, and thou hast imagined him to be God, or the son of God;' whereupon he will believe him to be the servant of God only, and his apostle.

"Others, taking the above-mentioned relative to refer to Jesus, suppose the intent of the passage to be, that all Jews and Christians in general shall have a right faith in that prophet before his death, that is, when he descends from heaven and returns into the world, where he is to kill Antichrist, and to establish the Muhammadan religion, and a most perfect tranquillity and security on earth."—*Sale, Bairdháwi, Jaláluddín, Yahya, Zamakhsharí.*

The latter view seems to be the most reasonable. See note on chap. iii. 54.

He shall be a witness against them. His witness, says Sale, on

rection he shall be a witness against them. (159) Because of the iniquity of those who Judaize, we have forbidden them good things, which had been *formerly* allowed them; and because they shut out many from the way of God, (160) and have taken usury, which was forbidden them *by the law*, and devoured men's substance vainly: we have prepared for such of them as are unbelievers a painful punishment. (161) But those among them who are well grounded in knowledge, and the faithful, who believe in that which hath been sent down unto thee, and that which hath been sent down *unto the prophets* before thee, and who observe the stated times of prayer, and give alms, and believe in God and the last day, unto these will we give a great reward.

R $\frac{23}{3}$.

|| (162) Verily we have revealed *our will* unto thee, as we have revealed *it* unto Noah and the prophets who succeeded him; and *as* we revealed *it* unto Abraham, and Ismáíl, and Isaac, and Jacob, and the tribes, and unto

the authority of Baidhâwî, shall be "against the Jews for rejecting him, and against the Christians for calling him God and the Son of God." See note on chap. v. 116-119.

(159) *We have forbidden them good things.* See notes on chap. iii. 93.

(161) *Those . . . who are well grounded.* Such as Abdullâh Ibn Salâm (*Tafsîr-i-Raufî*). It seems that those were well grounded in the faith who accepted Islâm. Infidelity and incorrigible stupidity went hand in hand in rejecting the claims of Muhammad.

(162) *We have revealed our will unto thee, &c.* This jumble of names, presented without any respect to chronology, is probably due to Muhammad's receiving his information second-hand and piecemeal through Jewish informants. Yet Muhammad claims to have been inspired, as were all the prophets. He also asserts that his inspiration was of precisely the same character as that of all the persons here enumerated, *i.e.*, they received the message directly from Gabriel, by direct communication and audible voice, the tinkling sound of bells in his ears, &c., which Muslims call *Wahî* and *Ilhâm* (see Sell's *Faith of Islâm*, p. 37, and Hughes's *Notes on Muhammadanism*, p. 47).

The Bible shows clearly that some of those mentioned here were not prophets at all, and that few of them knew aught of the inspiration claimed by Muhammad. Here again the Qurân denies historical fact and contradicts the book it professes to attest.

We have given the Qurân. This clause should have been omitted. The text is clear without it.

Jesus, and Job, and Jonas, and Aaron, and Solomon; and *we have given thee the Qurán* as we gave the psalms unto David: (163) *some apostles have we sent*, whom we have formerly mentioned unto thee; and *other apostles have we sent*, whom we have not mentioned unto thee; and GOD spake unto Moses, discoursing *with him*; (164) apostles declaring good tidings and denouncing threats, lest men should have an argument of *excuse* against GOD, after the apostles *had been sent unto them*: GOD is mighty and wise. (165) GOD is witness of that *revelation* which he hath sent down unto thee; he sent it down with his *special* knowledge; the angels also are witnesses *thereof*; but GOD is a sufficient witness. (166) They who believe not, and turn aside *others* from the way of GOD, have erred in a wide mistake. (167) Verily those who believe not and act unjustly, GOD will by no means forgive, neither will he direct them into *any other* way than the way of hell; they shall remain therein forever; and this is easy with GOD. (168) O men, now is the apostle come unto you, with truth from your LORD; believe, therefore; *it will be* better for you. But if ye disbelieve, verily unto GOD *belongeth* whatsoever is in heaven and on earth; and GOD is knowing and wise. (169) O ye who have received the scriptures, exceed not the just bounds in your religion,

(163) *God spake unto Moses.* This Muslims understand to be the highest form of *wahi* (*revelation*), or inspiration, as the word is incorrectly translated. In this respect, say they, Moses resembled Muhammad. *Tafsir-i-Raufi in loco.*

(165) *God is witness.* The occasion of this revelation was the infidelity of certain Jews, who being asked to testify to his prophecy before certain Quraish chiefs, declared that they did not recognise him as a prophet (*Tafsir-i-Raufi*). The witness of God is in the incomparable language and style of the Qurán; the witness of angels has reference to the testimony of Gabriel. See the plural form used for the singular, chap. iii. 39, note.

(166) *Turned aside others, i.e.,* the chiefs of the Quraish, who were turned aside by the answer of the Jews referred to in the note on the preceding verse.

(168) *With truth from your Lord.* A new assertion of his prophetic claim. See notes on vers. 116, 156, and 162.

(169) *Exceed not the just bounds, i.e.,* "either by rejecting or con-

neither say of GOD *any other* than the truth. Verily Christ Jesus the son of Mary *is* the apostle of GOD, and his Word, which he conveyed into Mary, and a spirit *proceeding* from him. Believe therefore in GOD and his apostles, and say not, *There are three Gods*; forbear *this*; it will be better for you. GOD is but one GOD. Far be it from him that he should have a son; unto him *belongeth* whatever *is* in heaven and on earth; and GOD is a sufficient protector.

R $\frac{24}{4}$.

|| (170) Christ doth not proudly disdain to be a servant unto GOD; neither the angels who approach near to *his presence*: and whoso disdaineth his service and is puffed up with pride, *God* will gather them all to himself *on the last day*. (171) Unto those who believe and do that which is right he shall give their rewards, and shall *superabundantly* add unto them of his liberality: but those who are disdainful and proud, he will punish with a grievous punishment; (172) and they shall not find any

temning Jesus, as the Jews do; or raising him to an equality with God, as do the Christians."—*Sale, Baidhawī*.

His word, . . . a spirit proceeding from him. See notes on chap. ii. 86, and chap. iii. 39.

Say not . . . three, "Namely, God, Jesus, Mary. For the Eastern writers mention a sect of Christians which held the Trinity to be composed of those three; but it is allowed that this heresy has been long since extinct (*Elmacin*, p. 227). The passage, however, is equally levelled against the Holy Trinity, according to the doctrine of the orthodox Christians, who, as Al Baidhawī acknowledges, believe the divine nature to consist of three persons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; by the Father, understanding God's essence; by the Son, his knowledge; and by the Holy Ghost, his life."—*Sale*.

See also *Prelim. Disc.*, p. 64.

The commentators Baidhawī, Jalāluddīn, and Yahya agree in interpreting the *three* to mean "God, Jesus, and Mary," in the relation of Father, Mother, and Son. This misrepresentation of the Scripture doctrine again stamps the Qurán as a fabrication, and furnishes the evidence of its being such on the ground of its own claims. The history of the Church, as well as the Bible, proves the statement of the text, as interpreted by authoritative commentators, to be false; for even granting that some obscure Christian sect did hold such a doctrine of the Trinity (of which statement we have yet to learn the truth), yet the spirit of Muhammad's inspiration represents it as the faith of the Christians *generally*. In almost every case

to protect or to help them, besides GOD. (173) O men, now is an evident proof come unto you from your LORD, and we have sent down unto you manifest light. (174) They who believe in GOD and firmly adhere to him, he will lead them into mercy from him, and abundance; and he will direct them in the right way to himself. (175) They will consult thee *for thy decision in certain cases*; say *unto them*, GOD giveth you *these* determinations concerning the more remote degrees of kindred. If a man die without issue, and have a sister, she shall have the half of what he shall leave: and he shall be heir to her, in case she have no issue. But if there be two *sisters*, they shall have *between them* two third parts of what he shall leave; and if there be *several, both* brothers and sisters, a male shall have as much as the portion of two females. GOD declareth unto you *these precepts*, lest ye err: and GOD knoweth all things.

where the Qurán refers to the Christian faith, it is to inveigh against the idea that God has a son. See chap. ix. 31, xix. 31, xliii. 59.

(173) *Manifest light*, i.e., the teaching of the Qurán.

(175) See notes on vers. 10 and 11.

And he shall be heir to her, i.e., where there is a brother and a sister, the sister inherits half the brother's property in case he die first without issue. On the other hand, in case the sister die first without issue, the brother inherits all her property.

CHAPTER V.

ENTITLED SURAT UL MÁIDA (THE TABLE).

Revealed at Madína.

INTRODUCTION.

ALTHOUGH, as is usual with all the long chapters of the Qurán, this chapter refers to a variety of matters of a general and miscellaneous character, *e.g.*, rules respecting purification, laws concerning lawful and unlawful food, yet there are four points which attract the special notice of the reader. These are (1) the extended reference to the rites of the pilgrimage to Makkah ; (2) the fierce hatred of the Prophet towards the Jews and his denunciations against them ; (3) the laboured effort to refute the Christian doctrine of the Trinity and the Sonship of Christ ; and (4) the repeated warning given to Muslims not to make friends of either Jews or Christians. Wherefore both the historic references of this chapter as well as the *animus* of the revelation point to a period late in the life of Muhammad as that to which it belongs—a period when successful warfare had made the Prophet indifferent alike to Jewish hatred and Christian friendship.

The statement of ver. 4, "This day have I perfected your religion for you," &c., has led some writers to regard this chapter as the last of the chapters of the Qurán, taken in their chronological order. Muslim authorities agree that this verse and a few others at the beginning of this chapter fairly claim the last place on the list of *revelations*. However, excepting this short section, there is nothing in this chapter to lead us to believe it to be chronologically the last in the Qurán. Nöeldeke and Muir both agree in placing chap. ix. at the end of the chronological list of Suras, the former, however, admitting that there are some verses in this chapter which fairly claim posteriority to all others in the Qurán. He refers especially to ver. 4, which he thinks was revealed when Muhammad, with perhaps a

presentiment of death being near, could say that all his enemies had lost their courage and that his religion was completed. It is for this reason he places it last in his historico-critical observations.

The revelations of this chapter are therefore of Madína origin.

Probable Date of the Revelations.

Following Nöldeke for the most part, the dates within which the revelations of this chapter were made are as follows:—

Vers. 1–11 belong to A.H. 10. The date of ver. 12 cannot be ascertained with certainty. Vers. 13 and 14 may be placed almost anywhere between A.H. 2 and 7, the probability being that they belong nearer to the latter than to the former date. Vers. 45–55, though referred by most Muslim writers to a period prior to the massacre of the Baní Quraidha, should nevertheless be placed later, *i.e.*, prior to the expedition against the Jews of Khaibar in A.H. 7.

Vers. 56–63, according to Muslim authorities, belong to the latter part of A.H. 3 or the early part of A.H. 4.

Of vers. 64–88, the most that can be said is that they belong to a period between A.H. 4 and 8, after many wars with the Jews, and before the final outbreak with the Christians. Vers. 89–104 belong to A.H. 4–6. The date of the remaining verses is uncertain, but may be fixed approximately at A.H. 5–8.

Principal Subjects.

	VERSES
Covenants are to be fulfilled	1
— Lawful meats	2
Heathen pilgrims not to be molested	3
Islám completed—last revelation of the Qurán	4
— Certain kinds of food, gaming, and lots forbidden	4, 5
Muslims permitted to eat the food of Jews and Christians, and to marry their women	6
The law of purifications	7
Believers reminded of the covenant of Aqabah	8
Muslims should forget old quarrels with brethren	9–11
God's favour to Muslims	12
Disobedience of Jews and Christians exposed	13–15
Jews and Christians are exhorted to accept Islám	16–18
The divinity of Christ denied	19, 20
Jews and Christians not the children of God	21
Muhammad sent as a warner	22
Israel's rebellion at Kadesh Barnea	23–29
The story of Cain and Abel	30–34

	VERSES
— The sin of homicide	35, 36
The punishment of theft accompanied by apostasy	37, 38
The faithful exhorted to fight for religion	39
The punishment of infidels	40, 41
— The penalty of theft	42-44
Muhammad to judge the Jews and Christians by the law, gospel, and the Qurán	45-55
Muslims forbidden to fraternise with Jews and Christians	56
Hypocrites threatened	57, 58
Believers warned and instructed	59-61
Muslims not to associate with infidels	62, 63
The Jews exhorted and warned	64, 65
The hypocrisy and unbelief of the Jews rebuked	66-69
Promises to believing Jews and Christians	70
Muhammad required to preach	71
He attests Jewish and Christian Scriptures	72
Believing Jews, Sabeans, and Christians to be saved	73
The Jews rejected and killed the prophets of God	74, 75
The doctrines of the Trinity and Christ's Sonship rejected	76-81
Disobedient Jews cursed by their prophets	82-84
Jewish hatred and Christian friendship compared	85-88
Muslims to use lawful food, &c.	89, 90
Expiation for perjury	91
— Wine and lots forbidden	92-94
Law concerning hunting and gaming during pilgrimage	95-97
Pilgrimage and its rites enjoined	98-100
The Prophet not to be pestered with questions	101, 102
Heathen Arab customs denounced	102-104
Wills to be attested by witnesses	105-107
The prophets ignorant of the characters of their followers	108
Jesus—his miracles—God's favour to him	109, 110
The apostles of Jesus were Muslims	111
A table provided by Jesus for the apostles	112-114
Jesus did not teach his followers to worship him and his mother	115-118
The reward of the true believer	119
God is sovereign	120

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

SECOND
MANZIL.

|| (1) O TRUE believers, perform your contracts. (2) Ye R $\frac{1}{5}$.
are allowed *to eat* the brute cattle, other than what ye
are commanded *to abstain from*; except the game which
ye are allowed *at other times*, but not while ye are on pil-
grimage *to Makkah*; GOD ordaineth that which he pleaseth.
(3) O true believers, violate not the holy rites of GOD, nor
the sacred month, nor the offering, nor the ornaments
hung *thereon*, nor those who are travelling to the holy
house, seeking favour from their LORD, and to please *him*.
But when ye shall have finished *your pilgrimage*, then
hunt. And let not the malice of some, in that they
hindered you *from entering* the sacred temple, provoke
you to transgress, *by taking revenge on them in the*
sacred months. - Assist one another according to justice
and piety, but assist not one another in injustice and
malice: therefore fear GOD; for GOD is severe in punish-

(1) *Perform your contracts*. The command is general, and is introductory to the matters following.

(2) *Ye are allowed, &c.* See below, on vers. 4-6; also chap. ii. 174. The only flesh forbidden in the Qurán, if properly slain, is that of the swine; but tradition and custom decide many animals unfit for food. Wild animals, otherwise lawful, are forbidden during the pilgrimage.

(3) *Holy rites, i.e.*, the rites connected with pilgrimage to Makkah. This passage relates to the *heathen* pilgrims and their offerings, tolerated for a short time after the capture of Makkah.

Sacred month. See Prelim. Disc., sect. vii.

The offering. An animal devoted to sacrifice might not be captured even from an infidel. A garland on the neck of an animal indicated its sacred character. It is related in the *Tafsir-i-Raafi* that a camel was stolen from Muhammad at Madína. Some time afterwards, when on a pilgrimage, he recognised his stolen camel in a caravan on its way to Makkah; but seeing the garland on its neck, he forbade his followers taking it. This story may be apocryphal, but it illustrates the force of this law.

The malice of some, i.e., in the pilgrimage A.H. 6, when the Muslims were stopped at Hudaibaya. See Prelim. Disc., p. 89.

Assist one another, &c., in the pilgrimage. The sense is closely connected with what precedes.

ing. (4) Ye are forbidden *to eat* that which dieth of itself, and blood, and swine's flesh, and that on which the name of any besides GOD hath been invocated; and that which hath been strangled, or killed by a blow, or by a fall, or by the horns of *another beast*, and that which hath been eaten by a wild beast, except what ye shall kill *yourselves*; and that which hath been sacrificed unto idols. *It is likewise unlawful for you* to make division by casting lots with arrows. This is an impiety. On this day woe be unto those who have apostatised from their religion; therefore fear not them, but fear me. This day have I perfected your religion for you, and have completed my mercy upon you; and I have chosen for you Islám, *to be your religion*. But whosoever shall be driven

(4) *Ye are forbidden, &c.* See notes on chap. ii. 174.

Eaten by a wild beast, i.e., the flesh of an animal killed by a wild beast is forbidden unless it be found before life is extinct. In this case the flesh may be eaten, provided the hunter cuts its throat in the usual manner.

Sacrificed to idols. "The word also signifies certain stones which the pagan Arabs used to set up near their houses, and on which they superstitiously slew animals in honour of their gods."—Sale, *Bar-dhāwi*.

These stones of the Ishmaelites were probably such as are referred to in Gen. xxviii. 18–22. They were the altars upon which sacrifices were offered to the idols Lát and Uzza, but which pointed to the blood which speaketh better things than the blood of Abel. It is probable that every animal slain for food was offered as a sacrifice.

Lots with arrows. See note on chap. ii. 218, and Prelim. Disc., p. 196. Three arrows were ordinarily used. On one was written *My God commands me*, on another was written *My God forbids me*, and the third was blank. If the first were drawn, the way was clear; if the second were drawn, the matter was left in abeyance for one year, when arrows were again drawn; if the blank were drawn, it was returned to the bag and another trial was made, and so on until either first or second should be drawn (*Tafsir-i-Raufi*).

On this day. "This passage, it is said, was revealed on Friday evening, being the day of the pilgrims visiting Mount Arafát the last time Muhammad visited the temple of Makkah, therefore called the pilgrimage of valediction."—Sale.

This day have I perfected your religion. "And therefore the commentators say that after this time no positive or negative precept was given."—Sale.

by necessity through hunger *to eat of what we have forbidden*, not designing to sin, surely GOD *will be indulgent and merciful unto him*. (5) They will ask thee what is allowed them as *lawful to eat*. Answer, Such things as are good are allowed you; and what ye shall teach animals of prey *to catch*, training them up for hunting after the manner of dogs, *and teaching them according to the skill which GOD hath taught you*. Eat therefore of that which they shall catch for you; and commemorate the name of GOD thereon; and fear GOD, for GOD is swift in taking an account. (6) This day are ye allowed to eat such things as are good, and the food of those to whom the scriptures were given is *also* allowed as lawful unto you; and your food is allowed as lawful unto them. And *ye are also allowed to marry* free women that are believers, and also free women of those who have received the scriptures before you, when ye shall have assigned them their dower, living chastely *with them*, neither committing fornication, nor taking *them* for concubines. Whoever shall renounce the faith, his work shall be vain, and in the next life he shall be of those who perish.

(5) *Commemorate the name of God thereon*. Sale says, "Either when ye let go the hound, hawk, or other animal after the game, or when ye kill it." The rule is to say *Bismillah allāho Akbar*, or simply *Bismillah*, when the dog or hawk is let go.

The requirements of these verses look as if they were either delivered on two different occasions, or they represent the same command as repeated by two different persons to those who compiled the Qurān in its present form.

(6) *The food of those to whom the Scriptures, &c.* This one passage is sufficient to refute the position of those Muslims in India who regard Christians as infidels, and forbid their co-religionists to eat and drink with them.

Free women of those who, &c. Muslims are allowed to have Christian and Jewish wives, but Muslim women may not have Christian or Jewish husbands. Such Christian women, however, may not be taken as concubines.

Muhammad did not feel himself bound by this law in the case of the Jewess Rihāna, whom he took for his concubine immediately after the cruel slaughter of the Banī Quraidha; nor in the case of the Coptic Mary. This law may, however, have been delivered after these women had been taken into the Prophet's harem.

R 2.

|| (7) O true believers, when ye prepare yourselves to pray, wash your faces, and your hands unto the elbows; and rub your heads, and your feet unto the ankles; and if ye be polluted by having lain with a woman, wash yourselves *all over*. But if ye be sick, or on a journey, or any of you cometh from the privy, or *if* ye have touched women, and ye find no water, take fine clean sand, and rub your faces and your hands therewith: GOD would not put a difficulty upon you; but he desireth to purify you, and to complete his favour upon you, that ye may give thanks. (8) Remember the favour of GOD towards you, and his covenant which he hath made with you, when ye said, We have heard, and will obey. Therefore fear GOD, for GOD knoweth the innermost parts of the breasts of *men*. (9) O true believers, observe justice when ye appear as witnesses before GOD, and let not hatred towards any induce you to do wrong: *but* act justly; this will approach nearer unto piety; and fear GOD, for GOD is fully acquainted with what ye do. (10) GOD hath promised unto those who believe and do that which is right that they shall receive pardon and a great reward. (11) But they who believe not and accuse our signs of falsehood, they

(7) *He desireth to purify you.* This verse, as well as the chapter on purifications in the *Mishqât ul Masâbih*, abundantly show that this external purity is all Islâm knows of holiness. The word *holy* conveys no other idea to a Muslim's mind.

(8) *We have heard.* Sale says, "These words are the form used at the inauguration of a prince; and Muhammad here intends the oath of fidelity which his followers had taken to him at Al Aqabah." (See *Prelim Disc.*, p. 81.)

(9) *Let not hatred, &c.* According to the *Tafsîr-i-Raufi* this passage has reference to those who, having once persecuted the Muslims, afterwards embraced Islâm. Muslims are here exhorted to forgive all such injuries.

(11) *They . . . who accuse our signs, &c.* This is another passage showing (1) that the charge of imposture was made in Muhammad's lifetime; (2) that the language and style of the Qurân was not so striking as to convince Muhammad's contemporaries that they were inimitable; and (3) that Muhammad's only argument in reply was his usual threat.

shall be the companions of hell. (12) O true believers, remember God's favour towards you, when certain men designed to stretch forth their hands against you, but he restrained their hands from *hurting* you; therefore fear God and in God let the faithful trust.

|| (13) God formerly accepted the covenant of the chil- R 7.

(12) *He restrained their hands.* "The commentators tell several stories as the occasion of this passage. One says that Muhammad and some of his followers being at Usfán (a place not far from Makkah, in the way to Madína), and performing their noon devotions, a company of idolaters who were in view repented they had not taken that opportunity of attacking them, and therefore waited till the hour of evening prayer, intending to fall upon them then; but God defeated their design by revealing *the verse of Fear*. Another relates that the Prophet going to the tribe of Quraidha (who were Jews) to levy a fine for the blood of two Muslims who had been killed by mistake by Amru Ibn Ummaya al Dhimri, they desired him to sit down and eat with them, and they would pay the fine: Muhammad complying with their request, while he was sitting they laid a design against his life, one Amru Ibn Jásh undertaking to throw a millstone upon him; but God withheld his hand, and Gabriel immediately descended to acquaint the Prophet with their treachery, upon which he rose up and went his way. A third story is, that Muhammad having bung up his arms on a tree under which he was resting himself, and his companions being dispersed some distance from him, an Arab of the desert came up to him and drew his sword, saying, 'Who hindereth me from killing thee?' to which Muhammad answered, 'God;' and Gabriel beating the sword out of the Arab's hand, Muhammad took it up, and asked him the same question, 'Who hinders me from killing thee?' the Arab replied, 'Nobody,' and immediately professed Muhammadanism. Abulfida tells the same story, with some variation of circumstances."—Sale, *Baidhawi*.

We have little reason to regard any of these stories, excepting the first, as true. They possess the marks of the improbable and the apocryphal. Nevertheless they are reproduced by all commentators and expositors of the Qurán, and are believed by all good Muslims. The passage apparently points to the *lesser pilgrimage* and events connected therewith.

(13) *Twelve leaders.* The following is the Muslim account of these twelve leaders as given by Sale on the authority of Baidhawi:—

"After the Israelites had escaped from Pharaoh, God ordered them to go against Jericho, which was then inhabited by giants,* of

* These giants, say the Muslims, were from 800 to 3300 yards in height; their grapes were so large it required five persons to lift a cluster, and the pomegranates were so large that five persons could get into the shell at once.

dren of Israel, and we appointed out of them twelve leaders; and GOD said, Verily I am with you: if ye observe prayer, and give alms, and believe in my apostles, and assist them, and lend unto GOD on good usury, I will surely expiate your evil *deeds* from you, and I will lead you into gardens wherein rivers flow: but he among you who disbelieveth after this, erreth from the straight path.

(14) Wherefore because they have broken their covenant, we have cursed them, and hardened their hearts; they dislocate the words of the *Pentateuch* from their places, and have forgotten part of what they were admonished; and thou wilt not cease to discover deceitful practices among them, except a few of them. But forgive them, and pardon them, for GOD loveth the beneficent. (15) And from those who say, We are Christians, we have received their covenant; but they have forgotten part of what they were admonished; wherefore we have raised up enmity and hatred among them, till the day of resurrection; and GOD will *then* surely declare unto them what they have been doing. (16) O ye who have received the

the race of the Canaanites, promising to give it into their hands; and Moses, by the divine direction, appointed a prince or captain over each tribe to lead them in that expedition (Num. i. 4, 5); and when they came to the borders of the land of Canaan, sent the captains as spies to get information of the state of the country, enjoining them secrecy; but they, being terrified at the prodigious size and strength of the inhabitants, disheartened the people by publicly telling what they had seen, except only Caleb the son of Yafunna (Jephunneh), and Joshua the son of Nun" (Num. xiii. xiv.)

As usual, the message to the Israelites is represented as the same as that given to the Arabs by Muhammad.

-*Good usury.* The reward of those who spent their money in the wars for the faith.

I will surely expiate. See note on chap. iii. 194. It is altogether probable that the word *expiate* was used in conformity with Jewish idiom, but certainly not in a Jewish sense.

(14) *They dislocate the words.* See note on chap. iv. 44.

But forgive them. "That is, if they repent and believe, or submit to pay tribute. Some, however, think these words are abrogated by the verse of the *Sword*."—Sale, Baidhawi.

(15) *Forgotten part, i.e.,* the prophecies of the gospel concerning Muhammad as the Paraclete (*Tafsir-i-Raufi*).

Enmity and hatred. The reference is to the sectarian quarrels among Christians.

scriptures, now is our apostle come unto you, to make manifest unto you many *things* which ye concealed in the scriptures, and to pass over many *things*. (17) Now is light and a perspicuous book of *revelations* come unto you from GOD. (18) Thereby will GOD direct him who shall follow his good pleasure into the paths of peace; and shall lead them out of darkness into light by his will, and shall direct them in the right way. (19) They are infidels who say, Verily GOD is Christ the son of Mary. Say unto them, And who could obtain anything from GOD *to the contrary*, if he pleased to destroy Christ the son of Mary, and his mother, and all those who are on the earth?

(16) *Which ye concealed, e.g.,* "the verse of stoning adulterers (chap. iii. 23), the description of Muhammad, and Christ's prophecy of him by the name of AHMED" (chap. lxi. 6).—Sale, *Baidhāwī*.

And to pass over other things. The things thus passed over were all that made Christianity a religion at all. The *additions*, made under pretence of restoring lost revelations, were distinctly Muslim in their character. How such a proceeding can be reconciled with a character for honest sincerity is beyond my ken.

(17) *Now is light . . . come unto you, i.e.,* the light of prophecy, which resided in Muhammad and all the predecessors of Muhammad up to Adam. This light was the first creation of God, and through this light all the works of God were made manifest (*Tafsīr-i-Raufī*). Muhammadan mystics have little difficulty in persuading themselves in this way that Muhammad and the Qurān are divine in the sense that they are the light of God, manifesting him as the light of the sun reveals to us the orb of day with all its retinue of worlds.

The orthodox, however, take more sober views of the passage, and understand the truth of Islām as recorded in the Qurān to be all that is intended.

(19) *The infidels.* Christians are here called by the same name as that which is applied to idolaters, because their clear confession of the divine nature and attributes of Christ declares them to be guilty of this unpardonable sin of Islām. In almost all the earlier chapters of the Qurān, Christians are spoken of as "the people of the book," and the status assigned to them is far above that of either Jews or idolaters. In the latter revelations the *Nazarines* are, as here, plainly called idolaters. This inconsistency may be explained either by supposing Muhammad to have been ignorant of Christianity until a late period of his life, or by presuming that he chose to ignore them when he could, and to patronise where he could not ignore, until his pretensions as a prophet and his power as a politician had been established. We think the last to be most in accord with probability,

(20) For unto GOD *belongeth* the kingdom of heaven and earth, and whatsoever *is contained* between them; he createth what he pleaseth, and GOD is almighty. (21) The Jews and the Christians say, We are the children of GOD and his beloved. Answer, Why therefore doth he punish you for your sins? Nay, but ye are men, of those whom he hath created. He forgiveth whom he pleaseth, and punisheth whom he pleaseth; and unto GOD *belongeth* the kingdom of heaven and earth, and of what *is contained* between them both; and unto him shall *all things* return. (22) O ye who have received the scriptures, now is our apostle come unto you, declaring unto you *the true religion*, during the cessation of apostles, lest ye should say, There came unto us no bearer of good tidings, nor any warner: but now is a bearer of good tidings and a warner come unto you; for GOD is almighty.

and as being most easily reconciled with traditions which accredit Muhammad with a knowledge of Christianity even before he claimed to be a prophet, and which even declare his wife Khadijah to have been a Christian.

If he pleased to destroy Christ. This passage decidedly proves that whatever purpose Muhammad had in using the terms "*Word of God*," "*Spirit from God*," &c. (see chaps. ii. 86 and iii. 39), he certainly never intended to sanction the doctrine of Christ's divinity in any way.

(21) *Why . . . doth he punish you?* Compare with Heb. xii. 5-8. This verse shows that Muhammad, while using the phraseology of Christians, did not understand its import. *A son of God* seemed to him to certainly express the idea of a divine nature, hence he says, "Nay, but ye are men," &c.

(22) *The cessation of the apostles.* "The Arabic word *al fatra* signifies the intermediate space of time between two prophets, during which no new revelation or dispensation was given; as the interval between Moses and Jesus, and between Jesus and Muhammad, at the expiration of which last Muhammad pretended to be sent."—Sale.

The *Tafsir-i-Raufi* says there were one thousand prophets intervening successively between Moses and Jesus, but none between Jesus and Muhammad. During the whole period of 2300 years, according to Arab reckoning, between Moses and Muhammad, no prophet appeared among the children of Ishmaél. Surely the promise was to Isaac, even on Muslim showing.

|| (23) *Call to mind* when Moses said unto his people, R 4
 O my people, remember the favour of GOD towards you, since he hath appointed prophets among you, and constituted you kings, and bestowed on you what he hath given to no *other* nation in the world. (24) O my people, enter the holy land, which GOD hath decreed you, and turn not your backs, lest ye be subverted and perish. (25) They answered, O Moses, verily there are a gigantic people in the *land*; and we will by no means enter it, until they depart thence; but if they depart thence, then will we enter *therein*. (26) And two men of those who feared GOD, unto whom GOD had been gracious, said, Enter ye upon them *suddenly by the gate of the city*; and when ye shall have entered the same, ye shall surely be victorious: therefore trust in GOD, if ye are true believers. (27) They replied, O Moses, we will never enter *the land* while they remain therein: go therefore thou and thy LORD

(23) *Kings*. There is almost certainly an anachronism here; but Muslims regard the words as a prophecy of Moses concerning kings to come, or they understand by the expression that God had "made them *kings* or *masters* of themselves by delivering them from Egyptian bondage" (*Sale*).

What he hath given, &c. Baidhawī says, "Having divided the Red Sea for you, and guided you by a cloud, and fed you with quails and manna, &c." The allusion is with more probability assigned to the *peculiar blessings* of Israel as the chosen people of God.

(24) *Holy land*. This expression, like the language of the previous verse, was received from the vocabulary of contemporary Jews or Christians. But it is here put in the mouth of Moses.

(25) *Gigantic people*. See note on ver. 13.

(26) *Two men*. Caleb and Joshua.

Enter . . . by the gate. This illustrates Muhammad's idea of the mission of the Israelites to Canaan, and of Joshua's resources in his efforts to conquer Jericho. He is confident of success through stratagem. Yet this whole caricature of the history of the rebellion of the children of Israel at Kadesh Barnea is put in the mouth of God and related as authentic story. What can account for such a phenomenon but satanic possession or wilful imposture? Certainly nothing from a Christian standpoint. The only other possible supposition is the faith of the Muslim that this is inspired history, and that everything contradictory to it is false.

and fight; for we will sit here. (28) Moses said, O LORD, surely I am not master of any except myself and my brother; therefore make a distinction between us and the ungodly people. (29) God answered, Verily, the *land* shall be forbidden them forty years; *during which time* they shall wander *like men astonished* on the earth; therefore be not thou solicitous for the ungodly people.

R $\frac{5}{9}$. || (30) Relate unto them also the history of the two sons of Adam, with truth. When they offered *their* offering, and it was accepted from one of them, and was not accepted from the other, Cain said *to his brother*, I will

(28) *Except myself and my brother.* Moses would seem to have forgotten Caleb and Joshua. The author of the *Tafsir-i-Raufi* conjectures that it is Aaron who is called *Lord* in ver. 27; but this theory is contrary to the dignity bestowed on Moses everywhere in the Qurán.

Therefore make a distinction, &c. Compare Numb. xiv. 11-20.

(29) *They shall wander.* "The commentators pretend that the Israelites, while they thus wandered in the desert, were kept within the compass of about eighteen (or, as some say, twenty-seven) miles; and that though they travelled from morning to night, yet they constantly found themselves the next day at the place from whence they set out."—*Sale*.

(30) *Relate with . . . truth.* See note on chap. ii. 145.

The two sons of Adam, Cain and Abel; called by Muhammadans Kábil and Hábil.

When they offered, &c. "The occasion of their making this offering is thus related, according to the common tradition in the East. Each of them being born with a twin sister, when they were grown up, Adam, by God's direction, ordered Cain to marry Abel's twin sister, and that Abel should marry Cain's (for it being the common opinion that marriages ought not to be had in the nearest degrees of consanguinity, since they must necessarily marry their sisters, it seemed reasonable to suppose they ought to take those of the remoter degree; but this Cain refusing to agree to, because his own sister was the handsomest, Adam ordered them to make their offerings to God, thereby referring the dispute to his determination. The commentators say Cain's offering was a sheaf of the very worst of his corn, but Abel's a fat lamb, of the best of his flock."—*Sale, Baidhāwī, Jalāluddīn*.

"The offering of Abel was accepted by fire descending from heaven and consuming it, while that of Cain was untouched."—*Tafsir-i-Raufi, Tafsir-i-Husaini*.

Abel answered, &c. "This conversation between the two brothers," says *Sale*, "is related somewhat to the same purpose in the Jerusalem Targum and that of Jonathan ben Uzziel."

certainly kill thee. Abel answered, GOD only accepteth *the offering* of the pious ;

|| (31) If thou stretchest forth thy hand against me, to ^{NISF.} slay me, I will not stretch forth my hand against thee, to slay thee ; for I fear GOD, the LORD of all creatures. (32) I choose that thou shouldest bear my iniquity and thine own iniquity ; and that thou become a companion of *hell* fire ; for that is the reward of the unjust. (33) But his soul suffered him to slay his brother, and he slew him ; wherefore he became *of the number* of those who perish. (34) And GOD sent a raven, which scratched the earth, to show him how he should hide the shame of his brother, *and* he said, Woe is me ! am I unable to be like this raven,

(31) *I will not stretch forth my hand, &c.* Baidháwi says Abel was much stronger than Cain, and that he could easily have prevailed against him if he had chosen to fight.

(32) *A companion of hell fire.* This fierce revengeful spirit comports well with the character of the Arabian Prophet, but comes far short of the truth when applied to the brother of Cain.

(33) *He slew him.* The commentators say he did not know how to kill his brother until the devil, appearing in human form, killed in his sight a bird by laying its head on one stone and smiting it with another. Cain then went at night-time to his brother, who was sleeping with his head pillowed on a stone, and striking him on the head with a stone, slew him (*Tafsir-i-Raufi*).

(34) *A raven . . . to show him, &c.* The Jewish tradition, which makes Adam to be indebted to a raven for his knowledge as to how to dispose of the body of his murdered son, is here so distorted as actually to make God to sympathise with the murderer in his anxiety to conceal the corpse of his victim.

"Cain, having committed this fratricide, became exceedingly troubled in his mind, and carried the dead body about on his shoulders for a considerable time, not knowing where to conceal it, till it stank horribly ; and then God taught him to bury it by the example of a raven, who having killed another raven in his presence, dug a pit with his claws and beak, and buried him therein."—*Sale, Baidháwi.*

The commentators say that, previous to the burial, Cain carried the body of his brother about for forty days (others say a year), ever struggling to keep off birds of prey and ravenous beasts ; that his skin became black, and a voice ever shouted in his ears, "Be thou for ever in terror," and that at last he was murdered by his own son. The punishment of Cain is said to be equal to half the punishment of all the rest of mankind. His repentance was therefore in vain. See the *Tafsir-i-Raufi in loco.*

that I may hide my brother's shame? and he became *one* of those who repent. (35) Wherefore we commanded the children of Israel, that he who slayeth a soul, without having slain a soul, or committed wickedness in the earth, *shall be* as if he had slain all mankind: but he who saveth a soul alive, *shall be* as if he had saved the lives of all mankind. (36) Our apostles formerly came unto them, with evident *miracles*; then were many of them after this transgressors on the earth. (37) But the recompense of those who fight against God and his apostle, and study to act corruptly in the earth, *shall be*, that they shall be slain, or crucified, or have their hands and their feet cut off on the opposite *sides*, or be banished the land. This shall be their disgrace in this world, and in the next

(35) *Without having slain a soul.* From this the inference is drawn that a murderer may be slain without crime (*Abdul Qádir*).

Wickedness in the earth, "Such as idolatry or robbing on the highway."—Sale, *Baidháwi*.

All mankind. See Rodwell's note here, showing the Jewish origin of this sentiment.

(37) *The recompense, &c.* A party of eight Bedouin Arabs, having professed Islám at Madína, was appointed to guard the camels of Muhammad sent to graze at Ayr, near Madína. The Bedouins drove off the camels and wounded some herdsmen who had gone in pursuit, killing one in a barbarous manner. Muhammad, having been informed of this transaction, sent twenty horsemen in pursuit, who captured the robbers, recovering all the camels but one. In punishment Muhammad ordered the arms and legs of the eight men to be cut off, their eyes to be put out, and their trunks to be impaled until life was extinct. This horrible barbarity seems to have appeared excessive, and accordingly this verse was revealed. (See Muir's *Life of Mahomet*, vol. iv. pp. 19 and 20.) The barbarities herein sanctioned are still practised in every Muhammadan country. As to the infliction of these punishments, Sale, on the authority of Baidháwi and others, says, "The lawyers are not agreed. But the commentators suppose that they who commit murder only are to be put to death in the ordinary way; those who murder and rob too, to be crucified; those who rob without committing murder, to have their right hand and their left foot cut off; and they who assault persons and put them in fear, to be banished. It is also a doubt whether they who are crucified shall be crucified alive, or be first put to death, or whether they shall hang on the cross till they die."

world they shall suffer a grievous punishment; (38) except those who shall repent before ye prevail against them; for know that God *is* inclined to forgive, *and* merciful.

|| (39) O true believers, fear God, and earnestly desire R $\frac{6}{10}$
a near conjunction with him, and fight for his religion, that ye may be happy. (40) Moreover they who believe not, although they had whatever *is* in the earth, and as much more withal, that they might therewith redeem themselves from punishment on the day of resurrection; it shall not be accepted from them, but they shall suffer a painful punishment. (41) They shall desire to go forth from the fire, but they shall not go forth from it, and their punishment shall be permanent. (42) If a man or a woman steal, cut off their hands, in retribution for that which they have committed; *this is* an exemplary punishment appointed by God; and God is mighty *and* wise. (43) But whoever shall repent after his iniquity and amend,

(38) *Except those who shall repent.* If the offenders be unbelievers, and previous to their being forcibly seized they profess Islām, they are to be forgiven; even stolen property may not be taken from them. If they be Muslims, they are to be pardoned; stolen property being returned and the price of blood being paid in case murder have been committed. See the *Tafsīr-i-Raufi in loco*.

(39) *A near conjunction.* The original word means *a helper* or *a means of accomplishing anything*. The meaning here is that believers should seek the means of near approach to God, which means, say the commentators, is obedience to his commandments.

(42) *Cut off their hands.* "But this punishment, according to the Sunnat, is not to be inflicted unless the value of the thing stolen amount to four dinars, or about forty shillings. For the first offence the criminal is to lose his right hand, which is to be cut off at the wrist; for the second offence, his left foot, at the ankle; for the third, his left hand; for the fourth, his right foot; and if he continue to offend, he shall be scourged at the discretion of the judge." *Sale, Jalāluddīn.*

Savary says this law is not observed by the Turks, who use the *bastonnado* in ordinary cases, often beheading robbers of notoriety. But if so, the Turk is inconsistent with his religion, for "this is an exemplary punishment appointed of God."

(43) *But whoever shall repent.* "That is, God will not punish him for it hereafter; but his repentance does not supersede the execution of the law here, nor excuse him from making restitution. Yet,

verily GOD will be turned unto him, for GOD *is* inclined to forgive, *and* merciful. (44) Dost thou not know that the kingdom of heaven and earth is GOD's? He punisheth whom he pleaseth, and he pardoneth whom he pleaseth; for GOD is almighty. (45) O apostle, let not them grieve thee who hasten to infidelity, *either* of those who say, We believe, with their mouths, but whose hearts believe not; or of the Jews, who hearken to a lie, *and* hearken to other people; *who* come unto thee: they pervert the words of *the law* from their *true* places, *and* say, If this be brought unto you, receive it; but if it be not brought unto you, beware of *receiving aught else*; and in behalf of him whom GOD shall resolve to seduce, thou shalt not prevail with GOD at all. They whose hearts GOD shall not please to

according to al Sháfa'i, he shall not be punished if the party wronged forgive him before he be carried before a magistrate."—*Sale, Baidhāwī*.

See above on vers. 37 and 38.

(45) See notes on chap. iv. 43–50. The passage is directed against apostates, hypocrites, and Jews.

And hearken to other people. "These words are capable of two senses, and may either mean that they attended to the lies and forgeries of their Rabbins, neglecting the remonstrances of Muhammad, or else that they came to hear Muhammad as spies only, that they might report what he said to their companions, and represent him as a liar."—*Sale, Baidhāwī*.

If this be brought unto you, &c. "That is, if what Muhammad tells you agrees with Scripture, as corrupted and dislocated by us, then you may accept it as the Word of God; but if not, reject it. These words, it is said, relate to the sentence pronounced by that prophet on an adulterer and adulteress, both persons of some figure among the Jews. For they, it seems, though they referred the matter to Muhammad, yet directed the persons who carried the criminals before him, that if he ordered them to be scourged and to have their faces blackened (by way of ignominy), they should acquiesce in his determination; but in case he condemned them to be stoned, they should not. And Muhammad pronouncing the latter sentence against them, they refused to execute it, till Ibn Súriya (a Jew), who was called upon to decide the matter, acknowledged the law to be so. Whereupon they were stoned at the door of the mosque."—*Sale, Baidhāwī*.

That which is forbidden, i.e., usury, which in Oriental languages is said to be eaten. Forbidden meats could only be intended providing the persons addressed here included Christians as well as Jews.

cleanse shall suffer shame in this world, and a grievous punishment in the next: who hearken to a lie, *and* eat that which is forbidden. (46) But if they come unto thee *for judgment*, either judge between them, or leave them; and if thou leave them, they shall not hurt thee at all. But if thou *undertake* to judge, judge between them with equity; for GOD loveth those who observe justice. (47) And how will they submit to thy decision, since they have the law, containing the judgment of GOD? Then will they turn their backs, after this; but those are not true believers.

|| (48) We have surely sent down the law, containing R ⁷/_{II} direction and light: thereby did the prophets, who professed the true religion, judge those who judaised; and

(46) *Or leave them, i.e.*, "take thy choice whether thou wilt determine their differences or not. Hence al Shāfa'ī was of opinion that a judge was not obliged to decide causes between Jews or Christians; though if one or both of them be tributaries, or under the protection of the Muhammadans, they are obliged, this verse not regarding them. Abu Hanīfa, however, thought that the magistrates were obliged to judge all cases which were submitted to them."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*.

(47) *They have the law.* See note on chap. iv. 44. Sale says that "in the following passage Muhammad endeavours to answer the objections of the Jews and Christians, who insisted that they ought to be judged, the former by the law of Moses, and the latter by the gospel. He allows that the law was the proper rule of judging till the coming of Jesus Christ, after which the gospel was the rule; but pretends that both are set aside by the revelation of the Qurān, which is so far from being contradictory to either of the former, that it is more full and explicit; declaring several points which had been stifled or corrupted therein, and requiring a vigorous execution of the precepts in both, which had been too remissly observed, or rather neglected, by the latter professors of those religions."

On the doctrine of abrogation alluded to by Sale, see note on chap. ii. 105. The statements of this passage alike contradict the idea that Muhammad regarded the Christian or Jewish Scriptures as *corrupted* in any way whatever, and that of the *abrogation* of those Scriptures; for, if corrupted, how could he say *the Jews of Madīna "have the law, containing the judgment of God"*? And, if abrogated, how could he say in ver. 49, "We have therein (in the *law* (Tauret), see ver. 48) commanded them," &c., quoting almost literally a portion of the law of Exod. xxi. 23-27, and adding, "Whoso judgeth not according to *what God hath revealed*, they are unjust and infidels"?

(48) *The true religion, i.e.*, Islām, the one true religion of all ages of the world. See note on chap. ii. 136.

the doctors and priests *also judged* by the book of GOD, which had been committed to their custody; and they were witnesses thereof. Therefore fear not men, but fear me; neither sell my signs for a small price. And whoso judgeth not according to what GOD hath revealed, they are infidels. (49) We have therein commanded them, that they *should give* life for life, and eye for eye, and nose for nose, and ear for ear, and tooth for tooth; and *that* wounds *should also be punished by* retaliation: but whoever should remit it as alms, it *should be accepted as* an atonement for him. And whoso judgeth not according to what GOD hath revealed, they are unjust. (50) We also caused Jesus the son of Mary to follow the footsteps of *the prophets*, confirming the law which *was sent down* before him;

Committed to their custody; and . . . witnesses. The only fair interpretation of this passage is that the Scriptures of the Jews were *preserved from all corruption* by the jealous watchfulness of those "doctors and priests" who had been appointed as the custodians of the precious treasure. These keepers of the LAW are the witnesses to the character of that which has been committed to their charge. ("They are vigilant to prevent any corruption therein."—*Salé.*) Wherefore he exhorts the *Jews whom he is here addressing*, "Therefore, O Jews, fear not men, but fear me (*i.e.*, God); neither sell my signs for a small price," *i.e.*, by perverting the meaning of your Scriptures, as in ver. 45.

(49) Compare with Exod. xxi. 23-27. Muhammad could not have had the Scriptures before him, else he would have quoted more fully.

An atonement. This expression conveys here the Mosaic idea of *satisfaction*, but does not seem to have been used by Muhammad in the Bible sense, the meaning being that when the injured person forgave the transgressor, no punishment should be inflicted by others on this account. The popular belief among Muslims agrees with this, viz., that God cannot forgive an offence against a man or beast unless the offender first be pardoned by those whom he has injured. See also note on chap. iii. 194.

This passage, as well as chap. xv. 35, is said to be abrogated by chap. ii. 178. That passage certainly professes to relax the law of retaliation prescribed by Moses. If so, there appears to be a contradiction between these two passages which cannot fairly be reconciled by the convenient doctrine of abrogation, for in this case the passage abrogated was revealed several years after the passage which abrogates it.

(50) *Confirming also the law.* The testimony to the law is the gospel of Jesus, and the testimony confirming both is the Qurán.

and we gave him the gospel, containing direction and light; confirming also the light which *was given* before it, and a direction and admonition unto those who fear *God*: (51) that they who have received the gospel might judge according to what *God* hath revealed therein: and whoso judgeth not according to what *God* hath revealed, they are transgressors. (52) We have also sent down unto thee the book of the *Qurán* with truth, confirming that scripture which *was revealed* before it; and preserving the same safe *from corruption*. Judge therefore between them according to that which *God* hath revealed; and follow not their desires *by swerving* from the truth which hath come unto thee. Unto every one of you have we given a law and an open path; (53) and if *God* had pleased, he had surely made you one people; but *he hath thought fit to give you different laws*, that he might try you in that which he hath given you *respectively*. Therefore strive to excel each other in good works: unto *God* shall ye all return, and *then* will he declare unto you that concerning

See v. 52. Portions may be abrogated, and so cease to be of binding force to whom they are so abrogated, but all remains *true*. The eternal truths of *God* as to his own nature and attributes, his moral law, historical fact, &c., cannot be abrogated (see chap. ii. 105 note), and therefore the *Qurán* again points the way to its own refutation.

(52) See notes on chaps. ii. 75-78; iii. 77; iv. 44.

(53) *One people, i.e.*, "He had given you the same laws, which should have continued in force through all ages, without being abolished or changed by new dispensations; or he could have forced you all to embrace the Muhammadan religion."—*Sale, Baidháwi*.

This passage seems to have been intended to reconcile all parties to Islám, notwithstanding its differences when compared with Judaism and Christianity. These were intended as a trial of faith. But, in accordance with the teaching of the preceding verses, the claim should have been that *God had made them one people*, possessing the same religion and acknowledging the same divine messengers, and that that wherein they differed was due to *their own sin and unbelief*, and not to *God's will*. The fact of irreconcilable differences between the "people of the book" and himself seems to have forced itself into the consciousness of the oracle of Islám, and made consistency in the statement of prophetic claims and the facts of experience an impossibility. See also Arnold's *Islám and Christianity*, pp. 172 and 174.

which ye have disagreed. (54) Wherefore *do thou, O prophet*, judge between them according to that which GOD hath revealed, and follow not their desires; but beware of them, lest they cause thee to err from part of those *precepts* which GOD hath sent down unto thee; and if they turn back, know that GOD is pleased to punish them for some of their crimes; for a great number of men are transgressors. (55) Do they therefore desire the judgment of *the time of ignorance*? but who is better than GOD, to judge between people who reason aright?

SULS.

R $\frac{8}{12}$

|| (56) O true believers, take not the Jews or Christians for *your* friends; they are friends the one to the other; but whoso among you taketh them for *his* friends, he is surely *one* of them: verily GOD directeth not unjust people. (57) Thou shalt see those in whose hearts there is an infirmity, to hasten unto them, saying, We fear lest

(54) *Beware of these.* "It is related that certain of the Jewish priests came to Muhammad with a design to entrap him; and having first represented to him that if they acknowledged him for a prophet, the rest of the Jews would certainly follow their example, made this proposal—that if he would give judgment for them in a controversy of moment which they pretended to have with their own people, and which was agreed to be referred to his decision, they would believe him; but this Muhammad absolutely refused to comply with."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*.

This story of the commentators looks very like the one given in note on ver. 45. That the passage is a reply to some effort on the part of the Jews to tempt Muhammad is clear enough. The following verse points to some law abolishing the practices of the heathen Arabs as the point of attack. The story of Baidhāwī in the note in ver. 45, if true, would sufficiently explain the character of the Jewish proposal.

(56) *Take not Jews and Christians for your friends.* See note on chap. iii. 118. The statement that Jews and Christians "*are friends one of another*" is another slip of the pen that recorded the history of the Qurān. The spirit of hatred and contempt inculcated here is entirely inconsistent with the teaching of ver. 53. Yet this is the spirit of Islām as it now is. Religious toleration in Muhammadan countries is the toleration of contempt.

(57) *We fear, &c.* "These were the words of Ibn Ubbai, who, when Obādah Ibn al Sānat publicly renounced the friendship of the infidels, and professed that he took God and his Apostle for his

some adversity befall us; but it is easy for GOD to give victory, or a command from him, that they may repent of that which they concealed in their minds. (58) And they who believe will say, Are these *the men* who have sworn by GOD, with a most firm oath, that they surely *held* with you? their works are become vain, and they are of those who perish. (59) O true believers, whoever of you apostatiseth from his religion, GOD will certainly bring *other people to supply his place*, whom he will love,

patrons, said that he was a man apprehensive of the fickleness of fortune, and therefore would not throw off his old friends, who might be of service to him hereafter.”—*Salé, Baidhāwi*.

A command “to extirpate and banish the Jews, or to detect and punish the hypocrites.”—*Salé*.

This verse and the one following refer to the Jews of the tribes of Nadhír and Quraidha.

(59) *Whoever of you apostatiseth, &c.* “This is one of those accidents which it is pretended were foretold by the Qurán long before they came to pass. For in the latter days of Muhammad, and after his death, considerable numbers of the Arabs quitted his religion and returned to Paganism, Judaism, or Christianity. Al Baidhāwi reckons them up in the following order:—1. Three companies of Banu Mudlaj, seduced by Dhu’lhamár al Aswad al Ansí, who set up for a prophet in Yaman, and grew very powerful there. 2. Banu Hunaifah, who followed the famous false prophet Musailama. 3. Banu Assad, who acknowledged Tulaiha Ibn Khuwailad, another pretender to divine revelation, for their prophet. All these fell off in Muhammad’s lifetime. The following, except only the last, apostatised in the reign of Abu Baqr. 4. Certain of the tribe of Fízarah, headed by Uyaima Ibn Husáin. 5. Some of the tribe of Ghatfán, whose leader was Qurrah Ibn Salmah. 6. Banu Sulaim, who followed al Fahjáah Ibn Abd Yafíl. 7. Banu Yarbú, whose captain was Málík Ibn Nuwairah Ibn Qais. 8. Part of the tribe of Tamín, the proselytes of Sajáj the daughter of al Mundhár, who gave herself out for a prophetess. 9. The tribe of Kindah, led by al Asháth Ibn Qais. 10. Banu Baqr Ibn al Wayil in the province of Bahrain, headed by al Hutam Ibn Zaid. And 11. Some of the tribes of Ghassán, who, with their prince Jabálah Ibn al Ayshám, renounced Muhammadanism in the time of Omar, and returned to their former profession of Christianity.

“But as to the persons who fulfilled the other part of this prophecy, by supplying the loss of so many renegades, the commentators are not agreed. Some will have them to be the inhabitants of Yaman, and others the Persians; the authority of Muhammad himself being vouched for both opinions. Others, however, suppose them to be two thousand of the tribe of al Nakhá (who dwelt in Yaman), five

and who will love him; *who shall be humble towards the believers, but severe to the unbelievers; they shall fight for the religion of GOD, and shall not fear the obloquy of the detractor. This is the bounty of GOD; he bestoweth it on whom he pleaseth: GOD is extensive and wise.* (60) Verily your protector is GOD, and his apostle, and those who believe, who observe the stated times of prayer, and give alms, and who bow down *to worship.* (61) And whoso taketh GOD, and his apostle, and the believers for his friends, *they are the party of GOD, and they shall be victorious.*

R 13

|| (62) O true believers, take not such of those to whom the scriptures were delivered before you, or of the infidels, for your friends, who make a laughing-stock and a jest of your religion; but fear GOD, if ye be true believers; (63) *nor those who*, when ye call to prayer, make a laughing-stock and a jest of it; this *they do* because they are people who do not understand. (64) Say, O ye who have received the scriptures, do ye reject us *for any other reason* than because we believe in GOD, and that *revelation* which

thousand of those of Kindah and Bajilah, and three thousand of unknown descent, who were present at the famous battle of Kadisia, fought in the Khalifat of Omar, and which put an end to the Persian empire."—Sale.

For an account of the pretenders who rose up against Muhammad towards the end of his lifetime, see Muir's *Life of Mahomet*, vol. iv. chap. xxxii.

(60) *Stated times of prayer, &c.* See note, chap. ii. 42.

(62) *Who makes . . . a jest of your religion, i.e.,* certain Jews who mocked the Muslims when at prayer (*Tafsir-i-Raufi*). Baidhawî gives the following story as translated by Sale:—"These words were added on occasion of a certain Christian who, hearing the *Muadhdhin*, or crier, in calling to prayers, repeat this part of the usual form, 'I profess that Muhammad is the apostle of God,' said aloud, 'May God burn the liar;,' but a few nights after his own house was accidentally set on fire by a servant, and himself and his family perished in the flames."

(64) The Jews and Christians are here again told that a profession of Islâm is consistent with their own Scriptures. The passage belongs to a period before Muhammad had broken with Jews and Christians.

hath been sent down unto us, and that which was formerly sent down, and for that the greater part of you are transgressors? (65) Say, Shall I denounce unto you a worse *thing* than this, *as to* the reward *which ye are to expect* with God? He whom God hath cursed, and with whom he hath been angry, having changed *some* of them into apes and swine, and *who* worship Taghut, they *are* in the worse condition, and err more *widely* from the straightness of the path. (66) When they came unto you, they said, We believe: yet they entered *into your company* with infidelity, and went forth *from you* with the same; but God well knew what they concealed. (67) Thou shalt see many of them hastening unto iniquity and malice, and to eat things forbidden; and woe *unto them* for what they have done. (68) Unless *their* doctors and priests forbid them uttering wickedness and eating things forbidden, woe *unto them* for what they shall have committed. (69) The Jews say, The hand of GOD is tied up. Their hands shall be tied up, and they shall be cursed for that which they have said. Nay, his hands are both stretched forth; he bestoweth as he pleaseth: that which hath been sent down unto thee from thy LORD shall increase the transgression and infidelity of many of them; and we have put enmity and hatred between them, until the day of resurrection. So often as they shall kindle a fire for war GOD shall extinguish it; and they shall set their minds to act corruptly in the earth, but GOD loveth

(65) *Having changed . . . them into apes.* See note on chap. ii. 64.

(67) *Things forbidden.* See notes on ver. 4.

(69) *The hand of God is tied up.* "That is, he is become niggardly and close-fisted. These were the words of Phineas, Ibn Azúra (another indecent expression of whom, almost to the same purpose, is mentioned elsewhere), when the Jews were much impoverished by a dearth which the commentators will have to be a judgment on them for their rejecting of Muhanmad; and the other Jews who heard him, instead of reproving him, expressed their approbation of what he had said."—Sale, *Baidhâwi*.

Their hands shall be tied up, i.e., they shall appear in the judg-

not the corrupt doers. (70) Moreover, if they who have received the scriptures believe and fear *God*, we will surely expiate their sins from them, and we will lead them into gardens of pleasure; and if they observe the law, and the gospel, and *the other scriptures* which have been sent down unto them from their LORD, they shall

ment with their hands tied up to their necks. See Prelim. Disc., p. 144.

That which hath been sent down, &c. This statement is put in the form of a prophecy, though the fulfilment had taken place years before the oracle spake. There is, however, underlying this statement, the prophetic claim of Muhammad still firmly maintained at this late period of his life. This claim has not changed its form. He still places himself in the catalogue of true prophets, and his religion is still presented as the one only true religion, the rejection of which by the Jews adds to their transgression, as did their rejection of Jesus.

God shall extinguish it, "Either by raising feuds and quarrels among themselves, or by granting the victory to the Muslims. Al Baidhāwī adds, that on the Jews neglecting the true observance of their law, corrupting their religion, God had successively delivered them into the hands, first of Bakht Nasr or Nebuchadnezzar, then of Titus the Roman, and afterwards of the Persians, and has now at last subjected them to the Muhammadans."—Sale.

(70) *We will surely expiate their sins.* The word translated *expiate* is the same as that used above (ver. 49) and in chap. iii. 194 (see notes). The meaning attached to it here is simply that of *removal* or *taking away*.

And . . . which hath been sent down, &c. Sale fills in the ellipsis by supplying the words, "the other scriptures." But this is hardly correct. The expression here is certainly the same in import as that of the preceding verse, where the Qurān is undoubtedly meant. The meaning, then, is that those Jews and Christians, who, while holding on to their own Scriptures, believe *also in the Qurān*, shall be blessed in both heaven and earth, "from above them and from under their feet." The inference would therefore seem to follow that *every true Muslim must accept the Old and New Testament Scriptures, along with the Qurān, as the Word of God*. The doctrine of abrogation can have no force here, for this Sura was the last revealed, and therefore its requirements, while they may abrogate passages in the earlier chapters, can by no means be abrogated. Of course, practically no Muslim does truly accept the former Scriptures along with the Qurān, nor indeed can he be blamed for failing to do the impossible, but it is of great importance that he should know what he is here required to do. There is no more manifest display of Muhammad's ignorance of the true teaching of the former Scriptures than this; no more violent contradiction of the plainest instincts of common sense.

surely eat of *good things* both from above them and from under their feet. Among them there are people who act uprightly; but how evil is that which many of them do work!

|| (71) O apostle, publish *the whole* of that which hath R 19.
been sent down unto thee from thy LORD; for if thou do not, thou dost not *in effect* publish any part thereof: and GOD will defend thee against *wicked* men; for GOD directeth not the unbelieving people. (72) Say, O ye who have received the scriptures, ye are not *grounded* on anything, until ye observe the law and the gospel and that which hath been sent down unto you from your LORD. That

(71) *Publish the whole, &c.* "That is, if they do not complete the publication of all thy revelations without exception, thou dost not answer the end for which they were revealed; because the concealing of any part renders the system of religion which God has thought fit to publish to mankind by thy ministry lame and imperfect."—*Sale, Baidhāwi.*

This is another mark indicating that this chapter was the last of the revelations of the Qurán.

God will defend thee. "Until this verse was revealed, Muhammad entertained a guard of armed men for his security; but on receiving this assurance of God's protection, he immediately dismissed them."—*Sale, Baidhāwi.*

(72) This verse, by implication, condemns the practices of every Muslim. See notes on vers. 69 and 70. The purpose of the revelation was, however, to persuade the *Jews and Christians* to embrace Islám. To quote this passage in proof of Muhammad's sincerity is therefore really a begging of the question. Can his apologists show us a single passage *requiring* Arab or Gentile Muslims to believe the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament in addition to the Qurán, as necessary to salvation? So far as I know, *such requirement is purely*, but, as we admit, justly, *inferential*, nevertheless there is no reason to believe Muhammad intended any such inference to be drawn. His great object was to maintain his prophetic claim, and if possible to win over to his side the Jews, Christians, and Sabians. In his anxiety to accomplish this, he made statements, like that of the passage under consideration, which implied more than he intended to teach. Certainly the universal faith of Muslims for thirteen centuries shows what Muhammad's real teaching was. None such have ever felt bound to believe the doctrines of the Jewish and Christian Scriptures, except in the sense that all such are conserved by the Qurán and to be found in it. The statement, twice repeated, that "that which hath been sent down unto thee from thy Lord will surely increase the transgression and infidelity of many of them,"

which hath been sent down unto thee from thy LORD will surely increase the transgression and infidelity of many of them: but be not thou solicitous for the unbelieving people. (73) Verily, they who believe, and those who Judaize, and the Sabians, and the Christians, whoever of them believeth in GOD and the last day, and doth that which is right, *there shall come* no fear on them, neither shall they be grieved. (74) We formerly accepted the covenant of the children of Israel, and sent apostles unto them. So often as an apostle came unto them with that which their souls desired not, they accused some of them of imposture, and some of them they killed: (75) And they imagined that there should be no punishment *for those crimes*, and they became blind, and deaf. Then was GOD turned unto them; afterwards many of them *again* became blind and deaf; but GOD saw what they did. (76) They are surely infidels who say, Verily GOD is Christ the Son of Mary; since Christ said, O children of Israel, serve GOD, my LORD and your LORD. Whoever shall give a companion unto GOD, GOD shall exclude him from paradise, and his habitation shall be *hell* fire; and the ungodly shall have none to help them. (77) They are certainly infidels who say, GOD is the third of three; for there is no GOD besides one GOD; and if they refrain not from what they say, a painful torment shall surely be inflicted on such of them as are unbelievers. (78) Will

creates in the mind of the thoughtful reader a conviction that Muhammad *knew* something at least of the irreconcilable differences between the doctrines of the Qurán and those of the Bible, and that therefore the Jews and Christians would not believe in him or his Qurán.

(73) See note on chap. ii. 61.

(74) *They accused . . . of imposture.* Chap. iii. 185, note.

(75) *Because blind and deaf.* "Shutting their eyes and ears against conviction and the remonstrances of the law, as when they worshipped the calf."—Sale.

(76) See notes on ver. 19 above. The teaching of Jesus, according to this verse, was identical with that of Muhammad.

(77) *God . . . the third of three.* See notes on chap. iv. 169. The *Tafsir-i-Raufi* says the Marcussians believed in the Trinity of God, Mary, and Jesus, but in this the communicator is mistaken.

they not therefore be turned unto GOD and ask pardon of him, since GOD is gracious *and* merciful? (79) Christ the son of Mary is no more than an apostle; *other* apostles have preceded him; and his mother was a woman of veracity: they *both* ate food. Behold, how we declare unto them the signs of *God's unity*; and then behold how they turn aside *from the truth*. (80) Say *unto them*, Will ye worship, besides GOD, that which can cause you neither harm nor profit? GOD *is* he who heareth *and* seeth. (81) Say, O ye who have received the scriptures, exceed not *the just bounds* in your religion *by speaking* beside the truth; neither follow the desires of people who have heretofore erred, and who have seduced many, and have gone astray from the straight path.

|| (82) Those among the children of Israel who believed R $\frac{11}{1}$. not were cursed by the tongue of David, and of Jesus the son of Mary. This *befell them* because they were rebellious and transgressed: they forbade not one another the wickedness which they committed; and woe *unto them* for what they committed. (83) Thou shalt see many of them take for their friends those who believe not. Woe *unto them* for what their souls have sent before them, for that God is incensed against them, and they shall remain in torment *for ever*. (84) But if they had believed in God

(79) Compare chap. iii. 39.

A woman of veracity, i.e., "never pretending to partake of the divine nature, or to be the mother of God."—Sale, *Jaláluddín*. Compare note on chap. iv. 169.

(81) *Exceed not, &c.* See chap. iv. note 169.

Who have . . . erred. "Their prelates and predecessors, who erred in ascribing divinity to Christ before the mission of Muhammad."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*.

(82) *Cursed . . . by Jesus.* See note, chap. ii. 64. The curse said to have been pronounced by Jesus against the Jews probably has reference to his prophetic denunciations and warnings in general, especially his prophecy concerning the destruction of Jerusalem and the fall of the Jewish nationality. The *woes* of this passage may have been suggested by the woes of our Lord against the Scribes, Pharisees, and hypocrites.

(83) *What their souls have sent before them.* See chap. ii. 94.

and the prophet, and that which hath been revealed unto him, they had not taken them for *their* friends; but many of them are evil-doers. (85) Thou shalt surely find the most violent of *all* men in enmity against the true believers *to be* the Jews and the idolaters; and thou shalt surely find those among them *to be* the most inclinable to *entertain* friendship for the true believers who say, We are Christians. This *cometh to pass* because there are priests and monks among them, and because they are not elated with pride.

|| (86) And when they hear that which hath been sent down to the apostle *read unto them*, thou shalt see their

SEVENTH
SIPARA.

(85) This revelation must be relegated to a period earlier than is usually assigned to the verses of this chapter. The bitter enmity attributed to the Jews points to a period succeeding A.H. 3, while the friendly feeling shown towards Christians points to a time preceding A.H. 8, for in A.H. 9 Muhammad contemptuously cast aside both Jews and Christians. The mention of "the Jews and the idolaters" together may refer to a period near to the end of A.H. 4 or the beginning of A.H. 5, when the Jews, owing to the expulsion of the Bani Nadhir, began to show their readiness to help the Quraish against the common enemy.

The kindness attributed to the Christians, who are here said to call themselves *Nazarenes*, was due (1) to the friendly treatment Muhammad had received at their hands during his journeys to Syria in the early years of his life, and (2) to the kindness shown by the African Najashi towards the Muslim exiles from Makkah.

Priests and monks. The original words are *qissisina wa ruhbanan*. They are translated by Abdul Qadir *well-read and worshippers*; in the Persian translation, *wise and sitters-in-a-corner* (Dervishes). All English translators follow Geiger, who derives both words from Syriac terms, and ascribes to them the meaning of the text.

The principles of forbearance and love, inculcated by the Lord Jesus, and still manifested in some degree by the corrupt Churches of Muhammad's time, had impressed his mind favourably. It is probable that his admiration was due especially to the fact that they offered little or no opposition to his prophetic claims. Some of them seem to have become Muslims (see next verse). On the story of Muhammad's intercourse with the monk Sergius or Bahaira, see chap. x. 17, note.

(86) *When they hear, &c.* The following stories, invented by the Muslims to illustrate this passage, are related by Sale on the authority of Baidhawi and Abulfida:—"The persons directly intended in this passage were either Ashama, king of Ethiopia, and several bishops and priests, who, being assembled for that purpose, heard Jaafar Ibn Abi

eyes overflow with tears because of the truth which they perceive *therein*, saying, O LORD, we believe; write us down therefore with those who bear witness *to the truth*. (87) And what *should hinder* us from believing in God and the truth which hath come unto us, and from earnestly desiring that our LORD would introduce us *into paradise* with the righteous people? (88) Therefore hath God rewarded them, for what they have said, with gardens through which rivers flow; they shall continue therein *forever*; and this is the reward of the righteous. But they who believe not, and accuse our signs of falsehood, they *shall be* the companions of hell.

|| (89) O true believers, forbid not the good things which R $\frac{12}{2}$.

Tálib, who fled to that country in the first flight, read the 29th and 30th, and afterwards the 18th and 19th chapters of the Qurán; on hearing of which the king and the rest of the company burst into tears and confessed what was delivered therein to be conformable to truth; that prince himself, in particular, becoming a proselyte to Muhammadanism: or else thirty, or as others say seventy, persons sent ambassadors to Muhammad by the same king of Ethiopia, to whom the prophet himself read the 36th chapter, entitled Y.S. Whereupon they began to weep, saying, 'How like is this to that which was revealed unto Jesus!' and immediately professed themselves Muslims."

The point of this revelation is that Christians hearing the Qurán at once recognised it as the word of God, and that its teachings were *in perfect accord* with those of Jesus, and that they were thereby persuaded to accept Islám. The tears shed were those of joy.

This passage therefore implies that these converts had the Christian Scriptures in their possession, that they were acquainted with their teaching, and that they, by comparing them with the Qurán, at once recognised Muhammad as the prophet of God. The copies of their Scriptures were genuine, and if, as Muslims assert, the true gospel be no longer in existence, we may fairly ask why Muslims allowed them to become corrupt, seeing they had equal responsibility in the preserving of them? and further, we may challenge them to prove that the copies in possession of the early converts of Islám and their Christian contemporaries ever were corrupted.

(89) *Forbid not the good things.* "These words were revealed when certain of Muhammad's companions agreed to oblige themselves to continual fasting and watching, and to abstain from women, eating flesh, sleeping on beds, and other lawful enjoyments of life, in imitation of some self-denying Christians; but this the Prophet disapproved, declaring that he would have no *monks* in his religion."
—Sale, *Jaláluddín*.

GOD hath allowed you ; but transgress not, for GOD loveth not the transgressors. (90) And eat of what GOD hath given you for food, *that which is lawful and good* : and fear GOD, in whom ye believe. (91) GOD will not punish you for an inconsiderate word in your oaths ; but he will punish you for what ye solemnly swear *with deliberation*. And the expiation of such *an oath shall be* the feeding of ten poor men with such moderate *food* as ye feed your own families withal ; or to clothe them ; or to free the neck *of a true believer from captivity* : but he who shall not find *wherewith to perform one of these three things* shall fast three days. This is the expiation of your oaths, when ye swear *inadvertently*. Therefore keep your oaths. Thus GOD declareth unto you his signs, that ye may give thanks. (92) O true believers, surely wine, and lots, and images, and divining arrows *are* an abomination of the work of Satan ; therefore avoid them that ye may prosper. (93) Satan seeketh to sow dissension and hatred among you by means of wine and lots, and to divert you from

However, in ver. 85, these *priests and monks* are the special objects of Muhammad's praise. The passage, according to Abdul Qádir and the *Tafsir-i-Raufi*, has a general reference, and teaches that there is no merit in works of supererogation.

(91) *An inconsiderate word*. See note on chap. ii. 225. Perjury, according to the Imáms Azim and Sháfa'i, is swearing deliberately to that which is *at the time* thought to be false by the person swearing. They therefore classify all thoughtless oaths used in conversation or *mistakes* made under oath under the head of "inconsiderate words." The passage so understood contradicts the doctrine of Jesus.

Inadvertently. This word should not have been introduced by the translator. The inadvertent oaths require no expiation. On the word *expiation* see chap. iii. 194.

(92) See notes on chap. ii. 218 and chap. iv. 42.

(93) *Satan seeketh to sow dissension, &c.* We here learn the real reason for prohibiting the practices of gambling and drinking—a reason, utilitarian though it be, yet sufficient. This law of Islám, considered by itself, reflects great glory on Muhammad and his religion ; yet, regarded as a part of the whole system of Islám, it appears to great disadvantage. It is seen to be a purely political measure, based on no solid groundwork of moral principle, and inconsistent with much that is permitted by Islám. The same principle of utility would have led to the *distinct prohibition* of all intoxicating drugs and of polygamy.

remembering GOD and from prayer : will ye not therefore abstain *from them*? Obey GOD and obey the apostle, and take heed *to yourselves*: but if ye turn back, know that the duty of our apostle is only to preach publicly. (94) In those who believe and do good works, it is no sin that they have tasted *wine or gaming before they were forbidden*; if they fear *God*, and believe, and do good works, and *shall for the future fear God*, and believe, and *shall persevere to fear him and to do good*; for GOD loveth those who do good.

|| (95) O true believers, GOD will surely prove you in R $\frac{13}{3}$
offering you plenty of game, which ye may take with your hands or your lances, that GOD may know who feareth him in secret; but whoever transgresseth after this shall suffer a grievous punishment. (96) O true believers, kill no game while ye are on pilgrimage; whosoever among

The duty of our apostle, &c. See Prelim. Disc., p. 83. This passage looks very like a fragment of a Makkan chapter.

(94) *If they fear, &c.* "The commentators endeavour to excuse the tautology of this passage by supposing the threefold repetition of *fearing* and *believing* refers either to the three parts of time, past, present, and future, or to the threefold duty of man, towards God, himself, and his neighbour, &c."—Sale, *Baidhāwi*.

(95) *God will prove you.* "This temptation or trial was at al Hudaibiya, where Muhammad's men, who had attended him thither with an intent to perform a pilgrimage to the Kaabah, and had initiated themselves with the usual rights, were surrounded by so great a number of birds and beasts, that they impeded their march; from which unusual accident some of them concluded that God had allowed them to be taken; but this passage was to convince them of the contrary."—Sale, *Baidhāwi*, *Jalāluddīn*.

(96) *On pilgrimage, i.e.,* while ye are *muhrim*s. *Muhrim*s are those Muslims who have put on the *ihrām* or peculiar dress donned on entering the sacred precincts of Makkah to indicate that they are now on the way to the sacred Kaabah. The law forbidding hunting was established in accordance with the peaceful character of the sacred places within the boundaries called *Haram*. Certain hurtful animals might be killed, but this was also in accord with the law which permitted Muslims to fight infidels within the sacred months, provided they did so in self-defence. See chap. ii. 210.

Domestic animals. "That is, he shall bring an offering to the temple of Makkah, to be slain there and distributed among the poor, of some domestic or tame animal, equal in value to what he shall have killed; as a sheep, for example, in lieu of an antelope; a

you shall kill any designedly shall restore the like of what he shall have killed in domestic animals, according to the determination of two just persons among you, to be brought as an offering to the Kaabah; or in atonement thereof shall feed the poor; or instead thereof shall fast, that he may taste the heinousness of his deed. GOD hath forgiven what is past, but whoever returneth *to transgress*, GOD will take vengeance on him; for GOD is mighty *and* able to avenge. (97) It is lawful for you to fish in the sea, and to eat *what ye shall catch*, as a provision for you and for those who travel; but it is unlawful for you to hunt by land while ye are performing the rights of pilgrimage; therefore fear GOD, before whom ye shall be assembled *at the last day*. (98) GOD hath appointed the Kaabah, the holy house, an establishment for mankind;

pigeon for a partridge, &c. And of this value two prudent persons were to be judges. If the offender was not able to do this, he was to give a certain quantity of food to one or more poor men; or if he could not afford that, to fast a proportionable number of days."—*Sale, Jaláluddín, Abdul Qádir.*

That ye may taste, &c. We see here again the idea attached to atonement in the Qurán. It is not to free from condemnation by vicarious suffering, but is in its nature a *punishment*, and intended as a warning to transgressors.

(97) *Lawful . . . to fish.* This law has reference to pilgrimage, though of general application. The commentators understand fish found in all bodies of water, whether fountains, rivulets, rivers, or ponds, and lakes, as well as the sea. They differ in applying the law to amphibious creatures.

Unlawful . . . to hunt, i.e., during pilgrimage, after the *ihram* has once been put on. See notes on 95.

(98) *The Kaabah.* See notes on chap. ii. 125 and 189.

An establishment, i.e., "the place where the practice of their religious ceremonies is chiefly established; where those who are under any apprehension of danger may find a sure *asylum*, and the merchant certain gain, &c."—*Sale, Jaláluddín.*

Sacred month. "Baidháwi understands this to be the month of Dhu'l Hajja, wherein the ceremonies of the pilgrimage are performed; but Jaláluddín supposes all the four sacred months are here intended. See Prelim. Disc., sect. vii."—*Sale.*

Ornaments. See note on ver. 3.

That ye might know, &c. How the observance of the rites of pilgrimage can convince any one of God's omniscience is enough to puzzle the clearest-headed Muslim.

and *hath ordained* the sacred month, and the offering, and the ornaments hung *thereon*. This *hath he done* that ye might know that GOD knoweth whatsoever *is* in heaven and on earth, and that GOD is omniscient. Know that GOD is severe in punishing, and that GOD *is also* ready to forgive, *and* merciful. (99) The duty of our apostle is to preach only; and GOD knoweth that which ye discover, and that which ye conceal. (100) Say, Evil and good shall not be equally esteemed of, though the abundance of evil pleaseth thee; therefore fear GOD, O ye of understanding, that ye may be happy.

|| (101) O true believers, inquire not concerning things R ¹⁴₄. which, if they be declared unto you, may give you pain; but if ye ask concerning them when the Qurán is sent down, they will be declared unto you: GOD pardoneth *you* as to these matters; for GOD is ready to forgive, *and* gracious. (102) People who have been before you formerly inquired concerning them; and afterwards disbelieved therein. GOD hath not ordained *anything* concerning Bahaira, nor Sáiba, nor Wasíla, nor Hámi; but the

(99) *The duty of our apostle.* See note on ver. 93.

(101) *Inquire not, &c.* "The Arabs continually teasing their Prophet with questions, which probably he was not always prepared to answer, they are here ordered to wait till God should think fit to declare his pleasure by some farther revelation: and to abate their curiosity, they are told, at the same time, that very likely the answers would not be agreeable to their inclinations. Al Baidháwi says, that when the pilgrimage was first commanded, Suráka Ibn Málik asked Muhammad whether they were obliged to perform it every year. To this question the Prophet at first turned a deaf ear; but being asked it a second and a third time, he at last said, 'No; but if I had said yes, it would have become a duty, and if it were a duty, ye would not be able to perform it; therefore give me no trouble as to things wherein I give you none:' whereupon this passage was revealed."—*Sale*.

(102) *Bahaira . . . Hámi.* "These were the names given by the pagan Arabs to certain camels or sheep which were turned loose to feed, and exempted from common services in some particular cases, having their ears slit, or some other mark that they might be known; and this they did in honour of their gods (Prelim. Disc., p. 199). Which superstitions are here declared to be no ordinances of God, but the inventions of foolish men."—*Sale*.

unbelievers have invented a lie against GOD: and the greater part of them do not understand. (103) And when it was said unto them, Come unto that which GOD hath revealed, and to the apostle; they answered, That *religion* which we found our fathers *to follow* is sufficient for us. What, though their fathers knew nothing and were not *rightly* directed? (104) O true believers, take care of your souls! He who erreth shall not hurt you while ye are *rightly* directed: unto GOD shall ye all return, and he will tell you that which ye have done. (105) O true believers, let witnesses be taken between you, when death approaches any of you, at the time of *making* the

A camel devoted to an idol had its ears slit, and was called *Bahaira*. Any animal devoted to an idol and let run loose to roam whither it pleased was called *Sáiba*. It was unlawful to kill or eat any animal thus consecrated. If a man should devote the offspring of his animals yet unborn, saying, "If a male is born I will sacrifice it to an idol, and if a female I will keep it," and the result should be the birth of twins, one a male and the other a female, he would in that case keep the male alive as sacred to the idol; such an animal was called *wasíla*. A camel that had been the mother of ten camels fit to carry a rider or a burden was allowed to roam at liberty in any pasture, and was called *Hámi* (*Tafsr-i-Raufi* and *Abdul Qádir*). This account differs somewhat from Rodwell's. See his note *in loco*.

(103) *That religion, &c.* This is a very common reply on the part of idolaters even in these days. But for the sword of Islám the Arabs would no doubt have remained in the religion of their fathers for many years after the death of the Makkan preacher.

(104) See note on chap. iii. 118.

(105) *Let witnesses be taken, &c.* Sale gives the following story, on the authority of Baidháwi, as the occasion of the revelations in this and the following verse:—"The occasion of the preceding passage is said to have been this. Tamín al Dári and Addi Ibn Yazíd, both Christians, took a journey into Syria to trade, in company with Budhail, the freedman of Amru Ibn al Aas, who was a Muslim. When they came to Damascus, Budhail fell sick and died, having first wrote down a list of his effects on a piece of paper, which he hid in his baggage, without acquainting his companions with it, and desired them only to deliver what he had to his friends of the tribe of Sahn. The survivors, however, searching among his goods, found a vessel of silver of considerable weight and inlaid with gold, which they concealed, and on their return delivered the rest to the deceased's relations, who, finding the list of Budhail's writing, demanded the vessel of silver of them, but they denied it; and the affair being brought before Muhammad, these words, viz., *O true believers, take witnesses, &c.*, were revealed, and he ordered them to be sworn at the

testament; *let there be two witnesses*, just men, from among you; or two others of *a different tribe or faith* from yourselves, if ye be journeying in the earth, and the accident of death befall you. Ye shall shut them both up after the *afternoon* prayer, and they shall swear by God, if ye doubt *them*, and *they shall say*, We will not sell *our evidence* for a bribe, although *the person concerned* be one who is related *to us*, neither will we conceal the testimony of God, for then should we certainly be *of the number* of the wicked. (106) But if it appear that both have been guilty of iniquity, two others shall stand up in their place,

pulpit in the mosque, just as afternoon prayer was over, and on their making oath that they knew nothing of the plate demanded, dismissed them. But afterwards, the vessel being found in their hands, the Sahmites, suspecting it was Budhail's, charged them with it, and they confessed it was his, but insisted that they had bought it of him, and that they had not produced it because they had no proof of the bargain. Upon this they went again before Muhammad, to whom these words, *And if it appear*, &c., were revealed; and thereupon Amru Ibn al Aas and al Mutallib Ibn Abi Rafaa, both of the tribe of Sahm, stood up, and were sworn against them; and judgment was given accordingly."

Two others. Two different parties may be referred to here, and hence the difference of interpretation, indicated by italics in the text. Those who hold that the witnesses must be Muslims understand the *two others* to mean two Muslims of different family or tribe. Others, holding that the witnesses intended here may belong to any religion, still practically agree with the principle that only Muslims should be witnesses, inasmuch as they regard this portion of the verse as being abrogated. The former view is certainly the correct one.

The stories of the commentators show that Muhammad actually decided the two Christians to be guilty of a breach of trust on the adverse testimony of two Muslims. While this is entirely in accord with the spirit of Islām, it does not commend the justice of the Law-giver. It may, however, be seriously doubted whether the story of the commentators is anything more than a fabrication. Their being brought out during the afternoon prayer, the oath prescribed, and the purport of ver. 107, all indicate that the law has nothing to do with Christians whatever.

The afternoon prayer, i.e., Asar, "because," says Sale, on the authority of Baidhawi, "that was the time of people's assembling in public, or, say some, because the guardian angels then relieve each other, so that there would be four angels to witness against them if they gave false evidence. But others suppose they might be examined after the hour of any other prayer, when there was a sufficient assembly."

of those who have convicted them *of falsehood*, the two nearest *in blood*, and they shall swear by GOD, *saying*, Verily our testimony is more true than the testimony of these two, neither have we prevaricated; for *then* should we become *of the number* of the unjust. (107) This will be easier, that *men* may give testimony according to the plain intention thereof, or fear lest a *different* oath be given, after their oath. Therefore fear GOD and hearken; for GOD directeth not the unjust people.

R $\frac{15}{5}$.

|| (108) On a *certain* day shall GOD assemble the apostles, and shall say unto them, What answer was returned you *when ye preached unto the people to whom ye were sent*? They shall answer, We have no knowledge, but thou art the knower of secrets. (109) When GOD shall say, O Jesus son of Mary, remember my favour towards thee, and towards thy mother; when I strengthened thee with the holy spirit, that thou shouldst speak unto men in the cradle, and when thou wast grown up; (110) and when I taught thee the scripture, and wisdom, and the law, and the gospel: and when thou didst create

(107) This verse shows the purpose for which the law of witnesses was given, viz., to deter from corrupt practices by the knowledge that a solemn oath might be called for, and that even perjured persons might be confronted by the oaths of the witnesses and thereby be condemned. *Two* witnesses were necessary. Compare with Deut. xix. 15.

(108) *On a certain day, i.e., on the judgment-day.*

Thou art the knower. That is, we are ignorant whether our proselytes were sincere, or whether they apostatised after our deaths; but thou well knowest, not only what answer they gave us, but the secrets of their hearts, and whether they have since continued firm in their religion or not.—*Salé.*

This passage contradicts the idea that the prophets will intercede for their followers on the judgment-day.

(109) *The Holy Spirit.* See note on chap. ii. 86.

Speak . . . in the cradle. See notes on chap. iii. 46.

(110) *The gospel.* Muslims believe the New Testament Scriptures (*Injil*) were sent down to Jesus just as the Qurán was given to Muhammad. Christ is here represented as having been taught of God *as Muhammad was*. Muhammad is the type of all apostles.

The figure of a bird. See note on chap. iii. 48.

Blind . . . leper . . . dead from their graves. Three classes of mir-

of clay as it were the figure of a bird by my permission, and didst breathe thereon, and it became a bird, by my permission, and thou didst heal one blind from his birth, and the leper, by my permission; and when thou didst bring forth the dead *from their graves* by my permission; and when I withheld the children of Israel from *killing* thee, when thou hadst come unto them with evident *miracles*, and such of them as believed not said, This is nothing but manifest sorcery. (111) And when I commanded the apostles of *Jesus*, saying, Believe in me and in my messenger; they answered, We do believe; and do thou bear witness that we are resigned *unto thee*. (112) *Remember* when the apostles said, O Jesus son of Mary, is thy LORD able to cause a table to descend unto us from heaven? He answered, Fear GOD, if ye be true believers.

acles referred to here, all of which testified to the divinity Muhammad is here *so careful to deny*. The constant use of the phrase "*By my permission*," seems to indicate clearly one of two things: either a deliberate effort to combat the Christian doctrine of the divinity of Christ, or to apologise for the absence of similar miracles in his own case. Of the two, the first is most probable, for *at this late day* there was no occasion to vindicate his own apostleship from charges of this kind. The *signs* of the Qurán and the successes of Islám were now considered sufficient proof of his apostleship.

From killing thee. See notes on chap. iii. 53, 55, and iv. 156.

Sorcery. See Sale's note on chap. iii. 48, and Rodwell *in loco*.

(111) *Apostles.* In Arabic *Al hawáritín*, a word descriptive of the chosen followers of Jesus. It does not convey any idea of apostleship in the ordinary sense of the word. If derived from the Ethiopic *hawrya* (Rodwell), the *etymological* meaning would indicate *one sent*; but if derived from *hur*, it would mean *friends or helpers*, and so correspond with the idea of the *Ansár*, or helpers of Muhammad.

We are resigned, i.e., we are Muslims. Such expressions show that Muhammad regarded his followers as identified with the true followers of all other prophets.

(112) *A table.* This word supplies the title of this chapter. It is thought to allude to the Table of the Lord or Christ's Last Supper. It might as well allude to the miracles of loaves and fishes given in Matt. xiv. and xv. A similar inquiry is attributed to the children of Israel, Ps. lxxviii. 19. The passage is far from being confirmatory of the former Scriptures, if the following opinions of the commentators indicate anything of what Muhammad believed on this subject:—"This miracle is thus related by the commentators. Jesus having, at the request of his followers, asked it of God, a red table

(113) They said, We desire to eat thereof, and that our hearts may rest at ease, and that we may know that thou hast told us the truth, and that we may be witnesses thereof. (114) Jesus the son of Mary said, O God our LORD, cause a table to descend unto us from heaven, that *the day of its descent* may become a festival day unto us, unto the first of us, and unto the last of us, and a sign from thee; and do thou provide food for us, for thou art

immediately descended in their sight between two clouds, and was set before them : whereupon he rose up, and having made the ablution, prayed, and then took off the cloth which covered the table, saying, "In the name of God, the best provider of food." What the provisions were with which this table was furnished is a matter wherein the expositors are not agreed. One will have them to be nine cakes of bread and nine fishes ; another, bread and flesh ; another, all sorts of food except flesh ; another, all sorts of food except bread and flesh ; another, all except bread and fish ; another, one fish, which had the taste of all manner of food ; and another, fruits of Paradise ; but the most received tradition is, that when the table was uncovered, there appeared a fish ready dressed, without scales or prickly fins, dropping with fat, having salt placed at its head, and vinegar at its tail, and round it all sorts of herbs except leeks, and five loaves of bread, on one of which there were olives, on the second honey, on the third butter, on the fourth cheese, and on the fifth dried flesh. They add, that Jesus, at the request of the apostles, showed them another miracle, by restoring the fish to life, and causing its scales and fins to return to it ; at which the standers-by being affrighted, he caused it to become as it was before : that one thousand three hundred men and women, all afflicted with bodily infirmities or poverty, ate of these provisions, and were satisfied, the fish remaining whole as it was at first ; that then the table flew up to heaven in the sight of all ; and that all who had partaken of this food were delivered from their infirmities and misfortunes ; and that it continued to descend for forty days together at dinner-time, and stood on the ground till the sun declined, and was then taken up into the clouds. Some of the Muhammadan writers are of opinion that this table did not really descend, but that it was only a parable ; but most think the words of the Qur'ân are plain to the contrary. A further tradition is, that several men were changed into swine for disbelieving this miracle and attributing it to magic art ; or, as others pretend, for stealing some of the victuals from off it. Several other fabulous circumstances are also told, which are scarce worth transcribing."—*Sale, Baidhâwî, Thalâbî.*

(114) *A festival day.* This expression seems to point to the Eucharist as the subject of this passage. It may, however, rather refer to the love-feasts of the early Christians, which were observed every Sunday.

the best provider. (115) God said, Verily I will cause it to descend unto you; but whoever among you shall disbelieve hereafter, I will surely punish him with a punishment wherewith I will not punish any other creature.

|| (116) And when GOD shall say *unto Jesus at the last* RUBA.
day, O Jesus son of Mary, hast thou said unto men, Take me and my mother for two gods beside GOD? he shall answer, Praise be unto thee! it is not for me to say that which I ought not; if I had said so, thou wouldst surely have known it: thou knowest what is in me, but I know not what is in thee; for thou art the knower of secrets. R $\frac{16}{6}$
 (117) I have not spoken to them *any other* than what thou didst command me, *namely*, Worship GOD, my LORD and your LORD: and I was a witness *of their actions* while I stayed among them; but since thou hast taken me to thyself, thou hast been the watcher over them; for thou art witness of all things. (118) If thou punish them, they are surely thy servants; and if thou forgive them, thou art mighty *and* wise. (119) GOD will say, This day shall their veracity be of advantage unto those who speak truth; they shall have gardens wherein rivers flow, they shall remain therein forever: God hath been well pleased

(116) *Two gods beside God.* See notes on chap. iv. 169, and v. 77. Muir says, "So far as I can judge from the Coran, Mahomet's knowledge of Christianity was derived from the Orthodox party, who styled Mary 'Mother of God.' He may have heard of the Nestorian heresy, and it is possibly referred to among the 'sects' into which Jews and Christians are said in the Coran to be divided; but, had he ever obtained a closer acquaintance with the Nestorian doctrine, at least in the earlier part of his career, it would (according to the analogy of his practice with respect to other subjects) have been more definitely mentioned in his revelation. The truth, however, is, that Mahomet's acquaintance with Christianity was at the best singularly dim and meagre."—*Life of Mahomet*, vol. ii. p. 19, note.

I know not what is in thee. This passage expressly contradicts the teaching of Jesus in John x. 15.

(117) *My Lord and your Lord.* The strained effort of Muhammad to refute the doctrine of Christ's divinity is here manifest. See note on ver. 110.

Since thou hast taken me, &c., "or since thou hast caused me to

in them, and they have been well pleased in him. This *shall be* great felicity. (120) Unto GOD *belongeth* the kingdom of heaven and of earth, and of whatever therein is; and he is almighty.

die; but as it is a dispute among the Muhammadans whether Christ actually died or not before his assumption, and the original may be translated either way, I have chosen the former expression, which leaves the matter undecided."—*Salé*.

See notes on chap. iii. 54, and chap. iv. 156.

(120) Thus the Qurán ends as it begins, with a declaration of the sovereignty of God—the cardinal doctrine of Islám.

CHAPTER VI.

ENTITLED SURAT AL ANÁM (CATTLE).

Revealed at Makkah.

INTRODUCTION.

THIS chapter owes its title to the frequent mention of certain cattle in connection with the idolatrous rites of the people of Makkah. It relates to the controversy of Muhammad with the inhabitants of his native city during the period immediately preceding his flight to Madína. This is evident from the tone of the revelations. Everywhere the Quraish are spoken of as hopelessly infidel, as given over to unbelief, abandoned of God, and doomed to perdition. Having rejected the *signs* of the Qurán, they will not hear though an angel were to speak audibly to them, though a written book were to descend to them from heaven, or though the Prophet were to ascend into the heavens or delve into the earth to bring them a sign to their own liking.

Other passages contain commands addressed to the Prophet to withdraw from the idolaters and to have no fellowship with them. From all this it is clear that Muhammad had matured his plan of leaving Makkah and of retiring to Madína.

Probable Date of the Revelations.

From what has been said above, and relying especially upon the command of ver. 106, *to retire from the idolaters*, which all authorities agree in referring to the Hijra, we may fairly conclude that most of the revelations of this chapter were rehearsed in public for the first time during the year immediately preceding that event. There are, however, a few verses which belong to the number of Madína revelations. These are vers. 92-94 and 151-153. Noéldeke thinks the latter three are referred to Madína without good reason. The requirements of ver. 152 certainly fit in best with the circum-

stances of Islâm after the Hijra. Their date may be considered as doubtful. This is, in our opinion, true also of vers. 118-121, 145, 146, and 159-165. The command to abstain from certain kinds of meat is said, on the authority of tradition, to have been delivered after the Night Journey, and might therefore have been delivered before the Hijra. But the requirements of the law of permitted and forbidden meats are so certainly an imitation of the Jewish law on the same subject, as to lead us to think that all passages referring to this law of Islâm belong to Madîna though found in chapters belonging to Makkah. As Muir has already pointed out, the habit was formed soon after the Hijra "of throwing into a former Sura newly-revealed passages connected with its subject."* Wherefore many passages like these, relating to rites borrowed from the Jews, may belong to Madîna, though *recited* in a Makkan chapter.

Principal Subjects.

	VERSES
Praise to the Almighty and Omniscient Creator	1-3
The wilful unbelief of the Makkah infidels	4, 5
They are threatened with the divine judgment	6
The people of Makkah hopelessly unbelieving	7
Why angels were not sent to the infidels	8, 9
Those who rejected the former prophets were punished	10, 11
Why the true God should be served	12-18
God the witness between Muhammad and the infidels	19
The Jews recognise Muhammad as a prophet	20
Idolaters on the judgment-day—their condition	21-23
Scoffing idolaters rebuked and threatened	24-29
The condition of believers and unbelievers after death	30, 31
Unbelievers make God a liar	32, 33
God's word and purposes unchangeable	33
Miracles of no avail to convince infidels	34
God will raise the dead to life	35
Why God did not grant the signs asked by unbelievers	36
Animals and birds to be brought into judgment	37
Infidels are deaf and dumb	38
Idolaters will call upon God in their distress	39, 40
Adversity and prosperity alike unmeaning to infidels	41-44
God is the only helper in trouble	45
Unbelievers, if impenitent, sure to perish	46-48
Muhammad unacquainted with the secrets of God	49
There shall be no intercessor on the judgment-day	50

* Life of Mahomet, vol. ii. p. 268, note.

	VERSES
The motives of professing Muslims not to be judged	51-54
Muhammad declines the proposals of idolaters	55-57
God the Omniscient and Sovereign Ruler	58-61
God the Almighty Deliverer	62-64
Muhammad charged with imposture	65
Unbelievers will certainly be punished	66
Mockers to be avoided by Muslims	67-69
The punishment of idolaters certain and dreadful	70, 71
Muslims commanded to obey God only	71-74
Abraham's testimony against idolatry	75-84
The prophets who succeeded Abraham	85-91
The unbelieving Jews (of Madína) rebuked	92
The Qurán confirms the former Scriptures	93
The fate of those who forge Scriptures	94
Idolaters deserted by their gods on the judgment-day	95
The God of nature the true God	96-100
God has no offspring	101-103
God's favour in sending the Qurán	104, 105
➤ The command to retire from Makkah	106-108
Muhammad not permitted to work miracles	109
The people of Makkah given over to unbelief	110-113
Muhammad the prophet of God	114
The direction of Muslims and idolaters contrasted	114-117
➤ Law of permitted and forbidden meats	118-121
The righteous and unbelievers compared	122
Wicked leaders of the people—conduct and punishment	122-125
The blessedness of the faithful	126, 127
God's threatenings against unbelieving men and genii	128-130
God always warns men before punishing idolatry	131
Rewards and punishments shall be according to works	132, 133
✂ The punishment of unbelievers certain	134
The idolaters of Makkah rebuked	135, 136
Evil customs of the Quraish exposed	137-139
The idolaters of Makkah threatened	140
The fruit of trees to be eaten	141
Controversy between the Quraish and Muhammad concerning forbidden meats referred to	142-144
✂ The law concerning forbidden meats rehearsed	145
✂ The Jewish law of forbidden meats	146
God will punish those who accuse the prophets of imposture	147
The idolaters of Makkah are reprobate	148, 149
Their testimony unworthy of credit	150

	VERSES
Forbidden things rehearsed	151-153
The Qurán attests the teaching of Moses and Jesus . . .	154-157
The fate of the wicked on the judgment-day	158
Sectaries reproved	159
The reward of the righteous and wicked compared . . .	160
Islám the true religion	161, 162
Muhammad's self-consecration to God	163
The idolaters exhorted to believe in God	164, 165

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

R 7

|| (1) PRAISE be unto GOD, who hath created the heavens and the earth, and hath ordained the darkness and the light: nevertheless they who believe not in the LORD equalise *other gods with him*. (2) It is he who hath created you of clay, and then decreed the term *of your lives*; and the prefixed term is with him: yet do ye doubt *thereof*. (3) He is GOD in heaven and in earth; he knoweth what ye keep secret and what ye publish, and knoweth what ye deserve. (4) There came not unto them any sign of the signs of their LORD, but they retired from the same; (5) and they have gainsaid the truth after that it hath come unto them; but a message shall come unto them concern-

(1) *Darkness and the light*. Literally, *darknesses and the light*, from which form some commentators infer that by *darknesses* is intended the *many* false religions, and by *light* the *one* true faith of Islám. These make God to be the author of evil as well as good. See the *Tafsir-i-Raufi in loco*.

Abdul Qádir thinks the passage is directed against the eternal duality of the Magian religion. This also makes God the author of both good and evil.

Equalise, i.e., they regard their idols as equal with God.

(2) *The term, &c.* "By the last *term* some understand the time of the resurrection. Others think that by the first term is intended the space between creation and death, and by the latter that between death and the resurrection."—*Salé*.

(3) *He knoweth, &c.* The omniscience of God is here very forcibly expressed. The speaker is, according to Muslim faith, God, and the passage should be introduced by *Say* (see note on chap. i.) These words are addressed to the unbelievers mentioned in ver. 1.

(5) *A message shall come*. Coming destruction, either in this

ing that which they have mocked at. (6) Do they not consider how many generations we have destroyed before them? We had established them in the earth in a manner wherein we have not established you; we sent the heaven to rain abundantly upon them, and we gave *them* rivers which flowed under *their feet*: yet we destroyed them in their sins, and raised up other generations after them. (7) Although we had caused to descend unto thee a book *written* on paper, and they had handled it with their hands, the unbelievers had surely said, This *is* no other than manifest sorcery. (8) They said, Unless an angel be sent down unto him, *we will not believe*. But if we had sent down an angel, verily the matter had been decreed, and they should not have been borne with, *by having time granted them to repent*. (9) And if we had appointed an

world or the world to come, is here suggested. Some refer it to the final success of Islám, which is here predicted.

(6) *Many generations*. Sale thinks the ancient tribes of Ád and Thámúd are here referred to. See Prelim. Disc., pp. 20-22.

(7) *A book written on paper*. The Qurán being *repeated* piecemeal to the people, according to the circumstances or necessities of the Prophet, it was very natural they should regard the whole as the composition of Muhammad himself. The *Tafsir-i-Raufi* relates that three chiefs of the Quraish came to Muhammad saying they would not believe him to be a prophet, or his Qurán to be from God, unless four angels were to descend from heaven with a written book and testify to his apostleship. It was then that this passage was revealed. This story, however, does not fit on to the passage well, and must be regarded as an invention of the commentators, the chief incidents being suggested by the passage itself. It is, however, sufficiently clear that the Quraish did not see anything sufficiently miraculous in the style of the Qurán to convince them of its heavenly origin.

(8) *Unless an angel*. Muhammad claimed to have received the Qurán from Gabriel. This is probably the angel referred to here, the Quraish having claimed the right to see the angel-visitor of their townsman before believing in his prophetic pretensions.

Verily the matter had been decreed. "That is to say, as they would not have believed even if an angel had descended to them from heaven, God has shown his mercy in not complying with their demands; for if he had, they would have suffered immediate condemnation, and would have been allowed no time for repentance."—Sale.

angel for our messenger, we should have sent him *in the form of a man*, and have clothed *him* before them, as they are clothed. (10) *Other* apostles have been laughed to scorn before thee, but *the judgment* which they made a jest of encompassed those who laughed them to scorn.

R $\frac{2}{8}$.

|| (11) Say, Go through the earth, and behold what hath been the end of those who accused *our prophets* of imposture. (12) Say, Unto whom *belongeth* whatsoever is in heaven and earth? Say, Unto God; he hath prescribed unto himself mercy. He will surely gather you together on the day of resurrection; there is no doubt of it. They who destroy their own souls *are those who* will not believe. (13) Unto him *is owing* whatsoever happeneth by night or by day; *it is* he who heareth and knoweth. (14) Say, Shall I take any other protector than God, the creator of heaven and earth, who feedeth *all* and is not fed *by any*? Say, Verily I am commanded to be the first

(9) *The form of a man.* Had the angels appeared to the Quraish, they would have appeared as men, therefore there would have been nothing more convincing in the appearance of the heavenly messengers than in that of a human being who was a prophet. Sale observes that Gabriel always appeared to Muhamamad in human form, because even a prophet could not bear the sight of an angel in his proper form.

(10) *Other apostles . . . laughed to scorn.* This illustrates the kind of argument used by Muhammad at Makkah. He was a prophet of God because he said so, the inimitable Qurán being witness. The very fact that unbelievers scoffed at him and his message was an additional argument, for so were all prophets treated. Not a word is said of miracles, for there were none. Nor is there any allusion to the testimony of former prophets as applying to him, all such passages belonging to the Madina chapters. How very different all this from the conduct of the true prophets!

(11) *Go through the earth, &c.* See note on chap. iii. 137.

(12) *He hath prescribed unto himself mercy.* Literally, *he hath written upon his being mercy.* He delights in mercy, and when unbelievers are condemned and punished, it is owing to *their having destroyed themselves*. It is plain that with passages like this before them, Muhammadans may fairly claim that they do not deny the freedom of the human will while holding to the absolute sovereignty of God. But see note on chap. iii. 155.

(14) *The first.* "That is, the first of my nation."—Sale.

Muhammad had not yet conceived of himself as a prophet for all

who professeth Islám, and *it was said unto me*, Thou shalt by no means be *one* of the idolaters. (15) Say, Verily I fear, if I should rebel against my LORD, the punishment of the great day : (16) from whomsoever it shall be averted on that day, *God* will have been merciful unto him ; this *will be* manifest salvation. (17) If God afflict thee with any hurt, there is none who can take it off *from thee* except himself ; but if he cause good to befall thee, he is almighty ; (18) he is the supreme *Lord* over his servants, and he *is* wise *and* knowing. (19) Say, What thing is the strongest in bearing testimony ? Say, GOD ; *he is* witness between me and you. And this Qurán was revealed unto me that I should admonish you thereby, and *also* those unto whom it shall reach. Do ye really profess that there are other gods together with GOD ? Say, I do not profess *this*. Say, Verily he is one GOD ; and I am guiltless of

the world. Brinckman remarks, that "if Muhammed was the first of the Arabians to become a Moslem, all the Arabians before him must have been infidels and estranged from God, and yet he chooses one of them to be the seal of the prophets and to convert the world." But this is the point upon which Muhammad depended to show his own likeness to Abraham, who was chosen from among idolaters. Chap. ii. 131, 132.

(19) *What is . . . strongest . . . in testimony.* "This passage was revealed when the Quraish told Muhammad that they had asked the Jews and Christians concerning him, who assured them they found no mention or description of him in their books of Scripture. "Therefore," said they, "who bear witness to thee that thou art the apostle of God ?"—Sale, *Baidhāwi*, *Jalāluddīn*.

Muhammad's reply is, "God, he is witness between me and you," allusion being made to the miraculous character of the verses (signs) of the Qurán.

This Qurán was revealed unto me. The Qurán is here, as everywhere else, referred to as a *complete volume*, and a distinct claim for its plenary inspiration is set up. Every word and letter is copied from the divine original. Vain then is the hope of the apologists for Muhammad that Muslims "will soon see that there may be an appeal to the Mohammed of Mecca from the Mohammed of Medina," and "that with the growth of knowledge of the real character of our faith, Mohammedans must recognise that the Christ of the gospel was something ineffably above the Christ of those Christians from whom alone Mohammed drew his notions of him," &c. (R. Bosworth Smith's *Mohammed and Mohammedanism*, p. 337). Such a hope is based upon the idea that Muslims will come to believe that the

what ye associate *with him*. (20) They unto whom we have given the scripture know *our apostle*, even as they know their own children; *but* they who destroy their own souls will not believe.

R 3.

|| (21) Who is more unjust than he who inventeth a lie against God, or chargeth his signs with imposture? Surely the unjust shall not prosper. (22) And on the day of *resurrection* we will assemble them all; then will we say unto those who associated *others with God*, Where are your companions, whom ye imagined *to be those of God*? But they shall have no other excuse than that they shall say, By GOD our LORD, we have not been idolaters. (23) Behold, how they lie against themselves, and what they have *blasphemously* imagined *to be the companion of God*.

Qurán is the composition of Muhammad, and that he was mistaken in his estimate of Christ and Christianity. When they come to believe this, they will not be long in casting the whole thing aside, and so either become Christians, or, as is often the case, they will disbelieve all religions, and so sink into infidelity. The rationalising teachings of the few *enlightened Muslims*, which have inspired the *hope* alluded to above, are to all orthodox Muhammadans as gall and wormwood. They clearly recognise that the result of their teaching would not be to reconcile Christianity and Islám, but to destroy the foundation principles of both. The writer has been asked by at least one learned Muslim author for assistance to refute the rationalistic writings of Sayad Ahmad Khán, C.S.I. In presenting this request I was reminded that in combating this doctrine Muslims and Christians stood on common ground, inasmuch as we had here a common enemy which each was alike interested in defeating. Was he mistaken in his estimate of the danger which threatened Islám from this source? We think not. Islám is based upon the Qurán, and anything which will undermine the faith of Muslims in the Qurán as the very Word of God, anything which will serve to transfer the authorship from God to Muhammad, must result in the rejection of Islám altogether.

(20) *They unto whom we have given the Scriptures, &c., i.e., the Jews at Makkah.* Muir thinks the Jews were at this time inclined to respect the prophetic claims of Muhammad (*Life of Mahomet*, vol. ii. p. 184). See also note on chap. ii. 147.

(21) *A lie against God.* "Saying the angels are the daughters of God, and intercessors for us with him," &c.—*Sale, Baidhāwī*.

(22) *Your companions, i.e., "your idols and false gods."*—*Sale*.

(23) *Flieth from them.* "Their imaginary deities prove to be nothing, and disappear like vain phantoms and chimeras."—*Sale*.

flieth from them. (24) There is of them who hearkeneth unto thee *when thou readest the Qurán*; but we have cast veils over their hearts, that they should not understand it, and a deafness in their ears: and though they should see all *kinds of signs*, they will not believe therein; *and their infidelity will arrive to that height* that they will even come unto thee to dispute with thee. The unbelievers will say, This is nothing but silly fables of ancient times. (25) And they will forbid *others* from *believing therein*, and will retire afar off from it; but they will destroy their own souls only, and they are not sensible *thereof*. (26) If thou didst see when they shall be set over the fire of *hell*! and they shall say, Would to God we might be sent back *into the world*; we would not charge the signs of our LORD with imposture, and we would become true believers: (27) nay, but that is become manifest unto them, which they formerly concealed; and though they should be sent back *into the world*, they would surely return to that which was forbidden them; and they are surely liars. (28) And they said, There is no *other life* than our present life; neither

(24) *Silly fables.* This no doubt referred to the numerous stories, learned from Jewish, Arab, and Magian tradition, with which the Qurán abounds. Such statements serve to show that there was nothing in the style or matter of the Qurán to impress the people with its miraculous character. Sale says, on the authority of Baidhāwī, that the persons referred to in this verse were Abu Sufián, Walíd, Nudhár, Utbá, Abu Jahl, and their comrades. These having listened to Muhammad repeating the Qurán, Nudhár was asked what he said. He replied with an oath that he knew not, only that he moved his tongue and told a parcel of foolish stories, as he had done to them.

(25) *They will forbid, &c.* They will neither accept of Islám themselves, nor permit others to do so. Some refer the passage to Abu Tálib, Muhammad's uncle and protector, who, though forbidding the enemies of his nephew from injuring him, yet declined to accept Islám. See *Tafsír-i-Raufi*.

(27) *Become manifest, i.e.,* "their hypocrisy and vile actions; nor does their promise proceed from any sincere intention of amendment, but from the anguish and misery of their condition."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*.

(28) *No other life, &c.* The ideas of the future life attributed to the Quraish here were such as are still prevalent among idolaters.

shall we be raised again. But if thou couldest see when they shall be set before their LORD! (29) He shall say *unto them*, Is not this in truth *come to pass*? They shall answer, Yea, by our LORD. God shall say, Taste therefore the punishment *due unto you*, for that ye have disbelieved.

R $\frac{4}{10}$.

|| (30) They are lost who reject as a falsehood the meeting of GOD *in the next life*, until the hour cometh suddenly upon them. *Then will* they say, Alas! for that we have behaved ourselves negligently in *our lifetime*; and they shall carry their burdens on their backs; will it not be evil which they shall be loaden with? (31) This present life is no other than a play and a vain amusement; but surely the future mansion *shall be* better for those who fear God: will they not therefore understand? (32) Now we know that what they speak grieveth thee: yet they do not accuse thee of falsehood; but the ungodly contra-

As Paul's doctrine of the resurrection and judgment was foolishness to the Greeks, so was the same doctrine regarded by the idolaters of Makkah. The astonishment of these unbelievers at the resurrection day is very graphically set forth in what follows.

(30) *The hour*. "The last day is here called *the hour*, as it is in Scripture (1 John v. 25, &c.); and the preceding expression of *meeting* God on that day is also agreeable to the same (1 Thess. iv. 17)."—Sale.

The same is true of the expression *suddenly*. This is, however, due to Muhammad's having learned all he knew on this subject from Jewish and Christian sources. Compare note on ver. 28.

Burdens on their backs. "When an infidel comes forth from his grave, says Jaláluddín, his works shall be represented to him under the ugliest form that ever he beheld, having a most deformed countenance, a filthy smell, and a disagreeable voice; so that he shall cry out, 'God defend me from thee! what art thou? I never saw anything more detestable!' To which the figure will answer, 'Why dost thou wonder at my ugliness? I am thy evil works. Thou didst ride upon me while thou wast in the world; but now will I ride upon thee, and thou shalt carry me.' And immediately it shall get upon him; and whatever he shall meet shall terrify him, and say, 'Hail, thou enemy of God! Thou art he who was meant by (these words of the Qurán), and they shall carry their burdens,' &c."—Sale, *Jaláluddín, Tafsír-i-Raufi*.

(31) *The future mansion shall be better*, because there remain for the faithful other delights which shall never fail.—*Tafsír-i-Raufi*. Compare chap. ii. 25.

(32) *Not . . . thee . . . but . . . God*. "That is, it is not thou but

dict the signs of God. (33) And apostles before thee have been accounted liars: but they patiently bore their being accounted liars, and their being vexed, until our help came unto them: for there is none who can change the words of God: and thou hast received some information concerning those who have been *formerly sent from him*.

|| (34) If their aversion to *thy admonitions* be grievous NISF. unto thee, if thou canst seek out a den *whereby thou mayest penetrate into the inward parts of the earth*, or a ladder by which thou mayest ascend into heaven, that thou mayest show them a sign, *do so, but thy search will be fruitless*; for if God pleased he would bring them all to the *true* direction: be not therefore *one* of the ignorant. (35) He will give a favourable answer unto those only who shall

God whom they injure by their impious gainsaying of what has been revealed to thee. It is said that Abu Jahl once told Muhammad that they did not accuse him of falsehood, because he was known to be a man of veracity, but only they did not believe the revelations which he brought them; which occasioned this passage."—Sale, *Baidhāwi*.

(33) *Apostles before thee, &c.* See note on chap. iii. 185.

Patently bore. The attitude of the preacher of Makkah, as here indicated, is in wide contrast with that of the warrior-prophet of Madīna. Yet the latter could liken himself to the prophets of old as readily as could the former. Compare note on chap. iii. 146.

Some information. This information *purports* to have been received by inspiration, and is detailed in a number of the chapters revealed at Makkah, where the persecutions of former prophets are described, together with the punishments incurred by the persecutors, *e.g.*, chaps. xxxvii., l., &c. Most of it was learned, as we know, from Jewish Scripture and tradition, of which it is here said, *There is none who can change the words of God*. But a comparison of the Qurān with the Bible will show that Muhammad did effectually change the words of God whenever he attempted to relate the histories of the prophets.

(34) *A den . . . or a ladder.* The Quraish had demanded a sign, and Muhammad, according to the commentators, was anxious to gratify their wish, in the hope they would believe. But he is here reproved by the declaration that these unbelievers would not believe even were they to witness the very miracles they demanded of him, and by the assurance that they were infidels only because God had not been pleased to bring them into the true way. The passage is one among many proof texts to show that Muhammad did not work miracles.

(35) *Those only who shall hearken.* The *Tafsīr-i-Raūfi* says the

hearken *with attention* : and GOD will raise the dead ; then unto him shall they return. (36) The *infidels* say, Unless some sign be sent down unto him from his LORD, *we will not believe* : answer, Verily GOD is able to send down a sign : but the greater part of them know *it* not. (37) There is no *kind of* beast on earth, nor fowl which flieth with its wings, but *the same is* a people like unto you : we have not omitted anything in the book *of our decrees* : then unto their LORD shall they return. (38) They who accuse our signs of falsehood *are* deaf and dumb, *walking* in darkness : GOD will lead into error whom he pleaseth, and whom he pleaseth he will put in the right way ? (39) Say, What think ye ? if the punishment of GOD come upon you, or the hour *of the resurrection* come upon you, will ye call upon any other than GOD, if ye speak truth ? (40) Yea, him shall ye call upon, and he shall free *you* from that which ye shall ask him *to deliver you from*, if he pleaseth ; and ye shall forget that which ye associated *with him*.

infidels are as the dead : they cannot hear. Hence God will not hear them. And yet, though dead, God will raise them to life, and they shall hear, but then it will be too late to avail them for good.

(36) *But . . . know not* that such a sign would probably result in their destruction ; for it is the command of God that if any one, having demanded a sign, refuse to believe, he shall be utterly destroyed.—*Tafsîr-i-Raûfî*.

This verse also shows that Muhammad wrought no miracles.

(37) *A people like unto you*. "Being created and preserved by the same omnipotence and providence as ye are."—*Salé*. They will also be brought into judgment. See *Tafsîr-i-Raûfî in loco* and Prelim. Disc., p. 146.

We have not omitted anything in the book. "That is, in the *Preserved Table*, wherein God's decrees are written, and all things which came to pass in the world, as well the most minute as the more momentous, are exactly recorded."—*Salé*. See Prelim. Disc., p. 164.

This verse, with ver. 58 below, and chap. xvi. 91, is "held to prove that all law was provided for by anticipation in the Qurân" (*The Faith of Islâm*, pp. 19, 20).

(38) See note on chap. iii. 185.

(39, 40) See notes above on vers. 22-27.

|| (41) We have already sent *messengers* unto *sundry* R ⁵ _{ii}. nations before thee, and we afflicted them with trouble and adversity that they might humble themselves: (42) yet when the affliction *which we sent* came upon them, they did not humble themselves; but their hearts became hardened, and Satan prepared for them that which they committed. (43) And when they had forgotten that concerning which they had been admonished, we opened unto them the gates of all things; until, while they were rejoicing for that which had been given them, we suddenly laid hold on them, and behold, they *were* seized with despair; (44) and the utmost part of the people which had acted wickedly was cut off: praise be unto GOD, the LORD of all creatures! (45) Say, What think ye? if GOD should take away your hearing and your sight, and should seal up your hearts; what god besides GOD will restore them unto you? (46) See how variously we show forth the signs of *God's unity*; yet do they turn aside *from them*. Say *unto them*, What think ye? if the punishment of GOD come upon you suddenly or in open view, will *any* perish except the ungodly people? (47) We send not *our* messengers otherwise than bearing good tidings and

(41-44) *We afflicted them.* The effect of which was to harden them, implying that the prosperity of the Quraish indicated God's mercy. And yet, when God, willing to show kindness to other nations, *opened unto them the gates of all things* by prospering them in worldly things, as he now was prospering the people of Makkah, and they continued unmindful of both judgments and mercies, sudden destruction came upon them. The allusion here is to the dealing of God with the children of Israel. The reading of the passage suggests Prov. i. 24-33; Isa. lxvi. 3, 4, &c.

Praise be unto God, &c. As the destruction of infidels is the deliverance of the faithful from their tyranny, it becomes us to praise the Destroyer.—*Tafsir-i-Raufi.*

(46) *See how variously, &c.* "Laying them before you in different views, and making use of arguments and motives drawn from various considerations."—*Sale.*

Suddenly or in open view, i.e., at night or in daytime.—*Tafsir-i-Raufi.*

Sale says, on the authority of Baidháwi, "either without previous notice, or after some warning given."

denouncing threats. Whoso therefore shall believe and amend, on them shall no fear come, neither shall they be grieved: (48) but whoso shall accuse our signs of falsehood, a punishment shall fall on them, because they have done wickedly. (49) Say, I say not unto you, The treasures of GOD are in my power: neither *do I say*, I know the secrets of God: neither do I say unto you, Verily I am an angel: I follow only that which is revealed unto me. Say, Shall the blind and the seeing be held equal? do ye not therefore consider?

R $\frac{6}{12}$

|| (50) Preach it unto those who fear that they shall be assembled before their LORD: they shall have no patron nor intercessor except him; that peradventure they may take heed to themselves. (51) Drive not away those who call upon their LORD morning and evening, desiring to see his face: it belongeth not unto thee to pass any judgment on them, nor doth it belong unto them to pass any judg-

(48) *Whoso shall accuse our signs, &c.* This phrase has occurred no less than five times before in this chapter, vers. 11, 21, 26, 32, and 38. This illustrates Muhanunad's anxiety to remove this stigma from himself. Strange to say, this persistency of Muhammad in asserting his claim to be a true prophet is regarded by some writers as conclusive proof that he was not an impostor. But surely, granting the false assumption to have been once made, there could be no other course open to him, excepting retraction and disgrace. Besides, impostors have never been noted for anything more than for their audacity and impudent self-assertion, *e.g.*, Joseph Smith, the Mormon prophet. The false prophet of Islám and rival of Muhammad, Musailama, persisted in his claim to the very last—yea, died in defence of his claim.

(49) *I say not unto you, &c.* In ver. 34 Muhammad was denied the power of working miracles. Here he declares himself unacquainted with the "secrets of God," literally *hidden things*, by which he confesses that he does not possess the gift of prophecy. How different the claim of Jesus! John viii. 38, 42; x. 15, 30, 37, &c.

(50) *No patron nor intercessor.* This passage is directly contradictory to the doctrine of Muslims, that Muhammad will intercede for his followers on the judgment-day. See notes on chap. ii. 47, 123, and 254.

(51) *Drive not away, &c.* "These words were occasioned when the Quraish desired Muhammad not to admit the poor or more inferior people, such as Ammár, Suhaib, Khubbáb, and Salmán,

ment on thee: therefore *if* thou drive them away, thou wilt become *one* of the unjust. (52) Thus have we proved some part of them by other part, that they may say, Are these *the people* among us unto whom God hath been gracious? Doth not GOD most truly know *those who are* thankful? (53) And when they who believe in our signs shall come unto thee, say, Peace *be* upon you. Your LORD hath prescribed unto himself mercy; so whoever among you worketh evil through ignorance, and afterwards repenteth and amendeth, *unto him will* he surely *be* gracious and merciful. (54) Thus have we distinctly propounded *our* signs, that the path of the wicked might be made known.

|| (55) Say, Verily I am forbidden to worship *the false* R $\frac{7}{13}$ *deities* which ye invoke besides GOD. Say, I will not follow your desires; for then should I err, neither should I be *one of those who are rightly* directed. (56) Say, I *behave* according to the plain declaration, *which I have*

into his company, pretending that then they would come and discourse with him; but he refusing to turn away any believers, they insisted at least that he should order them to rise up and withdraw when they came, which he agreed to do. Others say that the chief men of Makkah expelled all the poor out of their city, bidding them go to Muhammad, which they did, and offered to embrace his religion; but he made some difficulty to receive them, suspecting their motive to be necessity, and not real conviction, whereupon this passage was revealed."—*Sale, Baidhāwi, Jalāluddīn.*

It belongeth not to thee, &c., i.e., "rashly to decide whether their intentions be sincere or not, since thou canst not know their heart, and their faith may possibly be more firm than that of those who would persuade thee to discard them."—*Sale.*

(52) *Proved some part . . . by other part.* "That is to say, the noble by those of mean extraction, and the rich by the poor, in that God chose to call the latter to the faith by the former."—*Sale, Baidhāwi, &c.*

(53) *Say, Peace be upon you.* See chap. iv. 85, note.

Prescribed . . . mercy. See on ver. 12, above.

(55) This verse suggests the thought that Muhammad may have been tempted to make a compromise with the idolatry of the Kaabah. May he not have been urged to do so by some of his friends? Or the passage may belong to a period subsequent to the temporary lapse of the prophet, referred to in chap. xxii. 53 and 54.

received from my LORD; but ye have forged lies concerning him. That which ye desire should be hastened is not in my power; judgment *belongeth* only unto GOD; he will determine the truth; and he is the best discerner. (57) Say, If what ye desire should be hastened were in my power, the matter had been determined between me and you: but GOD well knoweth the unjust. (58) With him are the keys of the secret *things*; none knoweth them besides himself: he knoweth that which is on the dry land and in the sea: there falleth no leaf but he knoweth it; neither *is there* a single grain in the dark parts of the earth, neither a green thing, nor a dry thing, but it is *written* in the perspicuous book. (59) It is he who causeth you to sleep by night, and knoweth what ye merit by day; he also awaketh you therein, that the prefixed term of *your lives* may be fulfilled; then unto him shall ye return, and he shall declare unto you that which ye have wrought.

R $\frac{8}{14}$

|| (60) He is supreme over his servants, and sendeth the guardian *angels* to watch over you, until, when death overtaketh one of you, our messengers cause him to die: and

(56) *That which ye desire, &c.* "This passage is an answer to the audacious defiance of the infidels, who bade Muhammad, if he were a true prophet, to call for a shower of stones from heaven, or some other sudden and miraculous punishment, to destroy them."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*.

(57) *The matter had been determined* by the judgment of God upon your impiety, and the bestowal of the punishment which ye have challenged.—*Tafsīr-i-Raūfi*. The fierce reply intended, according to Baidhāwī's interpretation, is premature. That spirit was not yet manifested.

(58) *The perspicuous book*. The Preserved Table, or *Luh-i-Mahfūz*. See note on ver. 37. This verse, with the three following it, very graphically sets forth the omniscience and omnipresence of the Sovereign Ruler of the Universe. Compare with Job xxxviii. 1-14; Ps. l. 10-12, and Ps. cxxxix. 1-16.

(59) *Causeth you to sleep*. Literally *taketh up your souls*, sleep being regarded as the sister of Death.

(60) *Guardian angels*. See Prelim. Disc., pp. 118-120.

Our messengers. "That is, the Angel of Death and his assistants." See Prelim. Disc., p. 119.

they will not neglect *our commands*. (61) Afterwards shall they return unto GOD, their true LORD: doth not judgment *belong* unto him? He is the most quick in taking an account. (62) Say, Who delivereth you from the darkness of the land and of the sea, *when* ye call upon him humbly and in private, *saying*, Verily if thou deliver us from these *dangers*, we will surely be thankful? (63) Say, GOD delivereth you from them, and from every grief of mind; *yet* afterwards ye give *him* companions. (64) Say, He is able to send on you a punishment from above you, or from under your feet, or to engage you in dissension, and to make some of you taste the violence of others. Observe how variously we show forth *our* signs, that peradventure they may understand. (65) This people hath accused the *revelation which thou hast brought* of falsehood, although it be the truth. Say, I am not a guardian over you: (66) every prophecy hath its fixed time of *accomplishment*; and he will hereafter know *it*. (67) When thou seest those who are engaged in *cavilling at or ridiculing* our signs, depart from them until they be engaged in

(61) *He is quick*. See Prelim. Disc., p. 137.

(62) *The darkness*. The word is in the plural number, and means *dangers* or *distresses*. See also note on ver. 1.

If thou deliver us. Sale says, "The Kufic copies read it in the third person, *if he deliver us*," &c.

(63) *Afterwards ye gave him companions*. In distress they called on God, and so recognised him as the only Preserver; but in prosperity they turned away from him to their idols.

(64) *A punishment from above*. "That is, by storms from heaven, as he destroyed the unbelieving people of Noah and of Lot, and the army of Abrahá, the lord of the elephant."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*.

Or from under your feet, as he destroyed Pharaoh and his host in the Red Sea, or Korah and his company.

Dissension, by warfare and civil strife.

(66) *Every prophecy hath its fixed time*. The word translated *prophecy* means *news*, *thing*, *word*, and the passage means that everything has a fixed time for its accomplishment; that is, there is a time for those who oppose the messengers of God and who blaspheme to receive their just punishment.

(67) *Depart from them*. The infidels having begun to mock the Muslims whenever they found them repeating the Qurán in their company, the order was given to withdraw from them whenever they should begin to laugh or jest.—*Tafsir-i-Raufi*.

some other discourse: and if Satan cause thee to forget *this precept*, do not sit with the ungodly people after recollection. (68) They who fear *God* are not at all accountable for them, but *their duty* is to remember, that they may take heed to themselves. (69) Abandon those who make their religion a sport and a jest, and whom the present life hath deceived; and admonish *them* by the *Qurán*, that a soul becometh liable to destruction for that which it committeth; it shall have no patron nor intercessor besides God: (70) and if it could pay the utmost price of redemption, it would not be accepted from it.

R $\frac{9}{15}$

|| (71) They who are delivered over to perdition for that which they have committed shall have boiling water to drink, and shall suffer a grievous punishment, because they have disbelieved. Say, shall we call upon that, besides God, which can neither profit us nor hurt us? and shall we turn back on our heels, after that God hath directed us, like him whom the devils hath infatuated, wandering amazedly in the earth, *and yet* having companions who call him into the *true* direction, *saying*, Come unto us? Say, The direction of God is the *true* direction: we are commanded to resign ourselves unto

(68) *Not at all accountable.* “And therefore need not be troubled at the indecent and impious talk of the infidels, provided they take care not to be infected by them. When the preceding passage was revealed, the Muslims told their prophet that if they were obliged to rise up whenever the idolaters spoke irreverently of the *Qurán*, they could never sit quietly in the temple nor perform their devotions there; whereupon these words were added.”—*Salé, Baidháwi, Jaláluddín.*

(69) *A sport and a jest, i.e.,* by worshipping idols, consecrating sacred animals, as Bahaira, Sáhiba, &c.—*Tafsír-i-Raufi.* See a similar passage in chap. v. 62.

No patron nor intercessor. See note on ver. 50. The expression is here applied to unbelievers who have died in their sins.

(71) *Boiling water.* See chap. ii. 38, note.

Like him whom the devils, &c. He whom God has rejected as a reprobate is like a man snatched away from a caravan and cast down in a lone wilderness; his companions call to him to come to them, but he is dragged away by evil spirits and ghouls.—*Tafsír-i-Raufi.*

the LORD of all creatures; (72) and *it is also commanded us, saying*, Observe the stated times of prayer, and fear him; for it is he before whom ye shall be assembled. (73) It is he who hath created the heavens and the earth in truth; and whenever he saith *unto a thing*, Be, it is. (74) His word is the truth; and his will be the kingdom on the day whereon the trumpet shall be sounded: he knoweth whatever is secret, and whatever is public; he is the wise, the knowing.

|| (75) *Call to mind* when Abraham said unto his father, SULS. Ázar, Dost thou take images for gods? Verily I perceive

(72) *The stated times of prayer.* See note on chap. ii. 38.

(74) *The trumpet, &c.* See Prelim. Disc., p. 135.

(75) *Ázar.* "This is the name which the Muhammadans give to Abraham's father, named in Scripture Terah. However, some of their writers pretend that Ázar was the son of Terah, and D'Herbelot says that the Arabs always distinguish them in their genealogies as different persons; but that because Abraham was the son of Terah according to Moses, it is therefore supposed (by European writers) that Terah is the same with the Ázar of the Arabs. How true this observation may be in relation to some authors, I cannot say, but I am sure it cannot be true of all; for several Arab and Turkish writers (Baidhawí, Yahya, &c.) expressly make Ázar and Terah the same person. Ázar, in ancient times, was the name of the planet Mars, and the month of March was so called by the most ancient Persians; for the word originally signifying *fire* (as it still does), it was therefore given by them and the Chaldeans to that planet, which partaking, as was supposed, of a fiery nature, was acknowledged by the Chaldeans and Assyrians as a god or planetary deity, whom in old times they worshipped under the form of a pillar: whence Ázar became a name among the nobility, who esteemed it honourable to be denominated from their gods, and is found in the composition of several Babylonish names. For these reasons a learned author supposes Ázar to have been the heathen name of Terah, and that the other was given him on his conversion (Hyde de Rel. Vet. Persar.) Al Baidhawí confirms this conjecture, saying that Ázar was the name of the idol which he worshipped. It may be observed that Abraham's father is also called Zarah in the Talmud, and Athar by Eusebius."—Sale.

Dost thou take images for gods? "That Ázar, or Terah, was an idolater is allowed on all hands; nor can it be denied, since he is expressly said in Scripture to have served strange gods (Josh. xxiv. 2, 14). The Eastern authors unanimously agree that he was a statuary, or carver of idols; and he is represented as the first who made images of clay, pictures only having been in use before, and taught that they were to be adored as gods. However, we are told his em-

that thou and thy people *are* in a manifest error. (76) And thus did we show unto Abraham the kingdom of heaven and earth, that he might become *one* of those who firmly believe. (77) And when the night overshadowed him, he saw a star, *and* he said, This is my LORD; but when it set, he said, I like not *gods* which set. (78) And when he saw the moon rising, he said, This is my LORD; but when he saw it set, he said, Verily if my LORD direct me not, I shall become *one* of the people who go astray. (79) And when he saw the sun rising, he said, This is my LORD, this is the greatest; but when it set, he said, O my people, verily I am clear of that which ye associate *with God*: (80) I direct my face unto him who hath created

ployment was a very honourable one, and that he was a great lord, and in high favour with Nimrod, whose son-in-law he was, because he made his idols for him, and was excellent in his art. Some of the Rabbins say Terah was a priest, and chief of the order."—*Salé*.

(76) *Abraham*. The story of Abraham as told in the writings of the Muslims is embellished by much that is of a miraculous character. The king, Nimrod, having had a dream of a wonderful child being born who should destroy his idols, commanded all the male children to be slain. The mother of Abraham, without exhibiting the usual signs of pregnancy, brought forth her son in a cave outside of Babylon, and hiding him there, informed her husband that she had had a child, but that he was dead and buried. The next day she repaired to the cave and found her son sucking his thumbs, and to her surprise she discovered that milk flowed from one thumb and honey from the other. In fifteen months Abraham had grown from childhood to the size and maturity of a boy of fifteen years. His mother then informed her husband of her deception, and took him to the cave to see his son. Ázar was delighted, and immediately determined to present him to the king, which he could do with safety, seeing he would appear to have been born many years before the cruel edict went forth. The child, however, soon began to show his reverence for the true God and his contempt for idolatry. One day he asked his mother, "Who is your protector?" She replied, "Your father." Said he, "Who is my father's protector?" to which his mother replied, "Nimrod." "And who is Nimrod's protector?" said Abraham. His mother, being affrighted, said, "Stop now; you must not ask such questions; it is dangerous to do so." And so the story goes. See *Tafsir-i-Raufi in loco*.

(77-84) *This is my Lord, &c.* "Since Abraham's parents were idolaters, it seems to be a necessary consequence that himself was one also in his younger years; the Scripture not obscurely intimates

the heavens and the earth; *I am* orthodox, and am not *one* of the idolaters. (81) And his people disputed with him: *and* he said, Will ye dispute with me concerning GOD? since he hath now directed me, and I fear not that which ye associate *with him*, unless that my LORD willeth a thing; *for* my LORD comprehendeth all things by *his* knowledge: will ye not therefore consider? (82) And how should I fear that which ye associate *with God*, since ye fear not to have associated with GOD that concerning which he hath sent down unto you no authority? which therefore of the two parties is the more safe, if ye understand *aright*? (83) They who believe, and clothe not their faith with injustice, they shall enjoy security, and they *are rightly* directed.

|| (84) And this is our argument wherewith we furnished R $\frac{10}{16}$. Abraham *that he might make use of it* against his people: we exalt unto degrees *of wisdom and knowledge* whom we

as much (Josh. xxiv. 2, 14); and the Jews themselves acknowledge it (Joseph. Ant., lib. i. c. 7). At what age he came to the knowledge of the true God and left idolatry, opinions are various. Some Jewish writers tell us he was then but three years old, and the Muhammadans likewise suppose him very young, and that he asked his father and mother several shrewd questions when a child. Others, however, allow him to have been a middle-aged man at that time. Maimonides, in particular, and R. Abraham Zacuth think him to have been forty years old, which age is also mentioned in the Qurán. But the general opinion of the Muhammadans is, that he was about fifteen or sixteen. As the religion wherein Abraham was educated was the Sabian, which consisted chiefly in the worship of the heavenly bodies (Prelim. Disc., sect. i.), he is introduced examining their nature and properties, to see whether they had a right to the worship which was paid them or not; and the first which he observed was the planet Venus, or, as others (Baidháwi) will have it, Jupiter. This method of Abraham's attaining to the knowledge of the Supreme Creator of all things is conformable to what Josephus writes, viz., that he drew his notions from the changes which he had observed in the earth and the sea, and in the sun and the moon, and the rest of the celestial bodies; concluding that they were subject to the command of a superior power, to whom alone all honour and thanks are due. The story itself is certainly taken from the Talmud. Some of the commentators, however, suppose this reasoning of Abraham with himself was not the first means of his conversion, but that he used it only by way of argument to convince the idolaters among whom he then lived."—Sale.

please; for thy LORD is wise *and* knowing. (85) And we gave unto them Isaac and Jacob; we directed *them* both: and Noah had we before directed, and of his posterity David and Solomon; and Job, and Joseph, and Moses, and Aaron: thus do we reward the righteous; (86) and Zacharias, and John, and Jesus, and Elias; *all of them were* upright men: (87) and Ismael, and Elisha, and

Of this account of Abraham's conversion it may be fairly said (1), That it is taken for the most part from Jewish tradition, as already shown by Sale; (2) that something of Muhammad's own experience is here predicated of Abraham; and (3) that, in Muhammad's conception, Abraham was a prophet in all respects like himself. And yet, according to his own claim, this garbled tale was received entirely by revelation from the Angel Gabriel—Muhammad merely repeating the words given to him. Was there nothing of imposition in all this?

(85) The order in which Muhammad has here recited the names of the "prophets" indicates his ignorance of history, and clearly shows that he did not have access to the written Scriptures of the Old and New Testament. Of twenty-five *prophets* mentioned in the Qurán, eighteen are named here.

His posterity. "Some refer the relative *his* to Abraham, the person chiefly spoken of in this passage; some to Noah, the next antecedent, because Jonas and Lot were not (say they) of Abraham's seed; and others suppose the persons named in this and the next verse are to be understood as the descendants of Abraham, and those in the following verse as those of Noah."—Sale, *Baidhawí*.

The conjunctions make it necessary to refer the *his* to Noah. The attempt to refer it to Abraham was due to the declaration that David and Solomon were descended from Noah prior to Abraham, which the commentators desired to remove.

Job. The commentators say he was of the race of Esau, but he is everywhere mentioned in the Qurán *after* Solomon, so that a suspicion at least is admissible that in Muhammad's mind he was descended from David and Solomon, or that he lived after them. See chap. xxi. 83, and xxxviii. 40.

(86) *Zacharias*, like Aaron in the preceding verse and Ismaél in the one following, is numbered among the prophets, contrary to the teaching of the Bible. It is rather remarkable that Ismaél is placed at the end of the catalogue of the successors of Abraham. This is probably due to the change of attitude towards the Jews, which took place after the Hijra, from which time it became the policy of Muhammad to exalt Ismaél, in order to please the Arabs. Zachariah, the father of John the Baptist, is probably confounded with the prophet of the same name.

And Elias. See notes on chap. xxxvii. 123-131.

(87) *Elisha*, i.e., the son of Shaphat, whom the commentators say was the son of Akhtúb.—*Tafsír-i-Raufi*.

Jonas, and Lot; all *these* have we favoured above *the rest* of the world; (88) and *also divers* of their fathers, and their issue, and their brethren; and we chose them, and directed them into the right way. (89) This is the direction of GOD; he directeth thereby such of his servants as he pleaseth; but if they had been guilty of idolatry, that which they wrought would have become utterly fruitless unto them. (90) Those *were the persons* unto whom we gave the scripture, and wisdom, and prophecy; but if these believe not therein, we will commit the care of them to a people who shall not disbelieve the same. (91) Those *were the persons* whom GOD hath directed, therefore follow their direction. Say *unto the inhabitants of Makkah*, I ask of you no recompense for *preaching the Qur'an*; it is no other than an admonition unto *all* creatures.

|| (92) They make not a due estimation of GOD, when R $\frac{11}{17}$.
they say, GOD hath not sent down unto man anything at

Jonas. See chap. x. 98, chap. xxi. 87, and chap. xxxvii. 139, and notes there.

Lot. See chap. vii. 81.

(88) *Their fathers, &c.* This verse strengthens the statement under ver. 85. Muhammad had forgotten the names of other prophets of whom he had heard, and accordingly the spirit of his inspiration makes this very general statement. See also note on chap. iii. 34.

(89) *Guilty of idolatry.* See note on chap. iv. 46.

(90) *If these believe not.* Baidhāwī makes these words to refer to the Quraish. They, however, agree with the teaching of the Bible in regard to the Jews, to whom they may very well refer. See Rodwell's translation. This passage may be quoted to show that the Scriptures of the former prophets were extant in Muhammad's day, and that they were not only genuine, but that Jewish unbelief was incapable of corrupting them. They would be committed to the care of another people.

(91) *An admonition unto all creatures, i.e.,* the direction given to all the prophets, and now declared by Muhammad to be the teaching of God for all men. We see here the theory of a universal Islām already present in Muhammad's mind. See chap. ii. 193.

(92) *They make not a due estimation of God.* "That is, they know him not truly, nor have just notions of his goodness and mercy towards man. The persons here meant, according to some commentators, are the Jews, and according to others the idolaters (Baidhāwī).

all : Say, who sent down the book which Moses brought, a light and a direction unto men ; which ye transcribe on papers, whereof ye publish *some part*, and great part *whereof* ye conceal ? and ye have been taught by *Muhammad* what ye knew not, neither your fathers. Say, GOD *sent it down* : then leave them to amuse themselves with their vain discourse. (93) This book which we have sent down *is* blessed ; confirming that which was *revealed* before it ; and *is delivered unto thee* that thou mayest preach *it* unto the metropolis of *Makkah* and to those who are round about it. And they who believe in the next life will believe therein, and they will diligently observe their *times of prayer*. (94) Who is more wicked than he who forgeth a lie concerning GOD ? or saith, *This* was revealed unto me ; when nothing had been revealed unto him ? and who saith, I will produce a revelation like unto that which GOD hath sent down ? If thou didst see when

“This verse and the two next, as Jaláluddín thinks, were revealed at Madína.”—*Salé*.

If the passage be referred to the Jews, the meaning of the phrase *God hath not sent down unto man anything at all* is that God never sent down a book to man, as Muhammad taught, but gave the word by the inspiration of holy men. See Prelim. Disc., pp. 111–114.

Which ye transcribe, &c. These words also show that Muhammad's charge of corrupting the Scriptures had no reference to the original text but to the practice of the Jews, whom he believed to have *suppressed or concealed* those portions referring to himself as a prophet. See note on chap. iv. 44.

Their vain discourse. This clause points to Madína as the place to which this and the following verse belong. Muhammad did not use this tone at Makkah.

(93) *This book . . . confirming, &c.* See note on chap. ii. 50.

Metropolis of Makkah. This should have been of *Madína*, seeing the passage belongs there. The term *metropolis* would suit Madína much better than the *then* heathen Makkah. The clause following, *and to those who are round about it*, also points to Madína, for Muhammad did not preach to those *round about* Makkah until his unsuccessful visit to Tayíf shortly before the Hijra.

(94) *This was revealed unto me, &c.* “Falsely pretending to have received revelations from him, as did Musailama, al Aswad, al Ansi, and others, or doing as did Abdullah Ibn Saad Ibn Abi Sarah, who for some time was the Prophet's amanuensis, and when these words were dictated to him as revealed, viz., ‘We created man of a purer

the ungodly *are* in the pangs of death, and the angels reach out their hands, *saying*, Cast forth your souls; this day shall ye receive an ignominious punishment for that which ye have falsely spoken concerning God; and because ye have proudly rejected his signs. (95) And now are ye come unto us alone, as we created you at first, and ye have left that which we had bestowed on you behind your backs; neither do we see with you your intercessors, whom ye thought to have been partners *with God* among you: now is *the relation* between you cut off, and what ye imagined hath deceived you.

|| (96) God causeth the grain and the date-stone to put forth: he bringeth forth the living from the dead, and he R $\frac{12}{18}$.

kind of clay,' &c. (chap. xxiii. 12-14), cried out, by way of admiration, 'Blessed be God the best Creator!' and being ordered by Muhammad to write these words down also as part of the inspired passage, began to think himself as great a prophet as his master. Whereupon he took upon himself to corrupt and alter the Qurán according to his own fancy, and at length apostatising, was one of the ten who were proscribed at the taking of Makkah (Prelim. Disc., p. 93), and narrowly escaped with life on his recantation, by the interposition of Othmán Ibn Affán, whose foster-brother he was."—*Salé, Baidhawi*.

I will produce a revelation like, &c. Muhammad's claim was that the Qurán was the word of God because it was inimitable, and over and over the challenge was given to *Bring a chapter like unto it*. See chap. ii. 23, x. 39, and chap. xvii. 90. Here, by *assuming* the Qurán to be the word of God, he declares the very attempt to meet his challenge the most wicked of acts, whereas his opponents only claimed to be able to write a revelation equal to that of the writing of Muhammad in literary merit, thus meeting the challenge. This passage clearly indicates that Muhammad's contemporaries did not regard the Qurán as inimitable.

This passage also belongs to the list of verses quoted to prove Muhammad's sincerity in believing in his own inspiration; but see note on ver. 48.

The angels. See notes on ver. 60.

(95) *Alone, i.e.*, "without your wealth, your children, or your friends, which ye so much depended on in your lifetime."—*Salé*.

Your intercessors. Idols and false gods.

(96-102) This passage sets forth God as the all-wise, powerful, and merciful Creator, everywhere manifesting himself in nature, and therefore worthy of the worship and honour which was bestowed by the idolaters upon the mere creature. It is one of the most elevated and beautiful passages in this chapter. We learn from it the

bringeth forth the dead from the living. This *is* GOD. Why therefore are ye turned away *from him*? (97) He causeth the morning to appear; and hath ordained the night for rest, and the sun and the moon for computing of *time*. This is the disposition of the mighty, the wise *God*. (98) It is he who hath ordained the stars for you, that ye may be directed thereby in the darkness of the land and of the sea. We have clearly shown forth *our* signs unto people who understand. (99) It is he who hath produced you from one soul; and *hath provided for you* a sure receptacle and a repository. We have clearly shown forth *our* signs unto people who are wise. (100) It is he who sendeth down water from heaven, and we have thereby produced the springing buds of all things, and have thereout produced the green thing, from which we produce the grain growing in rows, and palm-trees from whose branches proceed clusters of dates *hanging* close together; and gardens of grapes, and olives, and pomegranates, *both* like and unlike to one another. Look on their fruits when they bear fruit, and their growing to maturity. Verily herein are signs unto people who believe. (101) *Yet* they have set up the genii as partners with GOD, although he created them: and they have falsely attributed unto him sons and daughters, without knowledge. Praise be unto him, and

power which the preacher of Makkah exerted in opposition to the idolatry of his countrymen—the power of truth against falsehood.

(96) *The living from the dead, &c.* Compare with chap. iii. 27. He bringeth forth life from the seed or the egg.

(98) *The land.* Literally, of the wilderness or desert, in traversing which the stars serve the Arab in the same way as they do the mariner. They worshipped the stars, but forgot the God who made them.

(99) *One soul.* Adam. The unity of the human race is here recognised.

Receptacle and repository. “Namely, in the loins of your fathers and the wombs of your mothers.”—*Sale, Baidhāwī.*

(101) *The genii.* “This signifies properly the *genus* of rational invisible beings, whether angels, devils, or that intermediate species usually called *genii*. Some of the commentators, therefore, in this place, understand the angels whom the pagan Arabs worshipped;

far be that from him which they attribute *unto him* ! *He* R $\frac{13}{19}$
is the maker of heaven and earth : how should he have
 issue since he hath no consort ? he hath created all things,
 and he is omniscient. (102) This is GOD your LORD ;
 there is no GOD but he, the creator of all things ; there-
 fore serve him : for he taketh care of all things. (103)
 The sight comprehendeth him not, but he comprehendeth
 the sight ; he *is* the gracious, the wise. (104) Now have
 evident demonstrations come unto you from your LORD ;
 whoso seeth *them the advantage thereof will redound* to his
 own soul : and whoso is *wilfully blind, the consequence will*
be to himself. I am not a keeper over you. (105) Thus
 do we variously explain *our* signs, that they may say,
 Thou hast studied diligently, and that we may declare
 them unto people of understanding. (106) Follow that
 which hath been revealed unto thee from thy LORD ; there

and others the devils, either because they became their servants by adoring idols at their instigation, or else because, according to the Magian system, they looked on the devil as a sort of creator, making him the author and principle of all evil, and God the author of good only."—*Sale, Baidhāwi.*

The genii of Islām are a distinct class of beings—some good, but generally evil. Some of them were converted to Islām. See notes on chap. xlv. 28, and chap. lxxii.

Sons and daughters. See Prelim. Disc., pp. 38 and 70.

(102) *How should he have issue, &c.* This passage was directed against the Makkah idolaters, but is commonly quoted against the doctrine of the sonship of Christ. See note, chap. ii. 116.

(103) *The sight comprehendeth him not, &c.* Literally, the eyes cannot find him, and he findeth the eyes. So the Urdu and Persian translations.

(104) *Evident demonstrations.* Not only the testimony to God in his own works, alluded to above, but also the *signs* of the Qurán.

(105) *Thou hast studied diligently.* "That is, thou hast been instructed by the Jews and Christians in these matters, and only retailed to us what thou hast learned of them. For this the infidels objected to Muhammad, thinking it impossible for him to discourse on subjects of so high a nature, and in so clear and pertinent a manner, without being well versed in the doctrines and sacred writings of those people."—*Sale.*

The passage seems to us rather to predicate the superiority of the teaching of the Qurán over the thoughts and popular beliefs of the Arabs. Certainly the next verse, which must be read in connection with this, points to the idolaters alone.

is no GOD but he: retire therefore from the idolaters. (107) If GOD had *so* pleased, they had not been guilty of idolatry. We have not appointed thee a keeper over them; neither art thou a guardian over them. (108) Revile not the *idols* which they invoke besides GOD, lest they maliciously revile GOD, without knowledge. Thus have we prepared for every nation their works: hereafter unto GOD shall they return, and he shall declare unto them that which they have done. (109) They have sworn by GOD, by the most solemn oath, that if a sign came unto them, they would certainly believe therein: Say, Verily signs are in the power of GOD alone; and he permitteth

(107) *A keeper . . . a guardian.* A similar expression occurs in ver. 104. The purport of the saying is that God has chosen some and rejected others, and that he had not sent the Prophet to be a *keeper* or *guardian* to any of those who had been given over to reprobation. These would not believe, having been blinded and hardened. See vers. 110-113 below.

(108) *Revile not the idols.* The Quraish had declared that unless the Muslims should cease reviling their idols they would revile the name of God.—*Tafsir-i-Rauf.* The passage belongs to the period when Muhammad finally broke with the Quraish, having come to look upon them as rejected of God. He requires his followers to separate from them (ver. 106), and here they are commanded to abstain from aggressive action, seeing nothing would come of it but that the name of God would be reviled. The attitude of the Muslims towards them was to be one of passive defiance and conscious superiority. This passage is regarded as now abrogated. Certainly it never has been acted upon by the Muhammadans since the rise of Muslim power in the world.

(109) *Signs are in the power of God alone.* "In this passage Muhammad endeavours to excuse his inability of working a miracle, as had been demanded of him; declaring that God did not think fit to comply with their desires; and that if he had so thought fit, yet it had been in vain, because if they were not convinced by the Qurán, they would not be convinced by the greatest miracle."—*Sale.*

Sale compares this statement of Muhammad with that of Jesus in Luke xvi. 31. But surely there is no comparison. Jesus did not simply rely upon the testimony of Moses, though in *his* case that might have been sufficient. But Muhammad, instead of resting his claim upon the testimony of inspired writings already received by the Quraish, bases it upon his own Qurán. The Quraish, and probably also the Jews, demanded a miracle—a *single miracle*—and swear most solemnly they will believe his claim if only he will give them one sign of his apostleship; but Muhammad, confessing him-

you not to understand, that when they come, they will not believe. (110) And we will turn aside their hearts and their sight *from the truth*, as they believed not therein the first time; and we will leave them to wander in their error.

|| (111) And though we had sent down angels unto them, and the dead had spoken unto them, and we had gathered together before them all things in one view; they would not have believed, unless God had so pleased: but the greater part of them know *it* not. (112) Thus have we appointed unto every prophet an enemy; the devils of men, and of genii: who privately suggest the one to the other specious discourses to deceive; but if thy LORD pleased, they would not have done it. Therefore leave them, and that which they have falsely imagined;

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self unable to work even this one miracle, falls back upon the inimitable Qurán and the doctrine of reprobation. What could be clearer than the fact that Muhammad, at least up to this date, wrought no miracle? It would seem that Muhammad was brought under pressure by the demand of his own disciples that he should show the unbelievers a sign. But his only reply is that God "permitted you not to understand, that when they come they will not believe." He leads his followers to *expect signs* in the future, but such signs will not avail for the salvation of the infidels. See the next two verses. Rodwell's translation is here in error. The allusion is not to past unbelief, but to the future. The verbs are all in the Aorist tense.

(111) *Though we had sent down angels, &c.* "For the Makkans required that Muhammad should either show them an angel descending from heaven in their sight, or raise their dead fathers, that they might discourse with them, or prevail on God and his angels to appear to them in a body."—Sale.

So the commentators; but the interpretation is probably inferred from the text. The *Tafsír-i-Raúfi* relates that the infidels had demanded that the mountain Safa should be changed into gold. Muhammad prayed for power to work this miracle, but was dissuaded from the undertaking by Gabriel, who warned him that were such a miracle wrought and any remain in unbelief, they would be instantly destroyed. Such are the devices of Muslims to explain away passages of the Qurán at variance with their teaching, and the teaching of the traditions, on the subject of Muhammad's power to work miracles.

(112) *An enemy; the devils, &c.* The enemy of the prophets referred to here is not Satan, but a demon (the original is *Sháyâtín*, devils). These are the devils of men and the genii. Some think that

(113) and let the hearts of those be inclined thereto who believe not in the life to come: and let them please themselves therein, and let them gain that which they are gaining. (114) Shall I seek after any *other* judge besides God to judge between us? It is he who hath sent down unto you the book of the Qurán distinguishing between good and evil; and they to whom we gave the scripture know that it is sent down from thy LORD, with truth. Be not therefore *one* of those who doubt thereof. (115) The words of thy LORD are perfect, in truth and justice; there is none who can change his words: he *both* heareth and knoweth. (116) But if thou obey the greater part of them who are in the earth, they will lead thee aside from the path of God: they follow an *uncertain* opinion only, and speak nothing but lies; (117) verily thy LORD well knoweth those who go astray from his path, and well

the infidels are referred to under this appellation. But it seems far more reasonable to suppose the allusion to be to evil spirits. The meaning, then, is that every prophet is beset by an evil spirit, whose evil suggestions must be distinguished from those of the Angel Gabriel. The word translated *privately suggest* is the same which is translated *revelation* (wahi). We know that Muhammad did on one occasion confess to having been deceived by a *revelation* of the devil. See notes on chap. liii. 19, 20.

Genii. See note on ver. 101. They are here associated with men as subject to demoniacal influences.

(113) *Let the hearts . . . be inclined thereto, i.e.,* their idolatry and obstinate unbelief are due to the influence of devils, wherefore withdraw from them and permit them to be subject to these influences, and so allow them to obtain the reward of their evil-doing.

(114) *The book distinguishing.* See notes on chap. iii. 3. This is all the miracle required by those who believe.

They to whom we gave the Scripture know. See note on ver. 20.

(115) *None who can change his words.* "Some interpret this of the immutability of God's decree, and the certainty of his threats and promises; others, of his particular promise to preserve the Qurán from any such alterations or corruptions as they imagine to have happened to the Pentateuch and the Gospel (Prelim. Disc., sect. iv.), and others, of the unalterable duration of the Muhammadan law, which they hold is to last till the end of the world, there being no other prophet, law, or dispensation to be expected after it."

See also note on ver. 33.

(116) *An opinion only,* "imagining that the true religion was that which their idolatrous ancestors professed."—Sale.

knoweth those who are *rightly* directed. (118) Eat of that whereon the name of GOD hath been commemorated, if ye believe in his signs; (119) and why do ye not eat of that whereon the name of GOD hath been commemorated? since he hath plainly declared unto you what he hath forbidden you; except that which ye be compelled to eat of by necessity; many lead *others* into error, because of their appetites, being void of knowledge; but thy LORD well knoweth *who are* the transgressors. (120) Leave both the outside of iniquity and the inside thereof: for they who commit iniquity shall receive the reward of that which they shall have gained. (121) Eat not therefore of that whereon the name of GOD hath not been commemorated; for this is certainly wickedness: but the devils will suggest unto their friends, that they dispute with you *concerning this precept*; but if ye obey them, ye *are* surely idolaters.

|| (122) Shall he who hath been dead, and whom we R $\frac{15}{2}$ have restored unto life and unto whom we have ordained a light, whereby he may walk among men, *be* as he whose similitude is in darkness, from whence he shall not come

(118-121) See notes on chap. ii. 174, and chap. v. 4-6. The *Tafsir-i-Raufi* gives the opinion of some commentators that the flesh of animals which have died without being slaughtered is here specially referred to. The heathen Arabs had endeavoured to persuade some of the Muslims to eat of such flesh, on the ground that if what was slaughtered by man was allowable for food, much more that which was killed by God! The reply of the Prophet is that nothing but necessity would make such flesh lawful for food. Rodwell thinks these verses should follow ver. 153; but such misplacement of passages is very common.

The outside of iniquity and the inside, i.e., "both open and secret sins."—Sale. The lengthy discussions of the Muslim commentators on this clause illustrate their general ignorance of heart purity. See chap. v. 7, note.

(121) *Devils will suggest.* See note on ver. 112.

(122) Sale says the persons alluded to in this verse "were Hamza, Muhammad's uncle, and Abu Jahl; others, instead of Hamza, name Omar or Ammár." But there is no need of giving the passage any more special reference than that there is infinite difference between a believer and an infidel.

forth? Thus was that which the infidels are doing prepared for them. (123) And thus have we placed in every city chief leaders of the wicked *men* thereof, that they may act deceitfully therein; but they shall act deceitfully against their own souls only; and they know *it* not. (124) And when a sign cometh unto them, they say, We will by no means believe until *a revelation* be brought unto us, like unto that which hath been delivered unto the messengers of GOD. GOD best knoweth whom he will appoint for his messenger. Vileness in the sight of GOD shall fall upon those who deal wickedly, and a grievous punishment, for that they have dealt deceitfully. (125) And whomsoever GOD shall please to direct, he will open his breast to *receive the faith of Islám*: but whomsoever he shall please to lead into error, he will render his breast straight *and* narrow, as though he were climbing up to heaven. Thus doth GOD inflict a terrible punishment on those who believe not. (126) This is the right way of thy LORD. Now have we plainly declared *our* signs unto those people who will consider. (127) They shall have a dwelling of peace with their LORD, and he shall be their patron, because of that which they have wrought. (128)

(123) *Leaders of the wicked*, as Pharaoh, Nimrod, and others (*Abdul Qádir*). Others refer the passage to the influential leaders of the opposition to Muhammad in tribes other than the Quraish.

(124) *A sign, i.e.*, a verse of the Qurán.

We will not believe, &c. "These were the words of the Quraish, who thought there were persons among themselves more worthy of the honour of being God's messenger than Muhammad."—Sale.

Whom he will appoint, &c. "Literally, *Where he will place his commission*. God, says al Baidháwi, bestows not the gift of prophecy on any one on account of his nobility or riches, but for their spiritual qualifications; making choice of such of his servants as he pleases, and who he knows will execute their commissions faithfully."—Sale.

(125) *Whomsoever God shall please to direct*. This verse makes a man's salvation to depend solely on the will of God. Muslims are such because God has opened their hearts to Islám, and the infidels are lost because God has rendered them as incapable of believing as they are of ascending up to heaven. He *leads them into error* in order to inflict upon them *a terrible punishment*.

Think on the day whereon God shall gather them all together, and shall say, O company of genii, ye have been much concerned with mankind; and their friends from among mankind shall say, O LORD, the one of us hath received advantage from the other, and we are arrived at our limited term which thou hast appointed us. God will say, Hell fire shall be your habitation, therein shall ye remain forever; unless as GOD shall please to mitigate your pains, for thy LORD is wise and knowing. (129) Thus do we set some of the unjust over others of them, because of that which they have deserved.

|| (130) O company of genii and men, did not messengers from among yourselves come unto you, rehearsing my signs unto you, and forewarning you of the meeting of this your day? They shall answer, We bear witness against ourselves: the present life deceived them: and they shall bear witness against themselves that they were

(128) *A company of genii.* See vers. 101 and 112, with notes.

Much concerned with mankind "in tempting and seducing them to sin."—Sale.

Advantage. "The advantage which men received from the evil spirits was their raising and satisfying their lusts and appetites; and that which the latter received in return was the obedience paid them by the former," &c.—Sale, *Baidhāwī, Jalāluddīn.*

Term. See note on ver. 2.

Unless as God shall please, &c. "The commentators tell us that this alleviation of the pains of the damned will be when they shall be taken out of the fire to drink the boiling water, or to suffer the extreme cold called al Zamharir, which is to be one part of their punishment; but others think the respite which God will grant to some before they are thrown into hell is here intended. According to the exposition of Ibn Abbās, these words may be rendered, *Unless him whom God shall please to deliver thence.*"—Sale, *Baidhāwī, Jalāluddīn.*

See also Prelim. Disc., sect. ix. p. 149.

(130) *Messengers from among yourselves.* "It is the Muhammadan belief that apostles were sent by God for the conversion both of *genii* and of men; being generally of human race (as Muhammad, in particular, who pretended to have a commission to preach to both kinds); according to this passage, it seems there must have been prophets of the race of *genii* also, though their mission be a secret to us."—Sale.

Some regard the seven *genii* who came to Muhammad (see chap. lxxii.) as God's messengers to their own kind.

unbelievers. (131) *This hath been the method of God's dealings with his creatures*, because thy LORD would not destroy the cities in *their* iniquity, while their inhabitants were careless. (132) Every one shall *have* degrees of recompense of that which they shall do; (133) for thy LORD is not regardless of that which they do, and thy LORD is self-sufficient *and* endued with mercy. If he pleaseth he can destroy you, and cause such as he pleaseth to succeed you, in like manner as he produced you from the posterity of other people. (134) Verily that which is threatened you, shall surely come to pass; neither shall ye cause *it* to fail. (135) Say *unto those of Makkah*, O my people, act according to your power; verily I will act *according to my duty*: and hereafter shall ye know whose will be the reward of paradise. The ungodly shall not prosper. (136) *Those of Makkah* set apart unto GOD a portion of that which he hath produced of the fruits of the earth, and of cattle; and say, This *belongeth* unto GOD (according to their imagination), and this unto our companions. And that which is *destined* for their companions cometh not unto GOD; yet that which *is set apart* unto

(131) *Would not destroy, &c.* These cities are evidently the same mentioned in ver. 123. The doctrine taught here is that God sends a messenger to every people to warn and instruct them in his way, which, according to the Qurán, is Islám. He could not justly punish them, says the *Tafsír-i-Raufi*, unless he should first send them a prophet.

(132) *Degrees of recompense.* The rewards of the wicked, as well as of the righteous, shall be in proportion to their light and privilege. This principle of justice seems to be clearly enunciated here.

(133) *Self-sufficient*, literally one *rich* or wealthy, needing not the help of others.

If he pleaseth he can destroy you, &c. The allusion is to the tribes of Ad and Thámúd, &c., reported to have been destroyed on account of their wickedness. See Prelim. Disc., pp. 21, 22.

(135) *Verily I will act.* "That is, ye may proceed in your rebellion against God and your malice towards me, and be confirmed in your infidelity; but I will persevere to bear your insults with patience, and to publish those revelations which God has commanded me."—*Sale, Baidhâwi.*

(136) *This belongeth unto God, &c.* The commentators say the idolaters divided the produce of their fields and flocks into two parts,

GOD cometh unto their companions. How ill do they judge! (137) In like manner have their companions induced many of the idolaters to slay their children, that they might bring them to perdition, and that they might render their religion obscure and confused unto them. But if GOD had pleased, they had not done this: therefore leave them and that which they falsely imagine. (138) They also say, These cattle and fruits of the earth are sacred; none shall eat thereof but who we please (according to their imagination); and *there are* cattle whose backs are forbidden *to be rode on, or laden with burdens*; and *there are* cattle on which they commemorate not the name of GOD *when they slay them*; devising a lie against him. God shall reward them for that which they falsely devise.

one for God and one for the idols, or rather *inferior deities*, called here and throughout this passage *companions*. Should the portion of God prove greater at the time of harvest, they changed the portions, giving the largest portion to the gods, saying that the Almighty God was not in need of so much as the poorer gods.

Sale, on the authority of Baidhāwī and Jalāluddīn, says, "The share set apart for God was employed chiefly in relieving the poor and strangers, and the share of the idols for paying their priests and providing sacrifices for them;" which statement quite accounts for their confidence in God's ability to take care of his own interests.

See also Prelim. Disc., pp. 36 and 37.

(137) *To slay their children*. "Either by that inhuman custom, which prevailed among those of Kindah and some other tribes, of burying their daughters alive so soon as they were born, if they apprehended they could not maintain them; or else by offering them to their idols, at the instigation of those who had the custody of their temples."—Sale, Baidhāwī.

See notes on chaps. xvi. 60, 61, and lxxxi. 8, 9.

That they might bring them to perdition, &c. The deities of the idolaters are here declared to be evil spirits, whose object is the destruction of men by obscuring the way of salvation taught by the prophet Ismail.

If God had pleased, &c. See note on ver. 125.

(138) *Who we please*. "That is, those who serve our idols, and are of the male sex; for the women were not allowed to eat of them."—Sale, Baidhāwī.

Whose backs are forbidden. See Prelim. Disc., pp. 199–202, and note on chap. v. 102.

Cattle on which, &c. See notes on chap. ii. 174, and chap. v. 2, 4–6.

(139) And they say, That which is in the bellies of these cattle is allowed to our males to eat, and is forbidden to our wives: but if it prove abortive, then they are both partakers thereof. God shall give them the reward of their attributing *these things to him*: he is knowing and wise. (140) They are utterly lost who have slain their children foolishly, without knowledge; and have forbidden that which GOD hath given them for food, devising a lie against GOD. They have erred, and were not *rightly* directed.

|| (141) He it is who produceth gardens of vines, both those which are supported on trails of wood, and those which are not supported, and palm-trees, and the corn affording various food, and olives, and pomegranates, alike and unlike unto one another. Eat of their fruit when they bear fruit, and pay the due thereof on the day whereon ye shall gather it; but be not profuse, for God loveth not those who are too profuse. (142) And God hath given you some cattle fit for bearing of burdens, and some fit for slaughter only. Eat of what GOD hath given you for food; and follow not the steps of Satan, for he is your declared enemy. (143) Four pair of cattle hath God given you; of sheep one pair,

(139) *That which, &c.* "That is, the foetus or embryos of the Baháira and the Sáiba (chap. v. 102) which shall be brought forth alive."—Sale.

Of this the men alone might eat, but "if it prove abortive," the women were allowed to partake.

(140) See note on ver. 137.

(141) *Supported . . . and not supported*, or cultivated fruit-trees and vines, and those which grow wild.

Pay the due. "That is, give alms thereof to the poor. And these alms, as al Baidháwi observes, were what they used to give before the *zakát*, or legal alms, was instituted; which was done after Muhammad had retired from Makkah, where this verse was revealed. Yet some are of another opinion, and for this very reason will have the verse to have been revealed at Madína."—Sale.

Be not profuse, i.e., "charity begins at home."—Sale.

(142) *Follow not the steps of Satan, i.e.,* by observing the idolatrous customs referred to above.

(143, 144) *Four pair.* Alluding to the four classes of sacred animals. See chap. v. 102, and note.

Hath God forbidden, &c. The *Tafsír-i-Raufi* says this passage was revealed in order to silence Auf-Ibn-Málik, who complained against

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and of goats one pair. Say *unto them*, Hath *God* forbidden the two males, *of sheep and of goats*, or the two females; or that which the wombs of the two females contain? Tell me with certainty, if ye speak truth. (144) And of camels *hath God given you* one pair, and of oxen one pair. Say, hath he forbidden the two males *of these*, or the two females; or that which the wombs of the two females contain? Were ye present when *GOD* commanded you this? And who is more unjust than he who deviseth a lie against *GOD*, that he may seduce men without understanding? Verily *GOD* directed not unjust people.

|| (145) Say, I find not in that which hath been revealed R $\frac{18}{5}$. unto me anything forbidden unto the eater, that he eat it not, except it be that which dieth of itself, or blood poured forth, or swine's flesh; for this is an abomination: or *that which is* profane, having been slain in the name of some other than of *GOD*. But whoso shall be compelled by necessity to eat of *these things*, not lusting, nor wilfully transgressing, verily thy *LORD will be* gracious unto him and merciful. (146) Unto the Jews did we forbid every

Muhammad for having allowed his followers the food of sacred animals, which was forbidden by their fathers. If the prohibition was on the ground of their being *males*, then *all* males would be forbidden; if their being *females* were the ground, then *all* females would be prohibited; and if the unborn foetus were forbidden, then all animals would be forbidden, seeing such were either male or female!

Sale, on the authority of Baidhāwī, says:—"In this passage Muhammad endeavours to convince the Arabs of their superstitious folly in making it unlawful, one while, to eat the males of these four kinds of cattle; another while, the females; and at another time, their young."

Who is more unjust than he, &c. "The person particularly intended here, some say, was Amru Ibn Luhai, king of Hajáz, a great introducer of idolatry and superstition among the Arabs." See Prelim. Disc., sect. i. p. 42.—Sale.

(145) See note on ver. 118. There is no contradiction of chap. v. 2-6, as Brinckman and others suppose. This includes all kinds of flesh specified there.

Whoso shall be compelled. This exception is added to every passage of the Qurán repeating the law of permitted and forbidden meats. See chap. ii. 174, chap. v. 4, and chap. xvi. 116.

beast having an *undivided* hoof; and of bullocks and sheep, we forbade them the fat of both; except that which should be on their backs, or their inwards, or which should be intermixed with the bone. This have we rewarded them with, because of their iniquity; and we are surely speakers of truth. (147) If they accuse thee of imposture, say, Your LORD is endued with extensive mercy; but his severity shall not be averted from wicked people. (148) The idolaters will say, If GOD had pleased, we had not been guilty of idolatry, neither our fathers; and *pretend that* we have not forbidden *them* anything. Thus did they who were before them accuse *the prophets* of imposture, until they tasted our severe punishment. Say, Is there with you any *certain* knowledge of *what ye allege*, that ye may produce it unto us? Ye follow only a *false* imagination; and ye utter only lies. (149) Say, therefore, Unto GOD *belongeth* the most evident demonstration; for if he had pleased, he had directed you all. (150) Say, Produce your witnesses, who can bear testimony that GOD hath forbidden this. But if they bear testimony of *this*, do not thou bear testimony with them, nor do thou follow the desires of those who accuse our signs of falsehood, and who believe not in the life to come, and equalise *idols* with their LORD.

(146) *Except that . . . on their backs.* This passage contradicts the teaching of the Mosaic law. Compare Levit. iii. 9-11 and 17, with vii. 23-25.

(148) *The idolaters will say, &c.* Yet this is just what the Qurán teaches in the next verse! The same doctrine is taught in vers. 125 and 137 of this chapter. See notes there. The idolaters *justified their idolatry* on this ground.

Accuse . . . of imposture. See note on chap. iii. 189.

A false imagination. See note on ver. 116.

(150) *If they bear testimony, &c.* In the beginning of this verse the Quraish are challenged to bring testimony to prove that God had forbidden the flesh of the sacred animals, Bahaira, Sáiba, &c. Here Muhammad is told not to believe the testimony even if produced in answer to the challenge! One would think a challenge under such circumstances was scarcely worth putting forth.

Equalise. See note on ver. 1.

|| (151) Say, Come; I will rehearse that which your LORD hath forbidden you; *that is to say*, that ye be not guilty of idolatry, and *that ye show* kindness to your parents, and that ye murder not your children *for fear* lest ye be reduced to poverty; we will provide for you and them; and draw not near unto heinous crimes, neither openly nor in secret; and slay not the soul which God hath forbidden *you to slay*, unless for a just cause. This hath he enjoined you that ye may understand. (152) And meddle not with the substance of the orphan, otherwise than for the improving *thereof*, until he attain his age of strength: and use a full measure, and a just balance. We will not impose *a task* on *any* soul beyond its ability. And when ye pronounce *judgment* observe justice, although it be *for or against* one who is near of kin, and fulfil the covenant of GOD. This hath God commanded you, that ye may be admonished; (153) and *that ye may know* that this is my right way: therefore follow it, and follow not the path *of others*, lest ye be scattered from the path *of God*. This hath he commanded you, that ye may take heed. (154) We gave also unto Moses the book *of the law*; a perfect rule unto him who should do right, and a determination concerning all things *needful*,

(151) See notes on ver. 137. Sale says, "This and the two following verses Jaláluddín supposes to have been revealed at Madína." The requirements certainly belong to a date later than the Hijra.

Unless for a just cause. "As for murder, apostasy, or adultery."—Sale.

(152) *The substance of the orphan.* See notes on chap. iv. 2-5.

A full measure. Compare Deut. xxv. 13-16.

A task . . . beyond ability. "But the pilgrimage, the Ramadhán fast, the killing of unbelievers, and several other things, are very often beyond the power of many Moslems."—Brinckman. But no Muslim is *required* to perform what is "beyond his power." This is the very lesson taught in this verse. See chap. iv. 27.

(154) Rodwell thinks the *abruptness* with which this passage is introduced predicates a lost passage preceding this. It, however, simply illustrates the crudeness of the work wrought by the compilers of the Qurán.

The book of the law, a perfect rule, &c. This testimony to the Pentateuch and the way of salvation indicated therein is entirely against

and a direction and mercy; that *the children of Israel* might believe the meeting of their LORD.

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|| (155) And this book which we have *now* sent down is blessed; therefore follow it, and fear *God* that ye may obtain mercy: (156) lest ye should say, The scriptures were only sent down unto two people before us; and we neglected to peruse them with attention: (157) or lest ye should say, If a book of *divine revelations* had been sent down unto us, we should surely have been better directed than they. And now hath a manifest declaration come unto you from your LORD, and a direction and mercy: and who is more unjust than he who deviseth lies against the signs of GOD, and turneth aside from them? We will reward those who turn aside from our signs with a grievous punishment, because they have turned aside. (158) Do they wait for *any other* than that the angels should come unto them, to *part their souls from their bodies*, or that thy LORD should come to *punish them*;

the Qurán, which denies the cardinal doctrine of salvation by sacrifice and atoning blood. Yet in the following verses the assertion is made that the teaching of the Qurán and of "the Scriptures . . . sent down unto the people before"—that is, to the Jews and Christians—is the same.

(156) *And we neglected to peruse them.* Abdul Qádir translates, "and we did not know to read and to teach them;" or, as Muir translates, "but we are unable to read in their language" (*Life of Mahomet*, vol. ii. p. 68, note). Muir conjectures that Muhammad was led to make the prophetic claim by thoughts suggested by the *objections* of his townsmen in language like the following:—"It is well for Jews and Christians to follow the purer faith thou speakest of. *They*, we know, have had prophets bringing them a message of the will of God. Let us be content with the light our Maker hath given unto us, and remain as we are. *If a prophet had been sent unto us, we should no doubt have followed his directions, and been equally devout and spiritual in our worship as the Jews and Christians.*" See whole discussion given at reference already quoted.

(157) *Better directed than they.* "Because of the acuteness of our wit, the clearness of our understanding, and our facility of learning sciences, as appears from our excelling in history, poetry, and oratory, notwithstanding we are illiterate people."—*Sale, Baidhāwī*. A nice bit of Arab conceit.

Now hath a manifest declaration, &c. The prophetic claim is here again set up. See notes on vers. 19 and 48.

or that some of the signs of thy LORD should come to pass, *showing the day of judgment to be at hand?* On the day whereon some of thy LORD's signs shall come to pass, its faith shall not profit a soul which believed not before, or wrought not good in its faith. Say, Wait ye *for this day*; we surely do wait *for it*. (159) They who make a division in their religion and become sectaries, have thou nothing to do with them; their affair *belongeth* only unto GOD. Hereafter shall he declare unto them that which they have done. (160) He who shall appear with good works shall receive a tenfold recompense for the same; but he who shall appear with evil works shall receive only an equal *punishment* for the same; and they shall not be treated unjustly. (161) Say, Verily my LORD hath directed me into a right way, (162) a true religion, the sect of Abraham the orthodox; and he was no idolater. (163) Say, Verily my prayers, and my worship, and my life, and my death *are dedicated* unto GOD, the LORD of all crea-

(158) *Signs of thy Lord*. "Al Baidhāwi, from a tradition of Muhammad, says that ten signs will precede the last day, viz., the smoke, the beast of the earth, an eclipse in the east, another in the west, and a third in the peninsula of Arabia, the appearance of Antichrist, the sun's rising in the west, the eruption of Gog and Magog, the descent of Jesus on earth, and fire shall break forth from Aden."—Sale. See also Prelim. Disc., sect. iv. p. 62.

Its faith shall not profit, &c. "For faith in the next life will be of no advantage to those who have not believed in this; nor yet faith in this life without good works."—Sale.

(159) *Sectaries*. "That is, who believe in part of it and disbelieve other parts of it, or who form schisms therein. Muhammad is reported to have declared that the Jews were divided into seventy-one sects, and the Christians into seventy-two; and that his own followers would be split into seventy-three sects; and that all of them would be damned except only one of each."—Sale, *Baidhāwi*.

As there were no sectaries among the Muslims at this time, it is quite certain that the purport of this passage is that Muhammad should avoid the Jews and Christians; and if so, this verse must be referred to Madīna rather than to Makkah. Commentators, who interpret the passage thus, say it has been abrogated by the command to fight against infidels. See *Tafsīr-i-Raūfi in loco*.

(162) *The sect of Abraham the orthodox*. See note on chap. iii. 95, and chap. iv. 124.

(163) *Verily my prayers, &c.* This entire consecration of self to

tures: he hath no companion. This have I been commanded: I am the first Muslim. (164) Say, Shall I desire any other LORD besides GOD? since he is the LORD of all things; and no soul shall acquire *any merits or demerits* but for itself; and no burdened *soul* shall bear the burden of another. Moreover, unto your LORD shall ye return; and he shall declare unto you that concerning which ye *now* dispute. (165) It is he who hath appointed you to succeed *your predecessors* in the earth, and hath raised some of you above others by *various degrees of worldly advantages*, that he might prove you by that which he hath bestowed on you. Thy LORD is swift in punishing; and he *is also* gracious and merciful.

the true God is what Muhammad here declares to be the religion of Islām.

I am the first Muslim. See note on ver. 14.

(164) *No burdened soul, &c.* "This was revealed in answer to the preceding instances of the idolaters, who offered to take the crime upon themselves if Muhammad would conform to their worship."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*.

That no sinner shall bear the sin of another is true; but Muhammad went further, denying that the burden of the sinner could be borne by any one. See note on chap. iii. 194.

(165) *Appointed you to succeed.* The original word is *khalīfah*, which is applied to the successors of Muhammad.

The meaning, according to the *Tafsīr-i-Raūfi*, is either that the Quraish were appointed the successors of various peoples in Arabia, or that the Muslims are appointed the successors of the Arab idolaters. The latter seems to be the true meaning. If so, this portion of the chapter may belong to the Madīna revelations.

CHAPTER VII.

ENTITLED SURAT AL ARÁF (THE PARTITION WALL).

Revealed at Makkah.

INTRODUCTION.

THIS chapter owes its title to the reference to *the partition wall* between heaven and hell in ver. 4, which is called *al Aráf*. It may be said to contain Muhammad's vindication of his prophetic claims. Accordingly, it abounds with stories of the experiences of former prophets, and of the judgments that overtook those who refused to accept their doctrine and the signs of their prophetic authority. Even the most careless reader can hardly fail to see that all these prophets are facsimiles of Muhammad himself. Their character and authority, their message and accompanying claims to inspiration, the incredulity and hardness of heart shown by the tribes to whom they were sent, the consequent rejection of the prophets, and the threatenings of the sudden and dreadful judgments of God upon unbelievers, all these correspond to the experience of Muhammad ; and the inference suggested by each story is that the rejection of the Prophet of Makkah would bring with it judgments on the Quraish similar to and dreadful as those which befell those tribes who rejected the former prophets.

Probable Date of the Revelations.

The allusion to a famine in ver. 95 (compare chap. x. 22, 23, and xxiii. 77-79), and a subsequent period of prosperity in ver. 96, together with the tone of the whole chapter, point to a period immediately preceding the Hijra as the date to which it should be assigned.

The only passages to be excepted are vers. 158-160, and 164-171. The former of these passages evidently belongs to Madína, as appears: (1) From the title, *Illiterate Prophet*, or Gentile Prophet, as

contrasted with the prophets of Judaism and Christianity. This contrast points to Madína rather than to Makkah. (2.) From the expression *the law and the gospel*, which, as Nöldeke points out, never occurs in other than Madína revelations. (3.) From the words *and assist him*, which certainly refer to the Ansárs or helpers of Madína; and (4.) From the fact that this passage breaks the thread of discourse at ver. 157, which is taken up again at ver. 161. This passage was probably added by Muhammad himself at Madína.

Most commentators agree, also, in referring vers. 164-171 to Madína. Nöldeke, however, differs from them, and regards it as belonging to Makkah. When, however, it is remembered that Muhammad's custom in the Qurán is to give the *most detailed* accounts of Jewish history and tradition in the *earliest* chapters containing such narratives, afterward alluding to the same stories with more or less brevity, it must be granted that this passage belongs to Madína, inasmuch as the substance of it is given at length in the early Madína chapters.

Principal Subjects.

	VERSES
— Muhammad not to doubt the Qurán	1, 2
The people exhorted to believe in it	3
Many cities destroyed for their unbelief	4, 5
Prophets and their hearers on the judgment-day	6-9
The ingratitude of infidels	10
The creation of Adam	11
Satan refuses to worship Adam	11, 12
He is driven from Paradise	13
He is respite until the resurrection	14, 15
He avows his purpose to beguile man	16, 17
God threatens Satan and his victims	18, 19
The fall of Adam and Eve	20-24
They are expelled from Paradise	25, 26
Indecent customs condemned	27-29
God to be sought in prayer	30, 31
> True worshippers to be decently clad	32-34
Every nation has a fixed term of life	35
The doom of those who reject the apostles of God	36-42
The blessed reward of true believers	43-45
God's curse on the infidels	45-46
The veil of Aráf and its inhabitants	47-50
The rejecters of God's apostles to be forgotten	51, 52
A warning against rejecting Muhammad	53, 54
The Creator and Lord of the worlds to be served	55-59

VERSES

Noah rejected by his people—their fate	60-65
Húd rejected by the Ádites—their fate	66-73
Sálih rejected by the Thamúdítes—their destruction	74-80
Lot rejected and the Sodomites destroyed	81-85
Shuaib rejected by the Madianites, and their doom	86-94
Unbelievers at Makkah unaffected either by adversity or prosperity	95, 96
The dreadful fate of those cities who rejected the apostles of God and charged them with imposture	97-101
They are reprobated	102, 103
Moses is sent to Pharaoh and his princes	104, 105
The miracles of the serpent and leprous hand	106-108
The magicians of Egypt called	109-115
Contest by miracles between Moses and the magicians	116-120
Several magicians converted to Moses	121-123
Pharaoh's anger kindled against them	124-127
Pharaoh and his princes persecute Moses and his people	128
Moses exhorts his people to patient trust in God	129, 130
Adversity and prosperity alike unavailing to bring Pha- raoh to repentance	131, 132
The Egyptian unbelievers plagued	133, 134
The hypocrisy of the Egyptians	135
They are destroyed in the Red Sea	136
The people of Moses triumph, and possess the eastern and western land	137
The children of Israel become idolatrous	138, 141
Moses makes Aaron his deputy, and fasts forty days	142
He desires to see the glory of God, but repents his rash- ness	143
God gives Moses the law on two tables	144, 145
Infidels threatened for calling their prophets impos- tors	146, 147
The people of Moses worship the golden calf	148
They repent their sin	149
Moses in indignation assaults Aaron	150
He prays for forgiveness for himself and Aaron	151
He calls for vengeance on the idolaters	152
God merciful to believers	153
Moses's anger is appeased	154
He chooses seventy elders	155
Moses prays for deliverance from destruction by light- ning	155, 156
The <i>Illiterate Prophet</i> foretold by Moses	156, 159

	VERSES
Some Jews rightly directed	160
The Israelites divided into twelve tribes	161
The rock smitten, and manna and quails given	161
The command to enter the city saying <i>Hittatun</i> , and the fate of the disobedient	162, 163
The Sabbath-breakers changed into apes	164-167
Dispersion of the Jews among the nations	168, 169
Some of their successors faithful to the law of Moses	170, 171
God shakes Mount Sinai over the Israelites	172
God's covenant with the children of Adam	173-175
The curse of Balaam a warning to infidels	176-179
Many genii and men created for hell	180
- The names of God not to be travestied	181, 182
God's method of leading infidels to destruction	183, 184
Muhammad not possessed of a devil	185
No hope for the reprobate	186
The coming of the "last hour" sudden	187
Muhammad no seer, only a preacher	188
Adam and Eve were guilty of idolatry	189, 190
- The folly of idolatry	191-198
Muhammad commanded to use moderation	199
He is to repel Satan by using the name of God	200, 201
The people of Makkah incorrigible	202
They charge Muhammad with imposture	203
The Qurán to be listened to in silence and holy medita- tion	204-206

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

R $\frac{1}{8}$.

|| (1) A. L. M. S. (2) A book hath been sent down unto thee; and therefore let there be no doubt in thy breast concerning it; that thou mayest preach the same, and *that it may be* an admonition unto the faithful. (3) Follow that which hath been sent down unto you from your LORD: and follow no guides besides him: how little will

(1) See note on chap. ii. 1. Some conjecture that these letters represent the sentence *Amara li Muhammad sândiq*, "thus spake to me Muhammad the truthful." See Rodwell's note *in loco*.

(2) *Let there be no doubt.* See note on chap. ii. 2. Arnold's remark on this passage is worthy of careful consideration:—"The

ye be warned! (4) How many cities have we destroyed; which our vengeance overtook by night, or while they were reposing themselves at noon-day! (5) And their supplication, when our punishment came upon them, was no other than that they said, Verily we have been unjust. (6) We will surely call those to an account unto whom *a prophet* hath been sent; and we will *also* call those to account who have been sent *unto them*. (7) And we will declare *their actions* unto them with knowledge; for we are not absent *from them*. (8) The weighing of *men's actions* on that day *shall be* just; and they whose balances *laden with their good works* shall be heavy, are those who *shall be* happy; (9) but they whose balances shall be light, are those who have lost their souls, because they injured our signs. (10) And now have we placed you on the earth, and have provided you food therein; *but* how little are ye thankful!

|| (11) We created you, and afterwards formed you; R $\frac{2}{3}$.

author of the Koran betrays precisely the disquietude and suspicion which invariably indicate *fraud*, and never exist in guileless, honest, and truthful minds."—*Islām and Christianity*, p. 316. And yet this constant and persistent assertion of honesty and truthfulness is regarded by many as certain evidence of his sincerity.

(4) *Cities destroyed . . . by night*, as in the case "of Sodom and Gomorrah, to whom Lot was sent." Or . . . *noon-day*, "as happened to the Midianites, to whom Shuaib preached."—*Salé, Tafsīr-i-Raufi*.

(5) *Verily we have been unjust*. They will make this confession, thinking thereby to secure deliverance, not knowing that the time of repentance and confession has gone by.—*Tafsīr-i-Raufi*.

(6) The prophets will testify for or against the people to whom they have been sent, and the people will witness to the faithfulness of the prophets.—*Tafsīr-i-Raufi*.

(8) *The weighing, &c.* See Prelim. Disc., p. 144.

The balances. One of these shall be called *Light* and the other *Darkness*. The good actions shall be placed in *Light* and the evil ones in *Darkness*. The length of the beam of these scales, according to Ibn Abbās, will be equal to a journey of 50,000 years.—*Tafsīr-i-Raufi*.

(9) *Because they injured our signs*. The one great object of Muhammad in picturing the terrors of the judgment-day was to frighten his townsmen into accepting his prophetic claims. The one great reason for a soul's being lost will be that it rejected the prophetic claims of Muhammad.

and then said unto the angels, Worship Adam; and they *all* worshipped *him*, except Iblís, *who* was not one of those who worshipped. (12) *God* said *unto him*, What hindered thee from worshipping *Adam*, since I had commanded thee? He answered, I am more excellent than he: thou hast created me of fire, and hast created him of clay. (13) *God* said, Get thee down therefore from *paradise*; for it is not *fit* that thou behave thyself proudly therein: get thee *hence*; thou shalt *be* one of the contemptible. (14) He answered, Give me respite until the day of resurrection. (15) *God* said, Verily thou shalt be *one* of those *who* are respited. (16) The *devil* said, Because thou hast depraved me, I will lay wait for *men* in thy strait way; (17) then will I come upon them from before, and from behind, and from their right hands, and from their left; and thou shalt not find the greater part of them thankful. (18)

(11) *Created and . . . formed you.* The creation probably has reference to the *souls* of mankind, all of which were created before Adam was formed, the forming having special reference to the preparation of bodies for the souls. But see also chap. vi. 99 and notes there.

Worship Adam, &c. See notes on the parallel passage in chap. ii. 34.

(12) *Thou hast created me of fire.* The idea that angels are created of fire may have been obtained from Jewish sources. See Arnold's learned note in *Islám and Christianity*, p. 101.

Heb. i. 7 gives no ground for such an opinion, for there the angels are said to be *spirits*. The *ministers* called a flame of fire may refer to 2 Kings ii. 11, vi. 7, &c.

The *Tafsír-i-Kaufi* has a long note here, showing how mistaken Satan was in supposing creatures made of fire to be superior to those made of clay.

(15) *One of the respited.* "As the time till which the devil is reprieved is not particularly expressed, the commentators suppose his request was not wholly granted; but agree that he shall die, as well as other creatures, at the second sound of the trumpet."—*Sale, Baidhāwí.*

(17) *Then will I come upon them, &c., i.e.,* "I will attack them on every side that I shall be able. The other two ways, viz., from above and from under their feet, are omitted, say the commentators, to show that the devil's power is limited."—*Sale, Baidhāwí.*

The Qurán clearly teaches that Satan has no power to destroy true believers. See chap. xvi. 101.

God said unto him, Get thee hence, despised, and driven far away : (19) verily whoever of them shall follow thee, I will surely fill hell with you all.

|| (20) But *as for thee*, O Adam, dwell thou and thy wife ^{NISF.} in paradise; and eat of the fruit thereof wherever ye will; but approach not this tree, lest ye become of the number of the unjust. (21) And Satan suggested to them both, that he would discover unto them their nakedness, which was hidden from them; and he said, Your LORD hath not forbidden you this tree for any other reason but lest ye should become angels, or lest ye become immortal. (22) And he swore unto them, saying, Verily, I am one of those who counsel you aright. (23) And he caused them to fall through deceit. And when they had tasted of the tree, their nakedness appeared unto them; and they began to join together the leaves of paradise, to cover themselves. And their LORD called to them, saying, Did I not forbid you this tree: and did I not say unto you, Verily Satan is your declared enemy? (24) They answered, O LORD, we have dealt unjustly with our own souls; and if thou forgive us not, and be not merciful unto us, we shall surely be of those who perish. (25) *God said*, Get ye down, the one of you an enemy unto the other; and ye shall have a dwelling-place upon the earth, and a provision for a season.

(18) *Despised and driven away.* See note, chap. iv. 117. Rodwell translates it, *a scorned and banished one.*

(20) See notes on chap. ii. 35.

(21) *Lest ye become immortal.* Muhammad did not distinguish between the Tree of Life and the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil. According to this passage, Adam and Eve should have been rendered immortal by eating the forbidden fruit. Compare chap. xx. 118 and 119.

(22) *He swore.* The *Tafsīr-i-Raūfī* comments thus :—Adam, may the peace of God be on him! thought no one could perjure himself, and thus was deceived by Satan.

(23) *The tree.* See chap. ii. 35, note.

Their nakedness. They were hitherto clothed in light or garments of Paradise, or enrobed by their long hair.

Leaves. Either of the grape-vine or the fig-tree.—*Tafsīr-i-Raūfī.*

(24) *They answered, &c.* Compare Gen. iii. 10–13 to see how the former Scriptures are attested here.

(25) See notes on chap. ii. 37. Compare Gen. iii. 15.

(26) He said, Therein shall ye live, and therein shall ye die, and from thence shall ye be taken forth *at the resurrection*.

R $\frac{3}{10}$

|| (27) O children of Adam, we have sent down unto you apparel, to conceal your nakedness, and fair garments; but the clothing of piety is better. This *is one* of the signs of God; that peradventure ye may consider. (28) O children of Adam, let not Satan seduce you, as he expelled your parents out of paradise, by stripping them of their clothing, that he might show them their nakedness: verily he seeth you, *both* he and his companions, whereas ye see not them.—We have appointed the devils *to be* patrons of those who believe not: (29) and when they commit a filthy action, they say, We found our fathers *practising* the same; and GOD hath commanded us *to do it*. Say, Verily GOD commandeth not filthy actions. Do ye speak concerning GOD that which ye know not? (30) Say, My LORD hath commanded me *to observe* justice;

(27) *Apparel*. “Not only proper materials, but also ingenuity of mind and dexterity of hand to make use of them.”—*Sale*.

(28-34) *Let not Satan seduce you, &c.* “This passage was revealed to reprove an immodest custom of the pagan Arabs, who used to encompass the Kaabah naked, because clothes, they said, were the signs of their disobedience to God. The Sunnat orders that when a man goes to prayers he should put on his better apparel, out of respect to the divine majesty before whom he is to appear. But as the Muhammadans think it indecent, on the one hand, to come into God’s presence in a slovenly manner; so they imagine, on the other, that they ought not to appear before him in habits too rich or sumptuous, and particularly in clothes adorned with gold or silver, lest they should seem proud.”—*Sale, Jalāluddīn, Baidhāwī*.

The Qurais̄h seem to have defended their indecent practice on the ground of custom.

(29) Muhammad declares them to be under the beguiling influence of Satan, who had by deception exposed the shame of Adam and Eve. Seeing, then, that their progenitor himself had been deceived by Satan, the authority of their forefathers could not be relied on for the establishment of filthy customs contrary to the nature of a pure God: “God commandest not filthy actions.”

Ye see them not. “Because of the subtlety of their bodies and their being void of all colour.”—*Sale*.

(30) *My Lord hath commanded me to observe justice*, should be translated, *My Lord hath commanded aright, i.e., in the Qurán*.

therefore set your faces *to pray* at every place of worship, and call upon him, approving unto him the sincerity of *your* religion. As he produced you at first, *so unto him* shall ye return. (31) A part of *mankind* hath he directed; and a part hath been justly led into error, because they have taken the devils for *their* patrons besides GOD, and imagine they are *rightly* directed. (32) O children of Adam, take your decent apparel at every place of worship, and eat and drink, but be not guilty of excess; for he loveth not those who are guilty of excess.

|| (33) Say, Who hath forbidden the decent apparel of GOD, which he hath produced for his servants, and the good things *which he hath provided* for food? Say, these things *are* for those who believe, in this present life, *but* peculiarly on the day of resurrection. Thus do we distinctly explain *our* signs unto people who understand. (34) Say, Verily my LORD hath forbidden filthy actions, both that which is discovered thereof, and that which is concealed, and also iniquity and unjust violence; and *hath forbidden you* to associate with GOD that concerning which

Place of worship. Literally *every masjid*. Rodwell is surely mistaken in saying that the word "is usually applied only to that of Makkah, and that the term commonly used for the larger mosques is *ajami*." The term *masjid* is certainly used everywhere in India for the ordinary mosque; and, though larger places are called *jama* (or *djami*), this term is added on to the other, *e.g.*, *jama masjid*.

The word, as used here, probably has no reference to any particular building, but to the places where the Muslims offer prayer, *i.e.*, wherever they may be at the hour of prayer. If we understand the reference to be to the qibla of each *masjid* (so Rodwell), then we must count this passage among the Madina revelations.

(32) *Decent apparel.* See general note by Sale on ver. 28.

And eat and drink. "The sons of Amar, it is said, when they performed the pilgrimage to Makkah, used to eat no more than was absolutely necessary, and that not of the more delicious sort of food neither; which abstinence they looked upon as a piece of merit; but they are here told the contrary."—Sale, *Jaláluddin*.

(33) *But peculiarly, &c.* "Because then the wicked, who also partook of the blessings of this life, will have no share in the enjoyments of the next."—Sale.

(34) *Filthy actions, &c.* See notes above.

To associate with God, i.e., to worship idols or inferior deities.

he hath sent you down no authority, or to speak of GOD that which ye know not. (35) Unto every nation *there is* a prefixed term; therefore when their term is expired, they shall not have respite for an hour, neither shall they be anticipated. (36) O children of Adam, verily apostles from among you shall come unto you, who shall expound my signs unto you: whosoever therefore shall fear *God* and amend, there shall come no fear on them, neither shall they be grieved. (37) But they who shall accuse our signs of falsehood, and shall proudly reject them, they shall be the companions of *hell-fire*; they shall remain therein for ever. (38) And who is more unjust than he who deviseth a lie concerning GOD, or accuseth his signs of imposture? Unto these shall be given their portion of *worldly happiness*, according to *what is written in the book of God's decrees*, until our messengers come unto them, and shall cause them to die; saying, *Where are the idols* which ye called upon besides God? They shall answer, They have disappeared from us. And they shall bear witness against themselves that they were unbelievers. (39) *God* shall say *unto them at the resurrection*, Enter ye with the nations which have preceded you, of genii and of men, into *hell-fire*; so often as one nation shall enter, it shall curse its sister, until they shall all have successively entered therein. The latter of them shall say of the former of them: O LORD, these have seduced us, therefore inflict on them a double punishment of the fire of *hell*. *God*

(35) *Every nation.* Literally *every following*, whether of a true or false prophet.

(36-38) See notes on chap. vi. 48, 60, and iii. 185.

(38) *Where are the idols.* See note on chap. vi. 23.

(39) *Genii and men.* See below on ver. 180.

Its sister. "That is, the nation whose example betrayed them into their idolatry and other wickedness."—*Sale*.

Doubled unto all. "Unto those who set the example, because they not only transgressed themselves, but were also the occasion of the others' transgression; and unto those who followed them, because of their own infidelity and their imitating an ill example."—*Sale, Baidhāwī, Jalāluddīn.*

shall answer, *It shall be* doubled unto all: but ye know it not: (40) and the former of them shall say unto the latter of them, Ye have not therefore any favour above us; taste the punishment for that which ye have gained.

¶ (41) Verily they who shall charge our signs with falsehood, and shall proudly reject them, the gates of heaven shall not be opened unto them, neither shall they enter into paradise, until a camel pass through the eye of a needle, and thus will we reward the wicked doers. (42) Their couch shall be in hell, and over them shall be coverings of fire; and thus will we reward the unjust. (43) But they who believe, and do that which is right (we will not load any soul but according to its ability), they shall be the companions of Paradise; they shall remain therein for ever. (44) And we will remove all grudges from their minds; rivers shall run at their feet, and they shall say, Praised be God, who hath directed us into this

(41) *They who shall charge, &c.* See notes on iii. 185, and vi. 48.

The gates shall not be opened, &c. "That is, when their souls shall, after death, ascend to heaven, they shall not be admitted, but shall be thrown down into the dungeon under the seventh earth."—Sale, *Jaláluddín*. See also Prelim. Disc., p. 129.

The eye of a needle. Compare Matt. xix. 24. See Rodwell's note on this passage.

(42) See note on chap. iii. 197.

(43) *We will not load any soul, &c.* See chap. iv. 27, and notes there.

(44) *Will remove all grudges, &c.* "So that, whatever differences or animosities there had been between them in their lifetime, they shall now be forgotten, and give place to sincere love and amity. This Ali is said to have hoped would prove true to himself and his inveterate enemies, Othmán, Talha, and Al Zubair."—Sale, *Baidháwí*. See also note on iii. 15.

For that which ye have wrought. Here salvation is said to be given in virtue of the good works wrought by Muslims. Brinckman says, "This is one of the numerous places in the Korán which deceives a man, makes him proud, self-righteous, and denies the whole Atonement. It would be a trying question for any Muslim to answer, Tell me of your good works, what they have been, and the good works you have neglected to do."—*Notes on Islám*, p. 99. But the good works of a Muslim are his professing the Muslim faith and per-

felicity! For we should not have been *rightly* directed if God had not directed us; now *are we convinced by demonstration* that the apostles of our LORD came *unto us* with truth. And it shall be proclaimed unto them, This is Paradise, whereof ye are made heirs *as a reward* for that which ye have wrought. (45) And the inhabitants of Paradise shall call out to the inhabitants of *hell-fire*, *saying*, Now have we found that which our LORD promised us *to be true*: have ye *also* found that which your LORD promised you *to be true*? They shall answer, Yea. And a crier shall proclaim between them, The curse of God *shall be* on the wicked; (46) who turn *men* aside from the way of God, and seek *to render* it crooked, and who deny the life to come. (47) And between the *blessed and the damned* there shall be a veil; and men *shall stand* on *Al Aráf* who shall know every one *of them* by their marks; and shall call unto the inhabitants of paradise, *saying*,

forming the five stated duties belonging to his religion. See notes on chap. ii. 3-5, 37, 38; iii. 194; iv. 55, 121-123.

A crier. "This crier, some say, will be the angel Israfil."—*Salé*.

(47) *A veil*, or a wall, which is designated *Al Aráf*. See Prelim. Disc., p. 152.

And men. The commentators differ as to who these are to be. The most common understanding is that those whose good and bad deeds are equal, and who are therefore neither fit for heaven nor worthy of hell, will be placed upon this wall. Others suppose these to be martyrs and notable believers, who receive this knowledge of the reward they are to receive, and also of the pains from which they have escaped. Still others think they are angels in the form of men. See Prelim. Disc., p. 152, and *Tafsir-i-Raufi in loco*.

Their marks. The blessed are distinguished by the whiteness and the damned by the blackness of their faces.—*Tafsir-i-Raufi*.

They shall not enter therein, &c. "From this circumstance it seems that their opinion is the most probable who make this intermediate partition a sort of purgatory for those who, though they deserve not to be sent to hell, yet have not merits sufficient to gain them immediate admittance into Paradise, and will be tantalised here for a certain time with a bare view of the felicity of that place."—*Salé*.

They will, however, eventually be received into heaven, for when the command to worship will be given to the universe just before the final judgment, these will prostrate themselves, and thus the balance on the side of virtue will become heavier, and they will be admitted into heaven.—*Tafsir-i-Raufi*.

Peace be upon you: *yet* they shall not enter therein, although they earnestly desire *it*. (48) And when they shall turn their eyes towards the companions of *hell-fire*, they say, O LORD, place us not with the ungodly people!

|| (49) And those who stand on Al Aráf shall call unto SULS. *certain* men, whom they shall know by their marks, and R⁶₁₃ shall say, What hath your gathering *of riches* availed you, and that you were puffed up with pride? (50) Are these the men on whom you swear that GOD would not bestow mercy? Enter ye into Paradise; *there shall come* no fear on you, neither shall ye be grieved. (51) And the inhabitants of *hell-fire* shall call unto the inhabitants of Paradise, *saying*, Pour upon us some water, or of those *refreshments* which GOD hath bestowed on you. They shall answer, Verily GOD hath forbidden them unto the unbelievers, (52) who made a laughing-stock and a sport of their religion, and whom the life of the world hath deceived: therefore this day will we forget them, as they did forget the meeting of this day, and for that they denied our signs *to be from God*. (53) And now have we brought unto those *of Makkah* a book of *divine revelations*: we have explained it

(49) *Certain men*. "The chiefs and ringleaders of the infidels" (*Sale, Baidháwí*), *e.g.*, Walíd Bin Mugháira, Abu Jahl, and Aas Bin Waíl. — *Tafsír-i-Raují*.

(50) *Are these the men, &c.* The poorer believers, *e.g.*, Bilál and Amár, &c., some of whom had been slaves.

Enter ye. "These words are directed, by an apostrophe, to the poor and despised believers above mentioned. Some commentators, however, imagine these and the next preceding words are to be understood of those who will be confined in Al Aráf; and that the damned will, in return for their reproachful speech, swear that they shall never enter Paradise themselves; whereupon God of his mercy shall order them to be admitted by these words." — *Sale, Baidháwí*.

(51-54) Compare this passage with the story of the rich man and Lazarus (Luke xvi. 19-26).

(52) See notes on chap. vi. 69.

(53) *A book, i.e.*, the Qurán, spoken of here as a complete volume. Assuming the pre-existence of the Qurán, as Muslims do, there could be no ground for the charge of imposture referred to in the Prelim. Disc., p. 96. But regarding Muhammad as its author, as his European apologists, in common with ourselves, do, we think there is in this language very good reason for believing that author to have

with knowledge; a direction and mercy unto people who shall believe. (54) Do they wait *for any other* than the interpretation thereof? On the day whereon the interpretation thereof shall come, they who had forgotten the same before shall say, *Now are we convinced by demonstration* that the messengers of our LORD came *unto us* with truth: shall we therefore have any intercessors, who will intercede for us? or shall we be sent back *into the world*, that we may do other *works* than what we did *in our lifetime*? But now have they lost their souls; and that which they impiously imagined hath fled from them.

R $\frac{7}{14}$

|| (55) Verily, your LORD is GOD, who created the heavens and the earth in six days; and then ascended *his* throne: he causeth the night to cover the day; it succeedeth the same swiftly: *he* also *created* the sun, and the moon, and the stars, *which* are absolutely subject unto his command. Is not the whole creation and the empire *thereof* his? Blessed be GOD, the LORD of all creatures!

been an impostor. There can be no reasonable doubt that the meaning which Muhammad intended to attach to this expression is that a *book* was sent down to him from heaven through the medium of the Angel Gabriel, as the Taurát or Pentateuch had been sent down to Moses, which, though revealed to his disciples piecemeal, *was nevertheless a complete volume*. Indeed, it may fairly be doubted whether this expression ever is used in the Qurán to designate a *portion* of the Qurán, except in the sense that it is a part of a whole already existing.

(54) *The interpretation, i.e., the fulfilment of its promises and threats.*

Intercessors. Allusion is to the gods whom they worshipped, and whom they regarded as intercessors.

Sent back. The expression looks like an allusion to the doctrine of metempsychosis.

That which they imagined; their false gods. See chap. vi. 23, note.

(55) *Six days.* Compare Gen. i. 14-19, and Exod. xx. 11. Some understand the creation days to be each one thousand solar years in length.—*Tafsír-i-Raufi*.

Then ascended. The commentators place this sentence among the *Mutashábi'át* or difficult passages of the Qurán, which none but God and his prophet understand. The *Tafsír-i-Raufi* says, God only knows the truth of this matter; as the *how* about God himself is a mystery, so is the *how* about his ascent upon the throne of the heavens a mystery.

(56) Call unto your LORD humbly and in secret; for he loveth not those who transgress. (57) And act not corruptly in the earth after its reformation; and call upon him with fear and desire: for the mercy of GOD is near unto the righteous. (58) It is he who sendeth the winds, spread abroad before his mercy, until they bring a cloud heavy *with rain*, which we drive into a dead country; and we cause water to descend thereon, by which we cause all *sorts of fruits* to spring forth. Thus will we bring forth the dead *from their graves*; that peradventure ye may consider. (59) From a good country shall its fruit spring forth *abundantly*, by the permission of its LORD; but from the *land* which is bad it shall not spring forth otherwise than scarcely. Thus do we explain the signs *of divine providence* unto people who are thankful.

|| (60) We formerly sent Noah unto his people: and he R^s₁₅ said, O my people, worship GOD: ye have no other GOD than him. Verily I fear for you the punishment of the

Empire his. Because he sits in the throne of heaven.

(56) *Humbly and in secret, i.e.,* "not behaving themselves arrogantly while they pray, or praying with an obstreperous voice, or a multitude of words and vain repetitions."—Sale, *Baidhawī*.

Muslim prayers now come far short of fulfilling either the letter or spirit of this injunction. Compare Matt. vi. 5-7.

(57) *Act not corruptly*, by strife, and blasphemy, and idolatry, *after its reformation, i.e.,* "after God hath sent his prophets and revealed his laws for the reformation and amendment of mankind."—Sale.

(58) *A dead country.* This refers probably to those parts of the desert which depend upon the rain alone for productive power.

Thus will he bring forth the dead. Compare 1 Cor. xv. 35-38. This doctrine of the resurrection was undoubtedly one of the most attractive of those borrowed from Judaism, and well calculated to commend him to the Arabs as a prophet. The term *nushran*, translated by Sale *spread abroad*, is *bushran* in all the copies current in India, and is rendered *heralds*, as in Rodwell's translation.

(60) *Noah.* "Noah the son of Lamech, according to the Muhammadan writers, was one of the six principal prophets, though he had no written revelations delivered to him, and the first who appeared after his great-grandfather Idris or Enoch. They also say he was by trade a carpenter, which they infer from his building the ark, and that the year of his mission was the fiftieth, or, as others say, the fortieth of his age."—Sale.

great day. (61) The chiefs of his people answered *him*, We surely perceive thee *to be* in a manifest error. (62) He replied, O my people, there is no error in me; but I am a messenger from the LORD of all creatures. (63) I bring unto you the messages of my LORD; and I counsel you aright; for I know from GOD, that which ye know not. (64) Do ye wonder that an admonition hath come unto you from your LORD by a man from among you, to warn you, that ye may take heed to yourselves, and that peradventure ye may obtain mercy? (65) And they accused him of imposture: but we delivered him and those who *were* with him in the ark, and we drowned those who charged our signs with falsehood; for they were a blind people.

R 16.

|| (66) And unto *the tribe of Ād* we sent their brother Hūd. He said, O my people, worship GOD: ye have no

Noah's experience, as pictured here, is the experience of Muhammad himself. His nation was a nation of idolaters, who persistently refused to accept his preaching concerning the true God, who rejected his prophetic claims, and accused him of imposture, and who perished on account of their infidelity.

The great day. "Either the day of the resurrection, or that whereon the flood was to begin."—Sale.

(64) *By a man.* "For said they, If God had pleased, he would have sent an angel, and not a man; since we never heard of such an instance in the times of our fathers."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*.

In this interpretation of this expression the commentators have followed the example of their Prophet, and made the objections of the antediluvians to Noah's prophetic claim to be the same as those made by the Quraish to Muhammad's pretensions. See chap. vi. III, and notes thereon.

(65) *Those . . . in the ark.* "That is, those who believed on him, and entered into that vessel with him. Though there be a tradition among the Muhammadians, said to have been received from the Prophet himself, and conformable to the Scripture, that eight persons, and no more, were saved in the ark, yet some of them report the number variously. One says they were but six, another ten, another twelve, another seventy-eight, and another fourscore, half men and half women, and that one of them was the elder Jorham, the preserver, as some pretend, of the Arabian language."—Sale, *Zamakhsharī, Jalāluddīn*.

(66) *Ād.* "Ād was an ancient and potent tribe of Arabs, and zealous idolaters. They chiefly worshipped four deities, Sākia, Hāfidha, Rāzika, and Sālīma; the first, as they imagined, supplying them with rain, the second preserving them from all dangers abroad,

other GOD than him; will ye not fear *him*? (67) The chiefs of those among his people who believed not answered, Verily we perceive that thou *art guided* by folly; and we certainly esteem thee *to be one* of the liars. (68) He replied, O my people, *I am not guided by* folly; but I am a messenger unto you from the LORD of all creatures. (69) I bring unto you the messages of my LORD; and I am a faithful counsellor unto you. (70) Do ye wonder that an admonition hath come unto you from your LORD by a man from among you, that he may warn you? Call to mind how he hath appointed you successors unto the people of Noah, and hath added unto you in stature largely. Remember the benefits of God, that ye may prosper. (71) They said, Art thou come unto us, that we should worship God alone, and leave *the deities* which our fathers worshipped? Now bring down that *judgment* upon us with which thou threatenest us, if thou speakest truth. *Húd answered*, Now shall there suddenly fall upon you from your LORD vengeance and indignation. (72) Will ye dispute with me concerning the names which ye have named and your fathers, as to

the third providing food for their sustenance, and the fourth restoring them to health when afflicted with sickness, according to the signification of the several names."—*Sale*. See also the Prelim. Disc., p. 20.

Húd. See Prelim. Disc., p. 21, and my note there. Húd, like Noah, had experiences like unto those of Muhammad. The language ascribed to him and "his people" is mostly verbatim, the same as that ascribed to Noah and the antediluvians.

Chiefs . . . who believed not. Some of the chiefs did believe on Húd. Baidháwi says one of them was Murthad Ibn Saad.

(70) *Successors unto the people of Noah*. "Dwelling in the habitations of the antediluvians, who preceded them not many centuries, or having the chief sway in the earth after them; for the kingdom of Shidád, the son of Ád, is said to have extended from the sands of Alaj to the trees of Omán."—*Sale*, *Baidháwi*.

And . . . stature. See Prelim. Disc., p. 22.

(71) *Bring down that judgment*. This was just what the infidel Quraish said to Muhammad. See chap. vi. 56.

(72) *The names*. The idols, whose names are given in note on ver. 66.

which GOD hath not revealed unto you any authority ?
 (73) Do ye wait therefore, and I will be *one* of those who wait with you. And we delivered him, and them who *believed* with him, by our mercy ; and we cut off the uttermost part of those who charged our signs with falsehood, and were not believers.

R ¹⁰/₁₇ ¶ (74) And unto *the tribe of Thamúd* we sent their brother Sálîh. He said, O my people, worship GOD: ye have no GOD besides him. Now hath a manifest proof come unto you from your LORD. This she-camel of GOD is a sign unto you: therefore dismiss her freely, that she may feed in GOD's earth; and do her no hurt, lest a

(73) *We cut off, &c.* The following note by Sale contains a specimen of the kind of history to be met with on the pages of any Muslim commentary on the Qurán :—

“The dreadful destruction of the Ádites we have mentioned in another place (Prelim. Disc., p. 21), and shall only add here some further circumstances of that calamity, and which differ a little from what is there said ; for the Arab writers acknowledge many inconsistencies in the histories of these ancient tribes. The tribe of Ád, having been for their incredulity previously chastised with a three years' drought, sent Kail Ibn Ithar and Murthad Ibn Saad, with seventy other principal men, to the temple of Makkah to obtain rain. Makkah was then in the hands of the tribe of Amalek, whose prince was Muáwiyah Ibn Baqr ; and he, being without the city when the ambassadors arrived, entertained them there for a month in so hospitable a manner, that they had forgotten the business they came about, had not the king reminded them of it, not as from himself, lest they should think he wanted to be rid of them, but by some verses which he put into the mouth of a singing-woman. At which, being roused from their lethargy, Murthad told them the only way they had to obtain what they wanted would be to repent and obey their prophet: but this displeasing the rest, they desired Muáwiyah to imprison him, lest he should go with him ; which being done, Kail with the rest entering Makkah, begged of God that he would send rain to the people of Ád. Whereupon three clouds appeared, a white one, a red one, and a black one ; and a voice from heaven ordered Kail to choose which he would. Kail failed not to make choice of the last, thinking it to be laden with the most rain ; but when this cloud passed over them, it proved to be fraught with the divine vengeance, and a tempest broke forth from it which destroyed them all.”

(74) *Thamúd*. An ancient tribe of Arabs. See Prelim. Disc., p. 22.

Sálîh. “Baidhâwî deduces his genealogy thus: Sálîh the son of

painful punishment seize you. (75) And call to mind how he hath appointed you successors unto *the tribe of Ád*, and hath given you a habitation on earth; ye build *yourselves* castles on the plains thereof, and cut out the mountains into houses. Remember therefore the benefits of GOD, and commit not violence in the earth, acting corruptly. (76) The chiefs among his people who were puffed up with pride, said unto those who were esteemed weak, *namely*, unto those who believed among them, Do ye know that Sálîh hath been sent from his LORD? They answered, We do surely believe in that wherewith he hath been sent. (77) Those who were elated with pride replied, Verily we believe not in that wherein ye

Obaid, the son of Asaf, the son of Masikh, the son of Obaid, the son of Hadrîr, the son of Thámûd."—*Sale*. But these genealogies are quite worthless, being almost without exception an adaptation of Jewish genealogies to Arab tradition. See notes on Prelim. Disc., pp. 24, 25. As usual, Sálîh is *a brother* of the people to whom he is sent, as Muhammad was a brother of the people to whom he pretended to have been sent.

The remarks made on the prophetic experiences of Noah and Húd, vers. 60 and 66, will apply also to those of Sálîh. This Sálîh seems to be a prophet of Muhammad's own invention. See note in Prelim. Disc., p. 21.

This she-camel . . . a sign. "The Thamûdites insisting on a miracle, proposed to Sálîh that he should go with them to their festival, and that they should call on their gods, and he on his, promising to follow that deity which should answer. But after they had called on their idols a long time to no purpose, Junda Ibn Amru, their prince, pointed to a rock standing by itself, and bade Sálîh cause a she-camel big with young to come forth from it, solemnly engaging that if he did, he would believe; and his people promised the same. Whereupon Sálîh asked it of God, and presently the rock, after several throes, as if in labour, was delivered of a she-camel answering the description of Junda, which immediately brought forth a young one ready weaned, and, as some say, as big as herself. Junda, seeing this miracle, believed on the Prophet, and some few with him; but the greater part of the Thamûdites remained, notwithstanding, incredulous."—*Sale*.

(75) *Cut out . . . houses.* See Prelim. Disc., p. 23.

(76) *Who were esteemed weak.* This passage undoubtedly expresses the social position of the Muslims when this passage was revealed. As yet they were few in number, mostly poor, and held in contempt by their townsmen.

believe. (78) And they cut off the feet of the camel, and insolently transgressed the command of their LORD, and said, O Sálîh, cause that to come upon us which thou hast threatened us, if thou art *one* of those who have been sent by God. (79) Whereupon a terrible noise from heaven assailed them; and in the morning they were found in

(78) *They cut off the feet of the camel, &c.* "This extraordinary camel frightening the other cattle from their pasture, a certain rich woman named Onaiza Omm Ganîm, having four daughters, dressed them out, and offered one Kidâr his choice of them if he would kill the camel. Whereupon he chose one, and with the assistance of eight other men hamstrung and killed the dam, and pursuing the young one, which fled to the mountain, killed that also and divided his flesh among them. Others tell the story somewhat differently, adding Sadaqa Bint al Mukhtâr as a joint conspiratress with Onaiza, and pretending that the young one was not killed; for they say that having fled to a certain mountain named Kâra, he there cried three times, and Sálîh bade them catch him if they could, for then there might be hopes of their avoiding the divine vengeance; but this they were not able to do, the rock opening after he had cried, and receiving him within it."—Sale, *Baidhâwî*.

Rodwell thinks it possible that the camel-killing which resulted in a war between the Banu Taghlib and the Bani Baqr, A.D. 490, afforded to Muhammad the groundwork of this story of the persecution of Sálîh. It seems clear that some such story was current among the heathen Arabs, which Muhammad found convenient to his use, and which he adapted to further his prophetic claims.

Cause that to come, &c. They said this "because they trusted in their strong dwellings, hewn in the rocks, saying the tribe of Âd perished only because their houses were not built with sufficient strength."—Sale.

(79) *A terrible noise.* "Like violent and repeated claps of thunder, which some say was no other than the voice of the Angel Gabriel, and which rent their hearts. It is said that after they had killed the camel, Sálîh told them that on the morrow their faces should become yellow, the next day red, and the third day black, and that on the fourth God's vengeance should light on them; and that the first three signs happening accordingly, they sought to put him to death, but God delivered him by sending him into Palestine."—Sale, *Baidhâwî*.

The following episode in the history of Muhammad is here related by Sale as follows, on the authority of Abulfida:—"Muhammad, in the expedition of Tabûk, which he undertook against the Greeks in the ninth year of the Hijra, passing by Hijr, where the ancient tribe had dwelt, forbade his army, though much distressed with heat and thirst, to draw any water there, but ordered them, if they had drunk of that water, to bring it up again, or if they had kneaded any meal with it, to give it to their camels; and wrapping up his face in his garment, he set spurs to his mule, crying out, 'Enter not

their dwellings prostrate on their breasts *and dead*. (80) And Sâlih departed from them, and said, O my people, now have I delivered unto you the message of my LORD, and I advised you well, but ye love not those who advise you well. (81) And *remember* Lot, when he said unto his people, Do ye commit a wickedness wherein no creature hath sent you an example? (82) Do ye approach lustfully unto men, leaving the women? Certainly ye are people who transgress *all modesty*. (83) But the answer of his people was no other than that they said *the one to the other*, Expel them your city; for they are men who preserve themselves pure *from the crimes which ye commit*. (84) Therefore we delivered him and his family, except his wife; she was *one* of those who stayed *behind*: and

the houses of those wicked men, but rather weep, lest that happen unto you which befell them;’ and having so said, he continued galloping full speed with his face muffled up, till he had passed the valley.”

(80) *The message*. This message was probably delivered at the parting of Sâlih from the people, though some think it was delivered after the calamity.

(81) *Lot*. “The commentators say, conformably to the Scripture, that Lot was the son of Haran, the son of Azar or Terah, and consequently Abraham’s nephew, who brought him with him from Chaldea into Palestine, where they say he was sent by God to reclaim the inhabitants of Sodom and the other neighbouring cities which were overthrown with it from the unnatural vice to which they were addicted.”—Sale.

Lot certainly was not sent to Sodom as a prophet. What Peter says of him in his 2nd Epistle, ii. 8, in no way implies that he was a *preacher* of righteousness, as Sale fancies. His only claim to be even a *righteous* person is based on his having, in the midst of many vices, held on to “the faith of Abraham.” We think the Qurân is here fairly chargeable with again contradicting the Scriptures it professes to attest.

No creature. The original has it, *Min il ‘alamîna*, none from among the learned.

(83) *Expel them*, viz., “Lot and those who believe on him.”—Sale. The *Tafsr-i-Raufi* says, *Expel Lot and his sons and those who believe on him*. The statement of the Qurân clearly implies that some of the Sodomites, besides Lot and his daughters, mentioned in chap. xi. 77, 78, escaped from the destruction which fell on the remainder.

(84) *She . . . stayed*. Commentators are not agreed whether she remained in the city or went forth some distance with Lot. See Sale’s note, given in chap. xi. 80. The language of both these pas-

we rained a shower of stones upon them. (85) Behold therefore what was the end of the wicked.

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(86) And unto Madian *we sent* their brother Shuaib. He said *unto them*, O my people, worship God; ye have no God

sages certainly favours the view of those who believe she remained in the city.

(85) *A shower.* In chap. xi. 81 it is distinctly said this shower was of "stones of baked clay." This whole passage, as well as the parallel passages in chaps. xi. 76-82; xv. 58-77; xxvi. 160-174; xxvii. 55-59, &c., contradicts the statements of Gen. xix. in many particulars. Surely the taunts of those referred to in ver. 203 of this chapter were well directed. Granting the ignorance of Muhammad in respect to the sacred stories he attempts to narrate here,—of which ignorance we have abundant illustration in this chapter,—still the fact remains that Muhammad, receiving his information from parties themselves ill-informed, recorded the result in the Qurán, declaring that he received it directly from heaven through the Angel Gabriel.

(86) *Madian.* "Or Midian, was a city of Híjáz, and the habitation of a tribe of the same name, the descendants of Midian, the son of Abraham by Keturah (Gen. xxv. 2), who afterwards coalesced with the Ishmaelites, as it seems; Moses naming the same merchants who sold Joseph to Potiphar in one place Ishmaelites, and in another Midianites. (Comp. Gen. xxxix. 1, and xxxvii. 36.) This city was situated on the Red Sea, south-east of Mount Sinai, and is doubtless the same with the Modiana of Ptolemy; what was remaining of it in Muhammad's time was soon after demolished in the succeeding wars, and it remains desolate to this day. The people of the country pretend to show the well whence Moses watered Jethro's flocks."—*Sale.*

Shuaib. Muslim writers generally identify Shuaib with Jethro, the father-in-law of Moses. Baidháwi says he was the son of Mikáil, the son of Yashjar, the son of Midian, and the *Tafsír-i-Raufi* relates that he was descended from Lot, Midian having married the daughter of Lot.

"In the commentary of the Syrian Ephream, Jethro is called Shuaib."—*Notes on the Roman Urdú Qurán.*

An evident demonstration. No miracles wrought by Shuaib are described either in the Qurán or the Traditions, yet Muslim writers tell us that when he desired to ascend a mountain, it invariably stooped down to receive him, and then rose up to its ordinary place! See *Tafsír-i-Raufi in loco.*

Sale gives the following on the authority of Baidháwi and D'Herbelot:—"This demonstration the commentators suppose to have been a power of working miracles, though the Qurán mentions none in particular. However they say (after the Jews) that he gave his son-in-law that wonder-working rod with which he performed all those miracles in Egypt and the desert, and also excellent advice and instructions (Exod. xviii. 13), whence he had the surname of Khatíb al anbiyáh, or the preacher to the prophets."

besides him. Now hath an evident demonstration come unto you from your LORD. Therefore give full measure and just weight, and diminish not unto men *ought* of their matters: neither act corruptly in the earth after its reformation. This will be better for you, if ye believe. (87) And beset not every way, threatening *the passenger*, and turning aside from the path of GOD him who believeth in him, and seeking to make it crooked. And remember, when ye were few and *God* multiplied you: and behold what hath been the end of those who acted corruptly. (88) And if part of you believe in that wherewith I am sent, and part believe not, wait patiently until GOD judge between us; for he is the best judge.

|| (89) The chiefs of his people, who were elated with pride, answered, We will surely cast thee, O Shuaib, and those who believe with thee, out of our city: or else thou shalt certainly return unto our religion. He said, What! though we be averse *thereto*? (90) We shall surely imagine a lie against GOD if we return unto your religion, after that GOD hath delivered us from the same: and we have no *reason* to return unto it, unless GOD our LORD shall please to *abandon us*. Our LORD comprehendeth everything by *his* knowledge. In GOD do we put our trust. O LORD, do thou judge between us and our nation with

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Give full measure. One of the great crimes of the Midianites was keeping two different kinds of weights and measures, buying by one and selling by the other. *Baidhāwī, Tafsīr-i-Raūfi.*

After reformation. See on ver. 57.

(87) *Beset not every way, &c.* "Robbing on the highway, it seems, was another crying sin, frequent among these people. But some of the commentators interpret this passage figuratively of their besetting the way of truth, and threatening those who gave ear to the remonstrances of Shuaib."—*Sale, Baidhāwī.*

(88) *Wait patiently, &c.* This is no doubt what Muhammad himself taught his hearers at Makkah. It would appear that, unable to work miracles, he either hoped for the power to do so (see notes on chap. vi. 109-111), or he trusted that something would turn up to favour his cause in the future.

(89) *We will surely cast thee . . . out of our city.* Rodwell relates a Jewish tradition of similar import regarding Jethro. See *Koran*,

truth; for thou art the best judge. (91) And the chiefs of his people who believed not said, If ye follow Shuaib, ye shall surely perish. (92) Therefore a storm from heaven assailed them, and in the morning they were found in their dwellings *dead and prostrate*. (93) They who accused Shuaib of imposture *became* as though they had never dwelt therein; they who accused Shuaib of imposture perished themselves. (94) And he departed from them, and said, O my people, now have I performed unto you the messages of my LORD; and I advised you aright: but why should I be grieved for an unbelieving people?

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|| (95) We have never sent any prophet unto a city but we afflicted the inhabitants thereof with calamity and adversity, that they might humble themselves. (96) Then we gave *them* in exchange good in lieu of evil, until they abounded, and said, Adversity and prosperity formerly happened unto our fathers *as unto us*. Therefore we took vengeance on them suddenly, and they perceived it not *beforehand*. (97) But if the inhabitants of *those* cities had believed and feared *God*, we would surely have opened to them blessings both from heaven and earth. But they charged *our apostles* with falsehood, wherefore we took

p. 117 note. This passage seems to point to the time when the Quraish proscribed Muhammad and his followers and sympathisers, and compelled them to retire to "the Sheb of Abu Tálib," about five or six years before the Hijra.

(91) *A storm* "like that which destroyed the Thamúdites."—*Salé*. Some translate the word *earthquake*. See *Tafsir-i-Raufi*.

(93) The fate of the Quraish is here prefigured. See notes on chap. iii. 185, and notes above on vers. 2, 60, 66, and 74.

(94) *Why should I be grieved, &c.* Comp. Matt. xxiii. 37, and Luke xix. 41, 42; xxiii. 34.

(95) See note on chap. vi. 131. There is here, in all probability, allusion to some calamity which had befallen the city of Makkah. Some say it was a famine.

(97–100) *Those cities, i.e.*, those described above as inhabited by the people of Moab, Húd, Sálíh, Lot, and Shuaib, whose dreadful fate is set forth as a warning to those who refuse to believe on Muhammad. *The great crime of these people was that they charged their prophets with being impostors.* Was not Muhammad conscious of his own imposture? See note on ver. 2.

vengeance on them for that which they had been guilty of. (98) Were the inhabitants therefore of *those* cities secure that our punishment should not fall on them by night while they slept? (99) Or were the inhabitants of *those* cities secure that our punishment should not fall on them by day while they sported? (100) Were they therefore secure from the stratagem of God? But none will think himself secure from the stratagem of GOD except the people who perish.

|| (101) And hath it not manifestly appeared unto those R ¹³₃ who have inherited the earth after the *former* inhabitants thereof, that if we please we can afflict them for their sins? But we will seal up their hearts, and they shall not hearken. (102) We will relate unto thee some stories of these cities. Their apostles had come unto them with evident miracles, but they were not *disposed* to believe in that which they had before gainsaid. Thus will GOD seal up the hearts of the unbelievers. (103) And we found not in the greater part of them any *observance* of *their* covenant; but we found the greater part of them wicked doers. (104) Then we sent after the *above-named apostles* Moses with our signs unto Pharaoh and his princes, who treated

(100) *The stratagem of God.* "Hereby is figuratively expressed the manner of God's dealing with proud and ungrateful men, by suffering them to fill up the measure of their iniquity, without vouchsafing to bring them to a sense of their condition by chastisements and afflictions till they find themselves utterly lost, when they least expect it."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*.

(101) *Those who have inherited the earth, &c., i.e., the Quraish*, who are here warned of the judgments in store for them on account of their unbelief, unless they repent.

But we will seal up, &c. Rodwell rightly connects this with the preceding by the copulative *and* instead of the disjunctive *but*. The passage should therefore read, *We can afflict them for their sins, and seal up their hearts, and (wherefore) they shall not hearken.*

(102, 103) These verses give a sort of summary of what has gone before, and would have been more appropriately placed before ver. 60.

(104) *We sent . . . Moses.* The Qurán everywhere presents Moses as the apostle of the Egyptians as well as of the Israelites. He is sent to them to warn them against *idolatry*, and to urge them to the

them unjustly; but behold what was the end of the corrupt doers? (105) And Moses said, O Pharaoh, verily I am an apostle *sent* from the LORD of all creatures. (106) It is just that I should not speak of God other than the truth. Now am I come unto you with an *evident* sign from your LORD: send therefore the children of Israel away with me. Pharaoh answered, If thou comest with a sign, produce it, if thou speakest truth. (107) Wherefore he cast down his rod; and behold, it *became* a visible serpent.

worship of the true God. The children of Israel who believe on him are therefore his followers—are true Muslims. See parallel passages in chaps. x. 76-93, and xl. 24-49.

The Moses of the Qurán is a Muhammad in disguise. Muslims believe Moses to have been a black man.

Pharaoh. "Which of the kings of Egypt this Pharaoh of Moses was is uncertain. Not to mention the opinions of the European writers, those of the East generally suppose him to have been al Walíd, who, according to some, was an Arab of the tribe of Ad, or, according to others, the son of Musáb, the son of Riyán, the son of Walíd the Amalekite. There are historians, however, who suppose Kabús, the brother and predecessor of al Walíd, was the prince we are speaking of, and pretend he lived six hundred and twenty years, and reigned four hundred,—which is more reasonable, at least, than the opinion of those who imagine it was his father Musáb, or grandfather Riyán. Abulfida says that Musáb being one hundred and seventy years old, and having no child, while he kept the herds saw a cow calve, and heard her say at the same time, O Musáb, *be not grieved, for thou shalt have a wicked son, who will be at length cast into hell.* And he accordingly had this Walíd, who afterwards coming to be king of Egypt, proved an impious tyrant."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*, *Zamakhsharī*.

Treated them unjustly, i.e., refused to believe the signs of his apostleship.

(107) *A visible serpent.* "The Arab writers tell enormous fables of this serpent or dragon. For they say that he was hairy, and of so prodigious a size, that when he opened his mouth, his jaws were fourscore cubits asunder, and when he laid his lower jaw on the ground, his upper reached to the top of the palace; that Pharaoh seeing this monster make towards him, fled from it, and was so terribly frightened that he befouled himself; and that the whole assembly also betaking themselves to their heels, no less than twenty-five thousand of them lost their lives in the press. They add that Pharaoh upon this adjured Moses by God who had sent him to take away the serpent, and promised he would believe on him and let the Israelites go; but when Moses had done what he requested, he relapsed, and grew as hardened as before."—Sale, *Buidhāwī*.

(108) And he drew forth his hand *out of his bosom*; and behold, it *appeared* white unto the spectators.

|| (109) The chiefs of the people of Pharaoh said, This R $\frac{14}{4}$
man is certainly an expert magician: (110) he seeketh to dispossess you of your land. What therefore do ye direct? (111) They answered, Put off him and his brother *by fair promises for some time*, and *in the mean while* send unto the cities persons, (112) who may assemble and bring unto thee every expert magician. (113) So the magicians came unto Pharaoh; (114) *and* they said, Shall we surely receive a reward if we do overcome? (115) He answered, Yea; and ye shall certainly be of those who approach near *unto my throne*. (116) They said, O Moses, either do thou cast down *thy rod first*, or we will cast down *ours*. Moses answered, Do ye cast down *your rods first*. (117) And when they had cast *them* down, they enchanted the eyes of

The common view is that it was an ordinary serpent, and that the Egyptians regarded it as having been produced by magic.

(108) *He drew forth his hand, &c.* The Bible nowhere says this miracle was performed before Pharaoh. There seems to have been Jewish tradition to which Muhammad was indebted for his knowledge on this point (see Rodwell's note *in loco*). Sale thinks we may fairly infer from Exod. iv. 8, 9, that both signs were shown to Pharaoh.

(109) *The chiefs of the people.* These chiefs, who symbolise the Arab chiefs of Makkah, are represented as equally guilty with Pharaoh. They continually mock at the miracles or *signs* of Moses and Aaron, and stir up Pharaoh to rebellion against God.

(110) *What . . . do ye direct?* This is a question addressed by Pharaoh to his counsellors.

(113) *Magicians.* "The Arabian writers name several of these magicians, besides their chief priest Simeon, viz., Sadúr and Ghadúr, Jaath and Musfa, Warán and Zamán, each of whom came attended with their disciples, amounting in all to several thousands."—Sale.

The *Tafsír-i-Raúfi* gives the names of these magicians as follows:—Simeon, Sadúr and Adúr, Hathat and Musfa. They were accompanied by 70,000 followers.

(117) *They enchanted the eyes.* "They provided themselves with a great number of thick ropes and long pieces of wood, which they contrived by some means to move, and make them twist themselves one over the other; and so imposed on the beholders, who at a distance took them to be true serpents."—Sale, *Baidháwí*.

The *Tafsír-i-Raúfi* says they prepared their ropes by rubbing upon

the men *who were present*, and terrified them; and they performed a great enchantment. (118) And we spake by revelation unto Moses, *saying*, Throw down thy rod. And behold, it swallowed up *the rods* which they had *caused falsely to appear* changed into serpents. (119) Wherefore the truth was confirmed, and that which they had wrought vanished. (120) And *Pharaoh and his magicians* were overcome there, and were rendered contemptible. (121) And the magicians prostrated themselves, worshipping; (122) *and* they said, We believe in the LORD of all creatures, (123) the LORD of Moses and Aaron. (124) Pharaoh

them certain chemicals, filling their sticks with quicksilver, which, under the heat of the sun, or, according to others, the heat of fires previously kindled under the place where they were thrown, made them curl up and intertwine so as to appear at a distance like real serpents. The number of rods and ropes thus changed into the appearance of serpents is said to have been forty thousand.

(118) *Behold, it swallowed up, &c.* "The expositors add, that when this serpent had swallowed up all the rods and cords, he made directly towards the assembly, and put them into so great a terror that they fled, and a considerable number were killed in the crowd: then Moses took it up, and it became a rod in his hand as before. Whereupon the magicians declared that it could be no enchantment, because in such case their rods and cords would not have disappeared."—*Sale, Baidhāwī*.

(120) *Were rendered contemptible.* Rodwell translates *drew back humiliated*, which agrees with the Urdū and Persian translations, which have it *they returned disgraced*.

(121) *The magicians prostrated, &c.* "It seems probable that all the magicians were not converted by this miracle, for some writers introduce Sadūr and Ghadūr only acknowledging Moses's miracle to be wrought by the power of God. These two, they say, were brothers, and the sons of a famous magician, then dead; but on their being sent for to court on this occasion, their mother persuaded them to go to their father's tomb to ask his advice. Being come to the tomb, the father answered their call, and when they had acquainted him with the affair, he told them that they should inform themselves whether the rod of which they spoke became a serpent while its masters slept, or only when they were awake; for, said he, enchantments have no effect while the enchanter is asleep, and therefore, if it be otherwise in this case, you may be assured that they act by a divine power. These two magicians then, arriving at the capital of Egypt, on inquiry found to their great astonishment that when Moses and Aaron went to rest their rod became a serpent, and guarded them while they slept. And this was the first step towards their conversion."—*Sale, Baidhāwī, Tafsīr-i-Raufī*.

said, Have ye believed on him before I have given you permission? Verily this is a plot which ye have contrived in the city, that ye might cast forth from thence the inhabitants thereof. But ye shall surely know *that I am your master*; (125) *for* I will cause your hands and your feet to be cut off on the opposite sides, then I will cause you all to be crucified. (126) The *magicians* answered, We shall certainly return unto our LORD *in the next life*; (127) *for* thou takest vengeance on us only because we have believed in the signs of our LORD when they have come unto us. O LORD, pour on us patience, and cause us to die Muslims.

|| (128) And the chiefs of Pharaoh's people said, Wilt R¹⁵₅ thou let Moses and his people go, that they may act corruptly in the earth, and leave thee and thy gods? *Pharaoh*

(124) *Permission*. Abdul Qádir says Pharaoh professed to be a god, and caused images of himself to be worshipped by the people.

A *plot*, i.e., "This is a confederacy between you and Moses, entered into before ye left the city to go to the place of appointment, to turn out the Copts, or native Egyptians, and establish the Israelites in their stead."—*Sale, Baidháwí*.

(125) On the punishments said here to have been threatened by Pharaoh, see chap. v. 37, 38, 42-44. There is undoubtedly an anachronism in this passage.

(127) *Cause us to die Muslims*. "Some think these converted magicians were executed accordingly; but others deny it, and say that the king was not able to put them to death; insisting on these words of the Qurán (chap. xxviii. 35), *You two, and they who follow you, shall overcome*."—*Sale, Baidháwí*.

This passage teaches that Islám is the one only true religion, the religion of Moses, and therefore the religion of the Pentateuch. The Qurán here again points to the reasons for its own rejection. See note on chap. ii. 136.

(128) *Leave thee and thy gods*. "Some of the commentators, from certain impious expressions of this prince recorded in the Qurán (chap. xxvi. 28; xxviii. 38), whereby he sets up himself as the only god of his subjects, suppose that he was the object of their worship, and therefore instead of *álíhataká, thy gods*, read *iláhataka, thy worship*."

See above, on ver. 124. Pharaoh, says the *Tafsír-i-Raufi*, worshipped the stars, calling the images of himself, used by the people, *little gods*, and himself *the great god*. Much of this kind of comment is due to the manifest inconsistency of the Qurán in representing Pharaoh sometimes as an idolater (note the expression "thy gods," here and chap. x. 79), and at other times as claiming to be the *only*

answered, We will cause their male children to be slain, and we will suffer their females to live; and *by that means* we shall prevail over them. (129) Moses said unto his people, Ask assistance of GOD and suffer patiently: for the earth is God's; he giveth it for an inheritance unto such of his servants as he pleaseth; and the *prosperous* end *shall be* unto those who fear *him*. (130) They answered, We have been afflicted *by having our male children slain* before thou camest unto us, and also since thou hast come unto us. *Moses* said, Peradventure it may happen that our LORD will destroy your enemy, and will cause you to succeed *him* in the earth, that he may see how ye will act *therein*.

R¹⁶.
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|| (131) And we formerly punished the people of Pharaoh with dearth and scarcity of fruits, that they might be warned. (132) Yet when good happened unto them,

God. This error may have arisen out of a mistaken apprehension of the use of the word *god*. See Exod. vii. 1.

Male children to be slain. This is an anachronism, but the commentators reconcile this statement with history by saying, as given by Sale, "We will continue to make use of the same cruel policy to keep the Israelites in subjection as we have hitherto done." But the form of words in the original obliges us to regard this as a new order, and there is not a word in the Qurán to justify the statement of of Abdul Qádir that "this practice, which had been ordered before and afterwards discontinued, was here again inaugurated." Certainly there is nothing in history to substantiate such a statement. It is simply a device to reconcile the Qurán with history.

We shall prevail. "The commentators say that Pharaoh came to this resolution because he had either been admonished in a dream, or by the astrologers or divines, that one of that nation should subvert his kingdom."—Sale, *Baidháwi*, *Jaláluddín*.

(129) *The earth is God's.* The *Tafsir-i-Raufi* says that Moses here predicts that the children of Israel should possess the land of Egypt. See below on ver. 137.

(130) *Your enemy, i.e., Pharaoh.*

(131) *Death and famine.* The allusion is to the seven years' famine under the Pharaoh who domiciled the children of Israel in Egypt. This Pharaoh is here identified with the Pharaoh of Quránic celebrity! This famine was inflicted as a warning, which, being unheeded, was followed by the plagues of ver. 134.

(132) *Unto them.* The context proves beyond doubt that the persons referred to here are the Egyptians, but the *murmurings* described belong to Israel in the desert.

they said, This *is owing* unto us; but if evil befell them, they attributed *the same* to the ill-luck of Moses, and those who *were* with him. Was not their ill-luck with GOD? But most of them knew it not. (133) And they said *unto Moses*, Whatever sign thou show unto us, to enchant us therewith, we will not believe on thee. (134) Wherefore we sent upon them a flood, and locusts, and lice, and frogs and blood; distinct miracles: but they behaved proudly, and became a wicked people. (135) And when the plague

Ill-luck. "The original word properly signifies *to take an ominous and sinister presage* of any future event, from the flight of birds, or the like."—*Sale*.

(133) *We will not believe on thee.* Muhammad undoubtedly thought that Moses was sent to the Egyptians to call them to repentance, as well as to deliver Israel from the hand of Pharaoh. He thought of him as a prophet of Egypt, as he thought of himself as the prophet of Arabia. Moses is here rejected, and the Egyptians refuse to become Muslims. The children of Israel, and all who believe in Moses, he regards in the light of his own followers seeking an asylum from persecution in Abyssinia, and perhaps Madina.

(134) *A flood.* Arnold thinks the allusion must be to the deluge, inasmuch as the drowning in the Red Sea occurred *after* the plagues (Islám and Christianity, p. 140). But the story of Noah, given in this chapter, vers. 60–65, shows that Muhammad did not mean the deluge in speaking of *a flood* here. We must therefore regard this statement as either an addition to the Jewish story or as referring to the drowning in the Red Sea. Historical accuracy is not one of the virtues of the oracle of Islám, as this chapter abundantly illustrates. Muslim commentators, as Baidháwi, &c., understand a deluge to be meant, and describe it as given in the following from Sale's notes on this passage:—"This inundation, they say, was occasioned by unusual rains, which continued eight days together, and the overflowing of the Nile; and not only covered their lands, but came into their houses, and rose as high as their backs and necks; but the children of Israel had no rain in their quarters. As there is no mention of any such miraculous inundation in the Mosaic writings, some have imagined this plague to have been either a pestilence or the small-pox, or some other epidemical distemper. For the word *tufán*, which is used in this place, and is generally rendered *a deluge*, may also signify any other universal destruction or mortality."

Lice. "Some will have these insects to have been a larger sort of tick; others, the young locusts before they have wings."—*Sale*, *Baidháwi*.

The order of the plagues, so far as mentioned here, is exactly the reverse of that in Exodus, but the order here is recognised as the true one by all Muslim authorities.

(135) *Plague, i.e., any one of the plagues already mentioned.*

fell on them, they said, O Moses, entreat thy LORD for us, according to that which he hath covenanted with thee; verily if thou take the plague from off us, we will surely believe thee, and we will let the children of Israel go with thee. But when he had taken the plague from off them until the term *which God had granted them* was expired, behold they broke their promise. (136) Wherefore we took vengeance on them, and drowned them in the *Red Sea*; because they charged our signs with falsehood, and neglected them. (137) And we caused the people who had been rendered weak to inherit the eastern parts of the earth and the western parts thereof, which we blessed *with fertility*; and the gracious word of thy LORD was fulfilled on the children of Israel, for that they had endured with patience: and we destroyed the *structures* which Pharaoh and his people had made, and that which they had erected.

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|| (138) And we caused the children of Israel to pass through the sea, and they came unto a people who gave

We will believe thee, i.e., we will acknowledge the true God, and accept thee as his prophet; in other words, we will be Muslims. See notes above on vers. 104, 127, and 133.

We will let the children of Israel go with thee, i.e., to their own country. But see on ver. 133.

They broke their promises. If the conjecture mentioned in note on ver. 95 has any truth in it, there is in this and the following verse an implied warning against unbelief.

(136) *Drowned them.* See notes on chap. x. 90-92, and xx. 79-81.

Because, &c. This statement is a direct contradiction of the teaching of Moses. The Egyptians did not deny the miracles of Moses, but "Pharaoh hardened his heart."

(137) *We caused . . . to inherit.* The commentators say the reference is to Syria. If so, *eastern parts* and *western* refer most probably to the lands on the eastern and western sides of the Jordan. The passage in connection with what follows, however, raises the suspicion that Muhammad here intended us to understand that God gave the Israelites the victory over Pharaoh, and so made them masters of the country on both sides of the Red Sea. See also chap. xvii. 106.

The structures. Those mentioned in chap. xxviii. 38, and xl. 38, 39.

(138) *A people.* "These people some will have to be of the tribe

themselves up to *the worship of* their idols, *and* they said, O Moses, make us a god, in like manner as these *people* have gods. *Moses* answered, Verily ye are an ignorant people: (139) for *the religion* which these follow *will be* destroyed, and that which they do is vain. (140) He said, Shall I seek for you any other god than GOD, since he hath preferred you to the *rest of the* world? (141) And *remember* when we delivered you from the people of Pharaoh, who grievously oppressed you; they slew your male children, and let your females live: therein was a great trial from your LORD.

|| (142) And we appointed unto Moses *a fast of thirty* R ¹⁷/₇ nights *before we gave him the law*, and we completed them by *adding of ten more*; and the stated time of his LORD was fulfilled in forty nights. And Moses said unto his brother Aaron, Be thou my deputy among my people *during my absence*; and behave uprightly, and follow not

of Amalek, whom Moses was commanded to destroy, and others of the tribe of Lakhm. Their idols, it is said, were images of oxen, which gave the first hint to the making of the golden calf."—*Sale, Baidhāwī*.

Make us a god. This request being addressed to Moses contradicts the Bible (Exod. xxxii. 1, and Acts vii. 40). The reason for their returning to idolatry was that they had lost confidence in the absent Moses.

As these have, i.e., the Amalekites. The Israelites, however, did not adopt a new form of idolatry, but merely lapsed into that which they had adopted while in Egypt.

(142) *Thirty nights.* "The commentators say that God, having promised Moses to give him the law, directed him to prepare himself for the high favour of speaking with God in person by a fast of thirty days, and that Moses accordingly fasted the whole month of Dhu'l Qaada; but not liking the savour of his breath, he rubbed his teeth with a dentifrice, upon which the angels told him that his breath before had the odour of musk (see Prelim. Disc., p. 176), but that his rubbing his teeth had taken it away. Wherefore God ordered him to fast ten days more, which he did; and these were the first ten days of the succeeding month, Dhu'l Hajja. Others, however, suppose that Moses was commanded to fast and pray thirty days only, and that during the other ten God discoursed with him."—*Sale, Baidhāwī, Jalāluddīn*.

Nights. The ordinary custom among Muslims is to fast during the day-time, eating only during the night. Concerning the reckon-

the way of the corrupt doers. (143) And when Moses came at our appointed time, and his LORD spake unto him, he said, O LORD, show me *thy glory*, that I may behold thee. *God* answereth, Thou shalt in no wise behold me; but look towards the mountain, and if it stand firm in its place, then thou shalt see me. But when his LORD appeared with glory in the mount, he reduced it to dust. And Moses fell down in a swoon. And when he came to himself he said, Praise be unto thee! I turn unto thee with repentance, and I *am* the first of true believers. (144) *God* said unto him, O Moses, I have chosen thee above *all* men, *by honouring thee* with my commissions, and by my speaking unto thee: receive therefore that which I have brought thee, and be *one* of those who give thanks. (145) And we wrote for him on the tables an

ing *by nights* Savary says:—"The Arabs reckoned by *nights* as we do by *days*. This custom doubtless had its rise from the excessive heat of their climate. They dwell amidst burning sands, and while the sun is above the horizon they usually keep within their tents. When he sets they quit them, and enjoy coolness and a most delightful sky. Night is in a great measure to them that which day is to us. Their poets, therefore, never celebrate the charms of a beautiful day; but these words, *Laili! Laili!* O night! O night! are repeated in all their songs."

Be my deputy. Lit., act as my Khalifah. See note on chap. vi. 165.

(143) *His Lord spake.* "Without the mediation of any other, and face to face, as he speaks to the angels."—Sale, *Baidhawî*.

Show me thy glory. The ellipsis should have been *thyself*, not *thy glory*. This request was refused. Even the *glory* of God, as seen on the mountain, which Muslims call al Zabîr, caused Moses to swoon and reduced the mountain to dust!

The first of true believers. See a similar expression in chap. vi. 14. The meaning here is that Moses was the first true believer among the Israelites, or perhaps Egyptians. The *Tafsîr-i-Raufî* paraphrases thus: "*I am the first believer in thy dignity and glory; or this, that I am the first to believe in the impossibility of seeing thee as thou art.*" Moses is called *Kalîmullâh*, the *speaker with God*, referring to the circumstance here narrated.

(144) *Receive . . . that which, &c.* The Tauret written on tables of stone. Sale says:—"The Muhammadans have a tradition that Moses asked to see God on the day of Arafât, and that he received the law on the day they slay the victims at the pilgrimage of Makkah, which days are the ninth and tenth of Dhul Hajja."

(145) *The tables.* "These tables, according to some, were seven in

admonition concerning every matter, and a decision in every case, *and said*, Receive this with reverence; and command thy people that they live according to the most excellent *precepts* thereof. I will show you the dwelling of the wicked. (146) I will turn aside from my signs those who behave themselves proudly in the earth, without justice: and although they see every sign, yet they shall not believe therein; and although they see the way of righteousness, yet they shall not take that way; but if they see the way of error, they shall take that way. (147) This *shall come to pass* because they accuse our signs of imposture, and neglect the same. But as for them who deny the truth of our signs and the meeting of the life to come, their works shall be vain: shall they be rewarded otherwise than *according to* what they shall have wrought?

|| (148) And the people of Moses, after his *departure*, R $\frac{18}{3}$ took a corporeal calf, *made* of their ornaments, which

number, and according to others ten. Nor are the commentators agreed whether they were cut out of a kind of lote-tree in Paradise called al Sidra, or whether they were chrysolites, emeralds, rubies, or common stone. But they say that they were each ten or twelve cubits long; for they suppose that not only the ten commandments but the whole law was written thereon: and some add that the letters were cut quite through the tables, so that they might be read on both sides, which is a fable of the Jews."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*.

And a decision in every case. These words are omitted in Rodwell's translation, but present in all copies of the Qurān in Arabic I have been able to consult. Evidently Muhammad believed and taught that Moses while in Mount Sinai received not the ten commandments only (Exod. xxxiv. 28, 29; xxxi. 18), but also the whole code of laws contained in the Pentateuch.

The dwelling of the wicked, viz., "The desolate habitations of the Egyptians, or those of the impious tribes of Ad and Thamúd, or perhaps hell."—Sale.

(146, 147) See notes above on vers. 97-100.

(148) *A corporeal calf.* Rodwell renders the word here translated "corporeal," *ruddy like gold*. The Persian and Urdu translations agree with Sale. See also note on chap. ii. 50.

Ornaments. The *Tafsīr-i-Raufi* says this idol was made of the ornaments borrowed from the Egyptians on the eve of their departure (Exod. xii. 35, 36).

Which loved. See note on chap. ii. 50. This also contradicts Bible history.

lowed. Did they not see that it spake not unto them, neither directed them in the way? *yet* they took it *for their god*, and acted wickedly. (149) But when they repented with sorrow, and saw that they had gone astray, they said, Verily if our LORD have not mercy upon us, and forgive us not, we shall certainly become *of the number* of those who perish. (150) And when Moses returned unto his people, full of wrath and indignation, he said, An evil thing is it that ye have committed after my *departure*; have ye hastened the command of your LORD? And he threw down the tables, and took his brother by the *hair of the head*, and dragged him unto him. *And Aaron* said unto him, Son of my mother, verily the people prevailed against me, and it wanted little but they had slain me: make not *my* enemies therefore to rejoice over me, neither place me with the wicked people. (151) *Moses* said, O LORD, forgive me and my brother, and receive us into thy mercy; for thou art the most merciful of those who exercise mercy.

R ¹⁹/₉.

|| (152) Verily as for them who took the calf *for their god*, indignation shall overtake them from their LORD, and ignominy in this life: thus will we reward those who

(149) *When they repented.* This statement makes the repentance of the Israelites to have taken place during the absence of Moses.

(150) *He threw down the tables*, "which were all broken, and taken up to heaven, except one only; and this, they say, contained the threats and judicial ordinances, and was afterwards put into the ark."—*Sale, Baidhawī.*

Muhammad seems to have been ignorant of the renewal of the tables, described in Exod. xxxiv.

Dragged him. This scene seems to have been entirely due to the imagination of Muhammad. Exod. xxxii. 21-24 teaches no more than that Moses was angry with his brother for having had anything to do with the sin of the multitude.

(151) *Forgive me and my brother.* Forgive me for treating my elder brother with such disrespect, or for breaking the tables, and forgive my brother for whatever fault he committed in connection with the worship of the calf.—*Tafsīr-i-Raufī.* This passage disproves the claim of modern Muslims that all the prophets were sinless.

(152) See notes on chap. ii. 53.

imagine falsehood. (153) But unto them who do evil, and afterwards repent, and believe *in God*, verily thy LORD *will* thereafter *be* clement *and* merciful. (154) And when the anger of Moses was appeased, he took the tables; and in what was written thereon was a direction and mercy unto those who feared their LORD. (155) And Moses chose out of his people seventy men, *to go up with him to the mountain* at the time appointed by us: and when a storm of thunder and lightning had taken them away, he said, O LORD, if thou hadst pleased, thou hadst destroyed them before, and me *also*; wilt thou destroy us for that which the foolish *men* among us have committed? This is only thy trial; thou wilt thereby lead into error whom thou pleasest, and thou wilt direct whom thou pleasest. Thou art our protector, therefore forgive us, and be merciful unto us; for thou art the best of those who forgive. (156) And write down for us good in this world, and in the life to come; for unto thee are we directed. *God* answered, I will inflict my punishment on whom I please; and my mercy extendeth over all things; and I will write down *good* unto those who shall fear *me*, (157) and give alms, and who shall believe in our signs; (158) who shall follow the apostle, the illiterate prophet, whom

(154) *He took the tables, i.e., "the fragments of what was left,"* say the commentators. The passage plainly says *the tables*, meaning the *whole*, though broken in pieces. See note above on ver. 150.

(155) See notes on chap. ii. 54, and chap. iv. 152. In chap. iv. this sin and its punishment is made to precede the worship of the calf and its judgment.

Thou wilt . . . lead into error, &c. See note on chap. ii. 155, and vi. 125.

(158) *The illiterate prophet.* See Prelim. Disc., pp. 73, 74.

Rodwell thinks Muhammad insincere in making this claim. See his note *in loco*. We need only consider what a man of letters was in Muhammad's time to enable us to decide whether the Qurán justifies this claim of Muhammad or not. To Muslims, however, it is accepted, as doubtless Muhammad intended it should be, as one of the chief arguments to prove the miraculous character of the Qurán. But the manner in which this expression is thrown into this verse and the next raises the conjecture, which with us amounts to an opinion, that this appellation came originally from the Jews, who used it in

they shall find written down with them in the law and the gospel: he will command them that which is just, and will forbid them that which is evil, and will allow them as lawful the good things *which were before forbidden*, and will prohibit those which are bad; and he will ease them of their heavy burden, and of the yokes which were upon them. And those who believe in him, and honour him, and assist him, and follow the light, which hath been sent down with him, *shall be happy*.

R $\frac{20}{10}$.

|| (159) Say, O men, Verily I am the messenger of GOD unto you all: unto him *belongeth* the kingdom of heaven and earth; there is no GOD but he; he giveth life, and he causeth to die. Believe therefore in God and his apostle, the illiterate prophet, who believeth in GOD and his word; and follow him, that ye may be *rightly* directed. (160) Of the people of Moses *there is* a party who direct *others* with truth, and act justly according to the same. (161)

expressing their contempt for the *Gentile prophet*, the term *Ummi* meaning *Gentile* in the technical sense. Muhammad would readily adopt the name, for reasons already expressed.

Written down with them in the law and the gospel, i.e., "both foretold by name and certain description."—*Sale*. The passages usually quoted by Muslims as referring to their Prophet are Deut. xviii. 15, xxxiii. 2; Ps. l. 2; Isa. xxi. 7, and lxiii. 1-6; Hab. iii. 3; John i. 21, xiv. 16, xvi. 7; and Rev. vi. 4. Muhammad nowhere ventures to quote the Scripture foretelling his advent, except in chap. lxi. 6, where he certainly shows himself to be *illiterate* in respect to the New Testament Scriptures.

Good things . . . and bad. See note on chap. iii. 49, and chap. v. 2-6.

This passage is regarded by Nöldeke as a Madina revelation, because of the maturity of Islām here presented, and because of the reference to those who "assist" the Prophet, *i.e.*, the *Ansārs*, who were not so called until after the Hijra.

(159) *O men*. Sale understands this to mean all mankind, but it is more natural to understand it as simply addressed to the people of Makkah. See note on chap. ii. 21.

(160) *A party, viz.*, "Those Jews who seemed better disposed than the rest of their brethren to receive Muhammad's law, or perhaps such of them as had actually received it. Some imagine they were a Jewish nation dwelling somewhere beyond China, which Muhammad saw the night he made his journey to heaven, and who believed on him."—*Sale, Baidhāwi*.

See also notes on chap. vi. 20.

And we divided them into twelve tribes, *as into so many* nations. And we spake by revelation unto Moses when his people asked drink of him, *and we said*, Strike the rock with thy rod; and there gushed thereout twelve fountains, and men knew their *respective* drinking-place. And we caused clouds to overshadow them, and manna and quails to descend upon them, *saying*, Eat of the good things which we have given you for food: and they injured not us, but they injured their own souls. (162) And *call to mind* when it was said unto them, Dwell in this city, and eat of the *provisions* thereof wherever ye will, and say, Forgiveness; and enter the gate worshipping: we will pardon you your sins, *and* will give increase unto the well-doers. (163) But they who were ungodly among them changed the expression into another, which had not been spoken unto them. Wherefore we sent down upon them indignation from heaven, because they transgressed.

(164) And ask them concerning the city, which was situate on the sea, when they transgressed on the Sabbath-day: when their fish came unto them on their Sabbath-day, *appearing* openly on the water: but on the day whereon they celebrated no Sabbath, they came not unto them. Thus did we prove them, because they were wicked-doers. (165) And when a party of them said *unto the others*, Why do ye warn a people whom GOD will destroy, or will punish with a grievous punishment? They answered, *This*

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(161) See notes on chap. ii. 56 and 59. This stone, says Baidhāwī, was thrown down from Paradise by Adam. Shuaib having possession of it, gave it with the rod to Moses. The *Tafsir-i-Raufi* says the stone lay hidden in the desert, but spoke to Moses as he passed by, saying, "Take me; I will be of use to thee."

(162, 163) See notes on chap. ii. 57, 58.

(164) *The city*. Ailah or Elath, on the Red Sea. See chap. ii. 64.

(165) *Why do ye warn, &c.?* Commentators differ as to the persons asking this question, some referring it to the pious, others to the unbelievers.

An excuse. "That we have done our duty in dissuading them from their wickedness."—*Salé*. This seems to decide the question as to who asked the question, *Why do ye warn, &c.?*

is an excuse *for us* unto your LORD, and peradventure they will beware. (166) But when they had forgotten the admonitions which had been given them, we delivered those who forbade *them* to do evil; and we inflicted on those who had transgressed a severe punishment, because they had acted wickedly. (167) And when they proudly refused *to desist* from what had been forbidden them, we said unto them, Be ye *transformed into apes*, driven away *from the society* of men. (168) And *remember* when thy LORD declared that he would surely send against *the Jews* until the day of resurrection *some nation* who should afflict them with a grievous oppression; for thy LORD is swift in punishing, and he *is* also ready to forgive, *and* merciful: (169) and we dispersed them among the nations in the earth. *Some* of them are upright persons, and *some* of them are otherwise. And we proved them with prosperity and with adversity, that they might return *from their disobedience*; (170) and a succession *of their posterity* hath succeeded after them, who have inherited the book *of the law*, who receive the temporal *goods* of this world, and say, It will surely be forgiven us: and if a temporal *advantage* like the former be offered them, they accept it *also*. Is it not the covenant of the book *of the law* established with them, that they should not speak of GOD *aught*

(166, 167). See notes on chap. ii. 64, and v. 65.

(168) See note on chap. v. 69. Comp. Deut. xxviii. 49, 50.

(169) *Upright . . . and . . . otherwise*. Comp. chap. iii. 113, 199. This passage is certainly of Madina origin, but revealed soon after the Hijra, when some of the Jews became Muslims. The unbelievers are reminded of the fate of their rebellious forefathers.

(170) *Who receive, &c.* "By accepting of bribes for wresting judgment, and for corrupting the copies of the Pentateuch, and by extorting of usury, &c."—Sale, *Baidhāwi*.

Aught but truth. The lying of the Jews alluded to here, say the commentators, was their saying that their sins were all forgiven them; the sins of the night were forgiven in the day, and the sins of the day in the night. See *Tafstr-i-Rauḡi*.

They diligently read, &c. This passage also shows that the Jews in Muhammad's time were in possession of genuine copies of their Scriptures.

but the truth? Yet they diligently read that which is therein. But the enjoyment of the next life *will be* better for those who fear *God than the wicked gains of these people*: (Do ye not therefore understand?) (171) and for those who hold fast the book *of the law*, and are constant at prayer: for we will by no means suffer the reward of the righteous to perish. (172) And when we shook the mountain *of Sinai* over them, as though it had been a covering, and they imagined, that it was falling upon them; *and we said*, Receive the *law* which we have brought you with reverence; and remember that which is *contained* therein, that ye may take heed.

(173) And when thy LORD drew forth their posterity R ²²₁₂ from the lions of the sons of Adam, and took them to witness against themselves, *saying*, Am not I your LORD? They answered, Yea: we do bear witness. *This was done* lest ye should say at the day of resurrection, Verily we were negligent as to this *matter*, *because we were not apprised thereof*: (174) or lest ye should say, Verily our fathers were formerly guilty of idolatry, and we are *their* posterity who have succeeded them; wilt thou therefore destroy us for that which vain men have committed? (175) Thus do we explain *our* signs, that they may return *from their vanities*. (176) And relate unto *the Jews* the history of him unto whom we brought our signs, and he

(172) *The mountain*. See note on chap. ii. 62. This passage is based on Jewish tradition. See Rodwell *in loco*.

(173) *Thy Lord drew forth, &c.* "The commentators tell us that God stroked Adam's back, and extracted from his loins his whole posterity, which should come into the world until the resurrection, one generation after another; that these men were actually assembled together in the shape of small ants, which were endued with understanding; and that after they had, in the presence of the angels, confessed their dependence on God, they were again caused to return into the loins of their great ancestor."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*, *Jalāluddīn*, *Yahya*.

This transaction is said to have taken place in the valley of Muman, near Arafāt; others say it took place in the plain of Dahia of India. See *Tafsīr-i-Raūfī in loco*. This passage clearly recognises the doctrine of pre-existence, as held by Origen.

(176) *The history of him*. "Some suppose the person here in-

departed from them; wherefore Satan followed him, and he became *one* of those who were seduced. (177) And if we had pleased, we had surely raised him thereby *unto wisdom*; but he inclined unto the earth, and followed his own desire. Wherefore his likeness as the likeness of a dog, which, if thou drive him away, putteth forth his tongue, or, if thou let him alone, putteth forth his tongue *also*. This is the likeness of the people who accuse our signs of falsehood. Rehearse therefore *this history unto them*, that they may consider. (178) Evil is the similitude of those people who accuse our signs of falsehood, and injure their own souls. (179) Whomsoever God shall direct, he *will be rightly* directed; and whomsoever he shall lead astray, they shall perish. (180) Moreover we have created for hell many of the genii and of men; they have hearts by which they understand not, and they have eyes by which they see not, and they have ears by which they hear not. These are like the brute beasts; yea, they go more astray; these are the negligent. (181) God hath most excellent names; therefore call on him by the same;

tended to be a Jewish Rabbi, or one Ummaya Ibn Abu Salab, who read the Scriptures, and found thereby that God would send a prophet about that time, and was in hopes that he might be the man; but when Muhammad declared his mission, believed not on him through envy. But according to the more general opinion, it was Balam, the son of Beor, of the Canaanitish race, well acquainted with part at least of the Scripture, having even been favoured with some revelations from God, who being requested by his nation to curse Moses and the children of Israel, refused it at first, saying, 'How can I curse those who are protected by the angels?' But afterwards he was prevailed on by gifts; and he had no sooner done it, than he began to put out his tongue like a dog, and it hung down upon his breast."—*Sale, Baidhāwi, Jalāluddīn, &c.* Comp. 2 Pet. ii. 5, and Jude ii.

(178) *Who accuse, &c.* See note on chap. iii. 185, and above on ver. 2.

(179, 180) This passage clearly makes God the author of evil. He is said to create genii and men for the express purpose of filling hell with them. Comp. chap. xi. 119. But see notes on chap. iii. 145, 155. The creation of the righteous is mentioned in ver. 182.

(181) *God hath . . . names.* These are ninety-nine in number, and are all to be found in the Qurán. They are repeated by pious Muslims, with the aid of a rosary, as a matter of merit. They are as follows:—The Merciful, the Compassionate, the King, the Most

and withdraw from those who use his name perversely: they shall be rewarded for that which they shall have wrought. (182) And of those whom we have created there are a people who direct *others* with truth, and act justly according thereto.

|| (183) But those who devise lies against our signs, we R 23.
13 will suffer them to fall gradually into ruin, by a *method* which they knew not: (184) and I will grant them to enjoy a long and prosperous life; for my stratagem is effectual. (185) Do they not consider that there is no devil in their companion? He is no other than a public

Holy, the Tranquil, the Faithful, the Protector, the Victorious, the Mighty, the Self-Exalted, the Creator, the Maker, the Former, the Forgiver, the Wrathful, the Giver, the Cherisher, the Conqueror, the Knower, the Seizer, the Expander, the Depresser, the Exalter, the Strengtheners, the Disgracer, the Hearer, the Seer, the Ruler, the Just, the Benignant, the Informer, the Great, the Pardoner, the Rewarder, the High, the Great, the Rememberer, the Powerful, the Satisfier, the Glorious, the Kind, the Guardian, the Answerer, the All-embracing, the Wise, the All-loving, the Glorious, the Provider, the Strong, the Firm, the Friend, the Praiseworthy, the Beginner, the Reckoner, the Restorer, the Life-giver, the Destroyer, the Living, the Self-subsisting, the Finder, the Glorious, the Unique, the Eternal, the Powerful, the Prevailing, the Leader, the Finisher, the First, the Eternal, the Everlasting, the Innermost, the Revealer, the Governor, the Pure, the Propitious, the Remitter, the Avenger, the Merciful, the King of the Kingdom, the Lord of Glory and Honour, the Equitable, the Assembler, the Rich, the Enricher, the Possessor, the Prohibitor, the Afflicter, the Benefactor, the Light, the Guide, the Creator, the Observer, the Inheritor, the Director, the Patient, the Mild.—See Macbride's *Muhammadian Religion Explained*, pp. 121-123, and *Tafsir-i-Ra'ufi in loco*.

Rewarded. "As did Walid Ibn al Mughaira, who hearing Muhammad give God the title of al Rahmán, or *the Merciful*, laughed aloud, saying he knew none of that name, except a certain man who dwelt in Yamáma; or as the idolatrous Makkans did, who deduced the names of their idols from those of the true God, deriving, for example, Allát from Allah, al Uzza from al Aziz, *the Mighty*, and Manát from al Mannán, *the Bountiful*."—Sale.

(183) *We will suffer them to fall, &c.* "By flattering them with prosperity in this life, and permitting them to sin in an uninterrupted security, till they find themselves unexpectedly ruined."—Sale, *Baidhawí*.

(185) *Their companion*, viz., "In Muhammad, whom they gave out to be possessed when he went up to Mount Safá, and from thence

preacher. Or do they not contemplate the kingdom of heaven and earth, and the things which GOD hath created; and *consider* that peradventure it may be that their end draweth nigh? And in what new declaration will they believe, after this? (186) He whom GOD shall cause to err shall have no director; and he shall leave them in their impiety, wandering in confusion. (187) They will ask thee concerning the *last* hour, at what time its coming is fixed? Answer, Verily the knowledge thereof is with my LORD; none shall declare the fixed time thereof, except he. *The expectation thereof* is grievous in heaven and on earth: it shall come upon you no otherwise than suddenly. They will ask thee, as though thou wast well acquainted therewith. Answer, Verily the knowledge thereof is with GOD alone: but the greater part of men know it not. (188) Say, I am able neither to procure advantage unto myself, nor to avert mischief *from me*, but as GOD pleaseth. If I knew the secrets *of God*, I should surely enjoy abundance of good, neither should evil befall me. Verily I am no other than a denouncer of threats, and a messenger of good tidings unto people who believe.

called to the several families of each respective tribe, in order to warn them of God's vengeance if they continued in their idolatry." —Sale, *Baidhāwī*.

The original literally translated, *Do they not consider that there is to their friend naught from the genii?*

A public preacher. This is the character in which Muhammad loved to appear at Makkah. This claim is *now* made in the sense that he is appointed of God to be a warner or preacher, hence the transition from the position of reformer to that of apostle.

Declaration, i.e., the plain revelation of the Qurān.

(186) See note on vers. 179 and 180.

(187) *Grievous in heaven, i.e., to angels as well as to men, genii, &c.*

The knowledge thereof, &c. Compare Matt. xxiv. 36.

(188) This verse goes against those who attribute to Muhammad the gift of foretelling future events. Much more does it refute the assertions of those who say that Muhammad will intercede for his people on the judgment-day, tradition to the contrary notwithstanding, for no genuine tradition can contradict the uniform teaching of the Qurān. See note on chap. ii. 47, 123, and 254, and vi. 49.

|| (189) It is he who hath created you from one person, R $\frac{24}{14}$
 and out of him produced his wife, that he might dwell
 with her: and when he had known her, she carried a light
 burden *for a time*, wherefore she walked *easily* therewith.
 But when it became more heavy, she called upon GOD
 their LORD, *saying*, If thou give us *a child* rightly shaped,
 we will surely be thankful. (190) Yet when he had
 given them *a child* rightly shaped, they attributed com-
 panions unto him, for that which he had given them.
 But far be that from GOD which they associated *with*
him! (191) Will they associate *with him false gods* which
 create nothing, but are themselves created; (192) and

(189) *One person.* This certainly refers to Adam. The story given by Sale below is an invention of the commentators to escape from the conclusion that Adam and Eve became idolaters.

(190) *They attributed companions unto him.* "For the explaining of this whole passage the commentators tell the following story. They say that when Eve was big with her first child, the devil came to her and asked her whether she knew what she carried within her, and which way she should be delivered of it; suggesting that possibly it might be a beast. She, being unable to give an answer to this question, went in a fright to Adam, and acquainted him with the matter, who not knowing what to think of it, grew sad and pensive. Whereupon the devil appeared to her again (or, as others say, to Adam), and pretended that he by his prayers would obtain of God that she might be safely delivered of a son in Adam's likeness, provided they would promise to name him Abdul Hārith, or the *servant of al Hārith* (which was the devil's name among the angels), instead of Abdullah, or the *servant of God*, as Adam had designed. This proposal was agreed to, and accordingly, when the child was born, they gave it that name, upon which it immediately died. And with this Adam and Eve are here taxed as an act of idolatry. The story looks like a *rabbinical* fiction, and seems to have no other foundation than Cain's being called by Moses Obed-adámah, that is, *a tiller of the ground*, which might be translated into Arabic by Abdul Hārith.

"But al Baidhāwī, thinking it unlikely that a prophet (as Adam is by the Muhammadans supposed to have been) should be guilty of such an action, imagines the Qurán in this place means Kussai, one of Muhammad's ancestors, and his wife, who begged issue of God, and having four sons granted them, called their names Abd Manāf, Abd Shams, Abdul Uzza, and Abdul Dār, after the names of four principal idols of the Quraish. And the following words also he supposes to relate to their idolatrous posterity."—Sale, *Baidhāwī, Yahya*.

can neither give them assistance, nor help themselves? (193) And if ye invite them to the *true* direction, they will not follow you : it will be equal unto you whether ye invite them, or whether ye hold your peace. (194) Verily the *false deities* whom ye invoke besides GOD are servants like unto you. Call therefore upon them, and let them give you an answer, if ye speak truth. (195) Have they feet, to walk with? Or have they hands, to lay hold with? Or have they eyes, to see with? Or have they ears, to hear with? Say, Call upon your companions, and then lay a snare for me, and defer *it* not; (196) for GOD *is* my protector, who sent down the book of the *Qurán*; and he protecteth the righteous. (197) But they whom ye invoke besides him cannot assist you, neither do they help themselves; (198) and if ye call on them to direct you, they will not hear. Thou seest them look towards thee, but they see not. (199) Use indulgence, and command that which is just, and withdraw far from the ignorant. (200) And if an evil suggestion from Satan be suggested unto thee, *to divert thee from thy duty*, have recourse unto GOD : for he heareth *and* knoweth. (201) Verily they who fear *God*, when a temptation from Satan assaileth them, remember *the divine commands*, and behold,

(194) *The false deities . . . are servants.* The sun, moon, and stars are here alluded to.

(195) Comp. Isa. xlv. 8-21, and Ps. cxv. 3-8.

Lay a snare for me. This points to a period near the Hijra when the Quraish were ready by any means to destroy their dangerous neighbour. Muhammad expresses confidence in God; may he not have already seen the way to deliverance in the completed arrangements made for retiring to Madína?

(199) *Use indulgence*; "or, as the words may also be translated, *Take the superabundant overplus*, meaning that Muhammad should accept such voluntary alms from the people as they could spare. But the passage, if taken in this sense, was abrogated by the precept of legal alms, which was given at Madína."—Sale.

It is more natural to understand this as an exhortation to Muhammad to be forbearing toward the idolaters of Makkah.

And withdraw. This seems clearly to refer to the Hijra. See chap vi. 106.

(200) See notes on chaps. iv. 116, and vi. 112.

they clearly see *the danger of sin and the wiles of the devil*. (202) But as for the brethren of *the devils*, they shall continue them in error, and afterwards they shall not preserve themselves *therefrom*. (203) And when thou bringest not a verse of *the Qurán* unto them, they say, Hast thou not put it together? Answer, I follow that only which is revealed unto me from my LORD. This *book containeth* evident proofs from your LORD, and is a direction and mercy unto people who believe. (204) And when the Qurán is read attend thereto, and keep silence, that ye may obtain mercy. (205) And meditate on thy LORD in thine own mind, with humility and fear, and without loud speaking, evening and morning; and be not *one* of the negligent. (206) Moreover *the angels* who are with my LORD do not proudly disdain his service, but they celebrate his praise and worship him.

(202) *The brethren*. Those under the influence of devils.

(203) *Hast thou not put it together?* i.e., "Hast thou not yet contrived what to say; or canst thou obtain no revelation from God?" —*Sale*.

The garbled stories, learned from Jewish tradition, so plentifully given in this chapter, entirely justify the taunt intended here. See note on ver. 85.

Muhammad's reply is, as usual, a reassertion of his own inspiration.

(204) *Keep silence*. The occasion on which this verse was revealed was as follows:—A young Muslim, standing behind the Prophet, kept repeating in a loud voice the passages of the Qurán which were being read, thus creating confusion in the service. The passage enjoins silence on the part of all Muslims during prayers, except the Imám or leader.

(205) *Evening and morning*. The five times for prayer probably had not yet been fixed. The commentators say these are the most important seasons of prayer.

(206) *Worship him*. This is one of the fifteen places in the Qurán where the reader must, according to some, prostrate himself in reading; according to others, this prostration is meritorious, though not required.

CHAPTER VIII.

ENTITLED SURAT AL ANFÁL (THE SPOILS).

Revealed at Madína.

INTRODUCTION.

THE title of this Sura was taken from the question of the first verse concerning spoils. The chapter, however, has but little to do with this subject, almost the whole of it being taken up with a description of the miraculous character of the battle of Badr, with allusions to events immediately preceding or following it, by which the faithful are confirmed in their confidence in God and Muhammad. Islám is declared to have now received the seal of God to its truth, and consequently all who hereafter may oppose it will merit shame and destruction both in this world and in the world to come.

The confident and often defiant tone, perceptible in this chapter, may be accounted for by the circumstances under which it was written. Muhammad had been successful beyond expectation, and the sometimes despondent Muslims were now exulting over those from whom they had so lately fled in fear. Muhammad, ever ready to use his opportunities, declares this victory to be decisive proof of the divine favour. God had brought it all about that he "might accomplish the thing which was decreed to be done; that he who perisheth hereafter may perish after demonstrative evidence, and that he who liveth may live by the same evidence."

Accordingly the infidels are denounced in no measured terms. Even the proud Quraish are addressed in a patronising manner, and are offered an amnesty on condition of their ceasing to oppose. The hypocrites and hitherto disaffected inhabitants of Madína are reproved and warned, while the duplicity of the Jews is threatened.

There is, however, the anticipation of future trouble. It required no more than the sagacity of a politician to foretell it. The Muslims

are therefore urged to prepare for the holy war, and to fight with that assurance which enables one man to face ten of his adversaries. God would be on their side, and the infidels would only rush on to certain destruction.

Nothing could be in stronger contrast than the spirit of this chapter compared with the latter part of chapter iii., written just after the Muslim defeat at Ohod. Such a comparison should make it clear to Muslims that the revelation of the Qurán, instead of being copied from the Preserved Table under the throne of God, was copied from the heart-table of Muhammad himself.

Probable Date of the Revelations.

It is certain that the greater part of this chapter was written immediately after the battle of Badr in A.H. 2. Indeed there is no part of it which may not be referred to this period excepting vers. 73-75, which must be assigned to the earlier months of A.H. 1. Sale mentions the fact that some authorities would place vers. 30-36 among the Makkan revelations, but the evidence seems to me to be against them. This passage might, however, belong to an earlier period than A.H. 2, inasmuch as it relates to the flight from Makkah. Yet the victory of Badr would naturally recall to Muhammad's mind the circumstances of his flight, and thus lead to their mention here.

Principal Subjects.

	VERSES
Spoils belong to God and his Apostle	1
True believers and their future reward	2-4
Muslims reproved for distrusting their Prophet	5, 6
God gives the Muslims either the Quraish or their caravan	7
The victory of Badr a seal to Islám	8
Angelic aid vouchsafed to Muhammad	9
The Muslims refreshed and comforted before the battle	10, 11
The angels enjoined to comfort the faithful by destroying the infidel Quraish	12
Infidels are doomed to punishment here and hereafter	13, 14
Muslims are never to turn their backs on the infidels on pain of hell-fire	15, 16
The victory of Badr a miracle	17, 18
The Quraish are warned against further warfare with the Muslims	19
Muslims exhorted to steadfastness in faith	20, 21
Infidels compared to deaf and dumb brutes	22, 23
Believers are to submit themselves to God and his Apostle	24

	VERSES
They are warned against civil strife, deception, and treachery	25-28
God's favour to true believers	29
Plots against Muhammad frustrated by God	30
The infidels liken the Qurán to fables	31
The Quraish were protected from deserved punishment by Muhammad's presence among them	32, 33
The idolaters of Makkah rebuked and threatened	34-38
An amnesty offered to the Quraish	39
Impenitent idolaters to be extirpated from the earth	40, 41
How the spoils of war are to be divided	42
The Muslims were led by God to fight at Badr to attest the truth of Islám	43, 44
The Muslims encouraged, and the infidels lured to destruction, by each seeing the other to be few in number	45, 46
Believers exhorted to obedience	47, 48
Believers warned against impious vainglory	49
The devil deserts the Quraish at Badr	50
The fate of hypocrites	51-53
Their doom like that of Pharaoh and his people	54-56
The worst of beasts are the infidels	57
Treachery to be met with its like	58-60
God is against the infidels	61
The Muslims excited to war against unbelievers	62
Condition of peace with unbelievers	63
The miracle of Arab union	64
God with the Prophet and the Muslims in warring for the faith	65, 66
Muslims reproved for accepting ransom for the captives taken at Badr	68-70
Captive Quraish exhorted to accept Islám, and warned against deception	71
The brotherhood of the Ansárs and Muháj Jirín	73-75
The hereditary rights of blood-relations re-established	76

SCLS.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

R $\frac{1}{15}$.

|| (1) THEY will ask thee concerning the spoils: Answer, The *division of the spoils belongeth* unto GOD and the

(1) *The spoils*, taken at the battle of Badr. "It consisted of 115 camels, 14 horses, a large store of leather (beds and rugs), and much equipage and armour."—*Muir's Life of Mahomet*, vol. iii. p. 111.

Apostle. Therefore fear God, and compose the matter amicably among you: and obey God and his Apostle, if ye are true believers. (2) Verily the true believers *are those* whose hearts fear when God is mentioned, and whose faith increaseth when his signs are rehearsed unto them, and *who* trust in their LORD; (3) who observe the stated times of prayer, and give alms out of that which we have bestowed on them. (4) These are really believers: they shall have *superior* degrees of *felicity* with their LORD, and forgiveness, and an honourable provision. (5) As thy LORD brought thee forth from thy house with truth, and

The division, &c. Rodwell translates this passage correctly—*The spoils are God's and the Apostle's.* The ellipsis understood by Sale, however, points to the cause for this revelation. It was due to a dispute between those who pursued the Quraish at Badr and those who remained behind to guard the Prophet and the camp as to the *division* of the spoils. Muhammad silences both parties by telling them the victory was due to neither, but to God, and therefore the spoil was God's and his Apostle's, and that they must await the divine command as to its disposal.—*Idem*, p. 112.

"It is related that Saad Ibn Abi Waqqas, one of the companions, whose brother Omair was slain in this battle, having killed Said Ibn al As, took his sword, and carrying it to Muhammad, desired that he might be permitted to keep it; but the Prophet told him that it was not his to give away, and ordered him to lay it with the other spoils. At this repulse and the loss of his brother Saad was greatly disturbed; but in a very little while this chapter was revealed, and thereupon Muhammad gave him the sword, saying, 'You asked this sword of me when I had no power to dispose of it, but now I have received authority from God to distribute the spoils, you may take it.'"—Sale, *Baidhawī*.

(2-4) See notes on chap. ii. 3-5.

(5) *As thy Lord, &c.*, i.e., from Madīna. "The particle *as* having nothing in the following words to answer it, al Baidhawī supposes the connection to be, that the division of the spoils belonged to the Prophet, notwithstanding his followers were averse to it, as they had been averse to the expedition itself."—Sale.

Rodwell supplies the word *Remember*, and translates, *Remember how thy Lord, &c.* The Urdū translations agree with Sale.

Part . . . were averse. This passage refers to the following circumstances:—Muhammad having received information of the approach of a caravan of the Quraish under Abu Sufián, went forth with his followers to plunder it. But Abu Sufián being apprised of the Muslim expedition, gave them the slip by turning aside and pursuing his journey by another way. Succours had been called for from Makkah, and 950 armed men, mounted on camels and horses,

part of the believers were averse to *thy directions*: (6) they disputed with thee concerning the truth, after it had been made known unto them; no otherwise than as if they had been led forth to death, and had seen *it with their eyes*. (7) And *call to mind* when GOD promised you one of the two parties, that it should be *delivered* unto you, and ye desired that the *party* which was not furnished with arms should be *delivered* unto you: but GOD purposed to make known the truth in his words, and to cut off the uttermost part of the unbelievers; (8) that he might verify the truth, and destroy falsehood, although

had answered the summons, and notwithstanding the safety of the caravan, they determined to advance and punish the Muslims. Muhammad and his people advanced with the expectation of an easy victory and abundant spoil, but learned to their chagrin of Abu Sufián's escape and the near approach of the succours. The question now arose among the disappointed followers whether they should pursue the caravan or follow Muhammad to the battle. By the aid of revelation and the interposition of Abu Baqr, Omar, and others, the disobedient were induced to submit to Muhammad's orders to attack the succours, which resulted in the celebrated battle of Badr. See Sale's note *in loco*, and Muir's *Life of Mahomet*, vol. iii. chap. xii.

(6) *After it had been made known*. Muhammad pretended to have received a promise from Gabriel that he should have either the caravan or victory over the succours. Victory was therefore assumed beforehand, but the smallness of their number made them afraid.

(7) *One of the two parties*. "That is, either the caravan or the succours from Makkah. Father Marracci, mistaking *al 'aîr* and *al nafîr*, which are appellatives, and signify *the caravan* and *the troop* or body of succours, for proper names, has thence coined two families of the Quraish never heard of before, which he calls Airenses and Naphirenses (Marracci in Alc., p. 297)."—Sale.

Ye desired, that the caravan, guarded by only forty armed men, should be attacked.

But God proposed, &c. "As if he had said, Your view was only to gain the spoils of the caravan and to avoid danger; but God designed to exalt his true religion by extirpating its adversaries."—Sale, *Baidhâwî*.

(8) *That he might verify the truth*. The victory of the Muslims is here declared to be evident proof of the divine mission of Muhammad and the truth of his religion. This claim gave ground to much doubt among the faithful and to scoffs and jeers among unbelievers after the defeat at Ohod. See notes on chap. iii. 121, and verses following.

the wicked were averse *thereto*. (9) When ye asked assistance of your LORD, and he answered you, Verily I will assist you with a thousand angels, following one another *in order*. (10) And this GOD designed only as good tidings for you, and that your hearts might thereby rest secure: for victory *is* from GOD alone; and GOD is mighty *and* wise.

¶ (11) When a sleep fell on you as a security from him, R $\frac{2}{16}$
and he sent down upon you water from heaven, that he

(9) *Assistance from your Lord.* "When Muhammad's men saw they could not avoid fighting, they recommended themselves to God's protection; and their Prophet prayed with great earnestness, crying out, 'O God, fulfil that which thou hast promised me: O God, if this party be cut off, thou wilt be no more worshipped on earth.' And he continued to repeat these words till his cloak fell from off his back."—Sale, and the *Tafsīr-i-Raufi*.

A thousand angels. See notes on chap. iii. 13, and 123-125. In chap. iii. 127, the number of angels is given at 3000. The commentators reconcile the discrepancy by saying that at first 1000 angels appeared, "which," says Sale, "were afterwards reinforced with 3000 more. Wherefore some copies, instead of a *thousand*, read *thousands*, in the plural."

(10) See notes on chap. iii. 126.

(11) *Water from heaven.* The following is Baidhāwī's comment as given by Sale:—

"The spot where Muhammad's little army lay was a dry and deep sand, into which their feet sank as they walked, the enemy having the command of the water; and that having fallen asleep, the greater part of them were disturbed with dreams, wherein the devil suggested to them that they could never expect God's assistance in the battle, since they were cut off from the water, and besides suffering the inconvenience of thirst, must be obliged to pray without washing, though they imagined themselves to be the favourites of God, and that they had his Apostle among them. But in the night rain fell so plentifully, that it formed a little brook, and not only supplied them with water for all their uses, but made the sand between them and the infidel army firm enough to bear them; whereupon the diabolical suggestions ceased."

Muir, however, assures us, on the authority of the K. Wāqidi, that the Muslims had secured "the sole command of the water" previous to the fall of rain and the night's comfortable rest. Most likely the rain was interpreted by the ever-sagacious Prophet as a sign of victory granted from heaven, inasmuch as three blessings had resulted therefrom already—(1) sound sleep, (2) water for ceremonial purification instead of sand, and (3) the sand was made solid, and so their "feet were established."

might thereby purify you, and take from you the abomination of Satan, and that he might confirm your hearts, and establish *your* feet thereby. (12) *Also* when thy LORD spake unto the angels, *saying*, Verily I am with you; wherefore confirm those who believe. I will cast a dread into the hearts of the unbelievers. Therefore strike off *their* heads, and strike off all the ends of their *fingers*. (13) This *shall they suffer*, because they have resisted GOD and his Apostle: and whosoever shall oppose GOD and his Apostle, verily GOD *will be* severe in punishing *him*. (14) This *shall be your punishment*; taste it therefore: and the infidels shall *also* suffer the torment of *hell-fire*. (15) O true believers, when ye meet the unbelievers marching *in great numbers against you*, turn not *your* backs unto them: (16) for whoso shall turn his back unto them in that day, unless he turneth aside to fight, or retreateth to *another party of the faithful*,

(12) *Thy Lord spake*. According to Rodwell, the address to the angels ends at "unbelievers," making the following words, "therefore strike," &c., an exhortation to the Muslims. The *Tafsir-i-Raufi* and *Abdul Qâdir* understand these words also to have been addressed to the angels. "The angels did not know," says the *Tafsir-i-Raufi*, "where to strike a fatal blow;" hence the words, "strike off their heads"—literally *smite their necks*—and the allusion to *the ends of their fingers* is understood to include all the members of the body.

Sale understands the exhortation to be addressed to the Muslims. He says:—"This is the punishment expressly assigned the enemies of the Muhammadan religion, though the Muslims did not inflict it on the prisoners they took at Badr, for which they are reprehended in this chapter." The spirit of the passage is certainly very different from that of chap. ii. 256.

(13) *God will be severe*. The punishment will be severe if taken prisoner in the world, and afterwards in the final destruction of the soul.—*Tafsir-i-Raufi*.

(14, 15) The *revelation* is here plainly made Muhammad's vehicle for a military harangue. Was Muhammad sincere in uttering such exhortations as the very words of God? Muslims claim complete inspiration for them, and accept Muhammad's claim to have been simply the mouthpiece of Divinity. Are the apologists for Islâm ready to do the same? If not, the only fair inference they can draw is that he was an impostor. Self-deception cannot be pleaded here. There is every sign of intelligent, deliberate policy. He desires to incite his followers to bold, desperate warfare. They have come to believe him to be inspired, and he never scruples to impose on their credulity for the accomplishment of his ambitious purposes.

shall draw on himself the indignation of GOD, and his abode shall be in hell; an ill journey *shall it be thither!* (17) And ye slew not those *who were slain at Badr yourselves*, but GOD slew them. Neither didst thou, *O Muhammad*, cast the gravel into their eyes, when thou didst seem to cast it; but GOD cast it, that he might prove the true believers by a gracious trial from himself, for GOD heareth and knoweth. (18) This was done that GOD might also weaken the crafty devices of the unbelievers. (19) If ye desire a decision of the matter between us, now hath a decision come unto you: and if ye desist from opposing the Apostle, it will be better for you. But if ye return to attack him, we will also return to his assistance; and your forces shall not be of advantage unto you at all, although they be numerous; for GOD is with the faithful.

|| (20) O true believers, obey GOD and his Apostle, and $R \frac{3}{17}$ turn not back from him, since ye hear the admonitions of

(17) *God slew them.* See note on chap. iii. 13.

God heareth. The commentators say the angelic help at Badr was vouchsafed in answer to Muhammad's prayer.

(19) *Now hath a decision come.* The word translated *decision* (*al fatah*) means also *victory*. The Quraish had prayed for victory. Taking hold of the curtains of the Kaabah, they said, "O God, grant the victory to the superior army, the party that is most rightly directed, and the most honourable." Muhammad derisively plays on the word rendered victory in their prayer, and says, "Now hath a decision come unto you," &c. See *Baidhawi* in Sale's note here.

(20) *God and his Apostle.* This joining of God and his Apostle, so prevalent in this chapter, savours strongly of blasphemy. True, the union intended is not organic or vital, but official, Muhammad being, as he here pretends, the deputy of God. Nevertheless, the union is of such a character, that in the succeeding clause, in the exhortation "turn not back from him," the pronoun may apply to either God or Muhammad, and, to bring all the circumstances of the dispute about spoils into consideration, I think it must be applied to the latter. The assumption of Muslims that God is the speaker does not seem to me to apply here, for, in the first place, the sin of identifying God with a sinful man (*shirk*) would in that case be removed from the Apostle only to be fastened on God; and, secondly, if God were the speaker, why invariably speak of himself in the *third* person? and finally, the reason given for obedience is "since ye hear," i.e., since ye are obedient unto God, being Muslims or *submitters* of yourselves to God. Surely such an exhortation predicates the Apostle as the exhorter. The commentators say that the expression signifies that

the Qurán. (21) And be not as those who say, We hear, when they do not hear. (22) Verily the worst *sort of* beasts in the sight of GOD are the deaf *and* the dumb, who understand not. (23) If GOD had known any good in them, he would certainly have caused them to hear: and if he had caused them to hear, they would surely have turned back and have retired afar off. (24) O true believers, answer GOD and *his* Apostle when he inviteth you unto that which giveth you life; and know that GOD goeth between a man and his heart, and that before him ye shall be assembled. (25) Beware of sedition; it will not affect those

obedience to the Prophet is obedience to God, and *vice versa*. Certainly this is what Muhammad intended when he thus associated his name with that of God.

(22) Abdul Qádir says this verse means that men who hearken not to God are worse than beasts.

(23) *Caused them to hear.* "That is, to hearken to the remonstrances of the Qurán. Some say that the infidels demanded of Muhammad that he should raise Kusai, one of his ancestors, to life, to bear witness to the truth of his mission, saying he was a man of honour and veracity, and they would believe his testimony: but they are here told that it would have been in vain."—Sale.

(24) *That which giveth life, i.e.,* "The knowledge of religion or orthodox doctrine, or crusade, or the declaration of faith in God and his Prophet, or the Qurán—all of which have life-giving power to Muslims."—*Tafsir-i-Raufi*.

God goeth between, &c. "Not only knowing the innermost secrets of his heart, but overruling a man's design, and disposing him either to belief or infidelity."—Sale.

(25) *Sedition.* "The original word signifies any epidemical crime, which involves a number of people in its guilt; and the commentators are divided as to its particular meaning in this place."—Sale.

The *Tafsir-i-Raufi* says by the word *fitna* is intended the heresy and apostasy of the last times, when Muslims will be indifferent to the commands and prohibitions of their religion, indolent in the crusade for the faith, &c.

Others think the allusion is to the conduct of Abu Lubába at the siege of the Bani Quraidha referred to in note on ver. 27 (see Muir's *Life of Mahomet*, vol. iii. p. 272, note), which, however, is improbable. The most probable allusion, to my mind, is the conduct of those who disputed about the spoils of Badr.

It will not affect, &c., i.e., the result of divisions and internal dissensions must lead to common ruin. Muhammad well understood the importance of unity among the faithful. The success of Islám depended on it. Hence he strains every nerve to bring all classes together by a common submission to himself.

who are ungodly among you particularly, *but all of you in general*; and know that GOD is severe in punishing. (26) And remember when ye were few *and* reputed weak in the land, ye feared lest men should snatch you away; but *God* provided you a place of refuge, and he strengthened you with his assistance, and bestowed on you good things, that ye might give thanks. (27) O true believers, deceive not GOD and *his* apostle; neither violate your faith against your own knowledge. (28) And know that your wealth and your children *are* a temptation *unto you*; and that with GOD is a great reward.

|| (29) O true believers, if ye fear GOD, he will grant R $\frac{4}{18}$
you a distinction, and will expiate your sins from you, and will forgive you; for GOD is endued with great liberality. (30) *And call to mind* when the unbelievers

(26) This verse is addressed to the Muhájjarín, or those who fled with Muhammad from Makkah to Madína.

(27) *Deceive not God.* "Al Baidháwi mentions an instance of such treacherous dealing in Abu Lubába, who was sent by Muhammad to the tribe of the Quraidha, then besieged by that prophet, for having broken their league with him, and perfidiously gone over to the enemies at the war of the ditch, to persuade them to surrender at the discretion of Saad Ibn Muádh, prince of the tribe of Aus, their confederates, which proposal they had refused. But Abu Lubába's family and effects being in the hands of those of Quraidha, he acted directly contrary to his commission, and instead of persuading them to accept Saad as their judge, when they asked his advice about it, drew his hand across his throat, signifying that he would put them all to death. However, he had no sooner done this than he was sensible of his crime, and going into a mosque tied himself to a pillar, and remained there seven days without meat or drink, till Muhammad forgave him."—*Salé*.

(28) Abdul Qádir says the allusion here is to the *children* of the refugees, still in Makkah, and to the *wealth* acquired by warring against the unbelievers. The former tempted them to lukewarmness in the struggle with the Makkans, and the latter tempted them to concealment and falsehood in reporting the spoil taken by them.

(29) *A distinction, i.e.,* "A direction that you may distinguish between truth and falsehood, or success in battle to distinguish the believers from the infidels, or the like."—*Salé*.

Will expiate your sins. See note on chap. iii. 194.

(30) "When the Makkans heard of the league entered into by Muhammad with those of Madína, being apprehensive of the consequence, they held a council, whereat they say the devil assisted in

plotted against thee, that they might either detain thee *in bonds*, or put to death, or expel thee *the city*; and they plotted *against thee*: but GOD laid a plot *against them*; and GOD is the best layer of plots. (31) And when our signs are repeated unto them, they say, We have heard; if we pleased we could certainly pronounce *a composition* like unto this: this is nothing but fables of the ancients. (32) And when they said, O God, if this be the truth from thee, rain down stones upon us from heaven, or inflict on us some *other* grievous punishment. (33) But GOD was

the likeness of an old man of Najd. The point under consideration being what they should do with Muhammad, Abu'l Bakhtári was of opinion that he should be imprisoned, and the room walled up, except a little hole, through which he should have necessities given him till he died. This the devil opposed, saying that he might probably be released by some of his own party. Hásham Ibn Ámru was for banishing him, but his advice also the devil rejected, insisting that Muhammad might engage some other tribes in his interest, and make war on them. At length Abu Jahl gave his opinion for putting him to death, and proposed the manner, which was unanimously approved."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*.

God laid a plot. "Revealing their conspiracy to Muhammad, and miraculously assisting him to deceive them and make his escape, and afterwards drawing them to the battle of Badr."—Sale.

See note on Prelim. Disc., p. 85.

(31) *If we pleased, we could, &c.* This verse proves very clearly that Muhammad's contemporaries were not convinced of the miraculous character of the Qurán, as claimed by Muhammad. See chaps. ii. 23 and xvii. 90, and notes there. Arnold in his *Islám and Christianity*, pp. 324–328, shows very conclusively that the style of the Qurán was not admitted to be of superior excellence by many competent judges in the early days of Islám. The policy of Muhammad's claim, and therefore of the only miracle or *sign* he could ever point to as testimony to his claim to be a prophet, was exposed a thousand years ago by al Kindí, an Arab Christian scholar in the service of the Khalífah al Mámún, whose work has lately been discovered. He declares it "to be destitute of order, style, elegance, or accuracy of composition or diction," and claims that the poetical works of al Qáis and other contemporaries of Muhammad were superior in every aspect to the Qurán. Having read the Qurán of Musailama the false prophet, he declared it to be superior in style to the work of Muhammad. See also chap. vi. 94, and note there.

Fables of the ancients. See note on chaps. vi. 24 and vii. 203.

(32) *Rain down stones.* Baidhāwī ascribes this speech to al Nudhár Ibn al Hárith. Abdul Qádir says it was Abu Láhab.

not *disposed* to punish them, while thou wast with them; nor was GOD *disposed* to punish them when they asked pardon. (34) But they have nothing to *offer in excuse* why GOD should not punish them, since they hindered *the believers* from *visiting* the holy temple, although they are not the guardians thereof. The guardians thereof are those only who fear *God*; but the greater part of them know it not. (35) And their prayer at the house of *God* is no other than whistling and clapping of the hands. Taste therefore the punishment, for that ye have been unbelievers. (36) They who believe not expend their

(33) *While thou wast with them.* The commentators here annotate as follows: "Judgment receded before the footsteps of Muhammad while at Makkah, but now had judgment overtaken them (the Makkans). In like manner, while the sinner remains contrite and repents, he escapes the punishment of his sin, be it ever so great. The prophet said, 'Sinners have refuge in two things: in my person and in repentance.'"—*Tafsir-i-Raufi*.

Nor . . . when they asked pardon. "Saying, *God forgive us!* Some of the commentators, however, suppose the persons who asked pardon were certain believers who stayed among the infidels; and others think the meaning to be that God would not punish them provided they asked pardon."—*Sale*.

(34) *They hindered, &c.* As at Hudaibaya, see Prelim. Disc., p. 89. *The guardians . . . are those . . . who fear God.* This was said to justify the claim that the Quraish were not the guardians of the Kaabah. They had the hereditary right to the guardianship of the temple, that right having been conceded to the great progenitor of Muhammad himself, Kusai, nearly two centuries before. See Muir's *Life of Mahomet*, vol. i. p. ccii. Muhammad's claim must have been grounded on this rejection on account of idolatry, and therefore could only apply to those of his fellow-tribesmen who still persisted in their adherence to the old idolatry. For we find this same tribe confirmed in the guardianship of the Kaabah after the conquest of Makkah. See note on chap. iv. 56. Even the Quraish might not guard the temple unless they had within them the fear of God.

(35) *Whistling and clapping.* "It is said that they used to go round the Kaabah naked (see notes on chap. vii. 28-34), both men and women, whistling at the same time through their fingers and clapping their hands. Or, as others say, they made this noise on purpose to disturb Muhammad when at his prayers, pretending to be at prayers also themselves."—*Sale, Baidhawî*.

Taste therefore, now, defeat at Badr and afterwards suffering in exile and imprisonment, and at last at the judgment-day taste the fire.—*Tafsir-i-Raufi*.

(36) "The persons particularly meant in this passage were twelve

wealth to obstruct the way of GOD: they shall expend it, but afterwards it shall become *matter of sighing and regret* unto them, and at length they shall be overcome; (37) and the unbelievers shall be gathered together into hell; (38) that GOD may distinguish the wicked from the good, and may throw the wicked one upon the other, and may gather them all in a heap, and cast them into hell. These are they who shall perish.

R⁵₁.

|| (39) Say unto the unbelievers, that if they desist *from opposing thee*, what is already past shall be forgiven them; but if they return *to attack thee*, the exemplary punishment of the former *opposers of the prophets* is already past, *and the like shall be inflicted on them*. (40) Therefore fight against them until there be no opposition *in favour of idolatry*, and the religion be wholly GOD's. If

of the Quraish, who gave each of them ten camels every day to be killed for provisions for their army in the expedition of Badr; or, according to others, the owners of the effects brought by the caravan, who gave great part of them to the support of the succours from Makkah. It is also said that Abu Sufián, in the expedition of Ohod, hired two thousand Arabs, who cost him a considerable sum, besides the auxiliaries which he had obtained *gratis*."—*Sale, Baidháwi*.

They shall be overcome. The *Tafsir-i-Raufi* regards this as a prophecy of the conquest of Makkah. The verses following, however, clearly show this statement to be based upon the assurance that God will cause the righteous to triumph. The victory at Badr was looked upon as clearly indicating the Divine favour. It therefore portended the eventual triumph of the Muslims. Such prophecies are of daily occurrence.

(39) *If they return.* This probably refers to the declaration of the Quraish that they would return to avenge the defeat of Badr.

The exemplary punishment, &c. Abdul Qádir translates, "The custom of the former (peoples) has passed before them." There is in the saying a subtle allusion to the defeat of the Quraish at Badr, in accordance with the doom of infidels in former times.

(40) *Fight against them.* See notes on chap. ii. 190-193. Mr. Bosworth Smith (*Mohammed and Mohammedanism*, 2d ed. p. 201) thinks that Muhammad was constrained to draw the sword by force of circumstances and the hatred of his enemies. The "perfect model of the saintly virtues" found in the Makkan prophet is thus suddenly and "by accident" converted into a general, and so we have "the mixed and sullied character of the prophet-soldier Muhammad." It is certain that all the exhortations of the later chapters of the Qurán, like that of the text, are entirely inconsistent with the spirit

they desist, verily GOD seeth that which they do; (41) but if they turn back, know that GOD is your patron; *he is the best patron, and the best helper.*

|| (42) And know that whenever ye gain any *spoils*, a fifth part thereof belongeth unto GOD, and to the Apostle, and *his* kindred, and the orphans, and the poor, and the traveller; if ye believe in GOD, and that which we have sent down unto our servant on the day of distinction, on the day whereon the two armies met: and GOD is almighty. (43) When ye were *encamped* on the hithermost side of the valley, and they were *encamped* on the farther side, and the caravan *was* below you; and if ye had mutually

TENTH
SIPARA.

of the teaching of the earlier chapters. They are not, however, inconsistent with the spirit of the Arabian Prophet. His savage cruelty and cold-hearted revenge, exhibited in the very beginning of his soldier career, are in too strong contrast with saintly virtues to permit us to believe in the reality of the saint. It was policy rather than saintliness which withheld the command to fight, and when the time came to fight, we find Muhammad leading the fray—not carried along with it by force. See on this point Prelim. Disc., p. 83.

Until there be no opposition, i.e., "Until the infidels cease to oppose."—*Abdul Qādir*. The original reference was to the opposition of the Quraish, but the spirit of the passage makes it apply to all opposers of Islām.

(42) *A fifth part.* "According to this law, a fifth part of the spoils is appropriated to the particular uses here mentioned, and the other four-fifths are to be equally divided among those who were present at the action; but in what manner or to whom the first fifth is to be distributed, the Muhammadan doctors differ, as we have elsewhere observed (Prelim. Disc., pp. 224–226). Though it be the general opinion that this verse was revealed at Badr, yet there are some who suppose it was revealed in the expedition against the Jewish tribe of Qainuqāa, which happened a little above a month after."—*Sale, Baidhāwī*.

Sent down . . . on the day of distinction, i.e., "of the battle of Badr, which is so called because it distinguished the true believers from the infidels."—*Sale*. The plain import of the passage is that the law of spoils was given to *Muhammad* at Badr, and therefore the "general opinion" as to the date of revelation is certainly correct.

(43) *The caravan was below you, i.e., "by the sea-side, making the best of their way to Makkah."*—*Sale*.

Ye would certainly have declined, &c. Owing to the superior number of the Quraish. Rodwell translates the clause thus: "Ye would have failed the engagement;" but this may mean that the Muslims

appointed to come to a battle, ye would certainly have declined the appointment; but *ye were brought to an engagement without any previous appointment*, that GOD might accomplish the thing which was decreed to be done; (44) that he who perisheth *hereafter* may perish after demonstrative evidence, and that he who liveth may live by *the same* evidence; GOD *both* heareth and knoweth. (45) When thy LORD caused *the enemy* to appear unto thee in thy sleep few *in number*; and if he had caused them to appear numerous unto thee, ye would have been disheartened, and would have disputed concerning the matter: but GOD preserved *you from this*; for he knoweth the innermost parts of the breasts of *men*. (46) And when he caused them to appear unto you when ye met to be

would have been *defeated*, whereas the meaning intended is that they would have been afraid to fight at all.

The thing . . . decreed. Lit. *the thing to be done, i.e.*, "By granting a miraculous victory to the faithful, and overwhelming their enemies for the conviction of the latter and the confirmation of the former."
—Sale, Baidhāwī.

(45, 46) On the question of discrepancy between this passage and chap. iii. 13, Sale, on the authority of Baidhāwī, Jalāluddīn, and Yahya, says—

"This seeming contradictory to a passage in the third chapter, where it is said that the Muslims appeared to the infidels to be twice their own number, the commentators reconcile the matter by telling us that just before the battle began the Prophet's party seemed fewer than they really were, to draw the enemy to an engagement; but that so soon as the armies were fully engaged, they appeared superior, to terrify and dismay their adversaries. It is related that Abn Jahl at first thought them so inconsiderable a handful, that he said one camel would be as much as they could all eat."

The fact upon which this miracle is based is thus given by Muir: "Mahomet had barely arrayed his line of battle when the advanced column of the Coreish appeared over the rising sands in front. Their greatly superior numbers were concealed by the fall of the ground behind, and this imparted confidence to the Muslims."—*Life of Mahomet*, vol. iii. p. 100. Yet all this is represented here as the fulfilment of a prophetic vision, granted to the Prophet on the night preceding the battle, "with which Muhammad had acquainted his companions for their encouragement."—Sale. But unfortunately for this vision, we are credibly informed by the historians (Kātib-i-Wāqidi, &c.) that on the day previous Muhammad, having captured the water-carriers of the Quraish at the well of Badr, had learned from them the approximate number of his enemies.

few in your eyes, and diminished your *numbers* in their eyes; that GOD might accomplish the thing which *was decreed to be done*; and unto GOD shall *all* things return.

|| (47) O true believers, when ye meet a party of the *R 6.2*
infidels, stand firm, and remember GOD frequently, that ye may prosper: (48) and obey GOD and his Apostle, and be not refractory, lest ye be discouraged, and your success depart from you; but persevere with patience, for GOD is with those who persevere. (49) And be not as those who went out of their houses in an insolent manner, and to appear with ostentation unto men, and turned aside from the way of GOD; for GOD comprehendeth that which they do. (50) And *remember* when Satan prepared their works for them, and said, No man shall prevail against you to-

(47) Here begins a military harangue, characteristic of the prophet-soldier of Madīna. Obedience to "GOD and his Apostle" is urged by every motive of piety and self-interest.

(48) *Lest . . . your success depart.* The quarrel over the distribution of the booty might well awaken fears for the future success of his warfare. Hence the wisdom of his determination to divide the spoils himself as the agent of GOD to whom they belonged (ver. 1). Whilst admiring the wisdom of the general, will any one believe in the sincerity of the prophet?

(49) *Those who went out, &c.* "These were the Makkans, who, marching to the assistance of the caravan, and being come as far as Juhfa, were there met by a messenger from Abu Sufián, to acquaint them that he thought himself out of danger, and therefore they might return home; upon which Abu Jahl, to give the greater opinion of the courage of himself and his comrades, and of their readiness to assist their friends, swore that they would not return till they had been at Badr, and had there drunk wine and entertained those who should be present and diverted themselves with singing-women. The event of which bravado was very fatal, several of the principal Quraish, and Abu Jahl in particular, losing their lives in the expedition."—*Sale, Bairdháwi.*

"Jihád (crusading) is worship, but when done in pride and vain-glory it is not acceptable to GOD."—*Abdul Qádir.*

(50) *Remember when Satan, &c.* "Some understand this passage figuratively of the private instigation of the devil, and of the defeating of his designs, and the hopes with which he had inspired the idolaters. But others take the whole literally, and tell us that when the Quraish on their march bethought themselves of the enmity between them and the tribe of Kanána, who were masters of the country about Badr, that consideration would have prevailed on them to return, had not the devil appeared in the likeness of Suráqah

day; and I will surely be near *to assist* you. But when the two armies appeared in sight of each other, he turned back on his heels, and said, Verily I am clear of you: I certainly see that which ye see not; I fear GOD, for GOD is severe in punishing.

R 7.

|| (51) When the hypocrites, and those in whose hearts *there was* an infirmity, said, Their religion hath deceived these *men*: but whosoever confideth in GOD *cannot be deceived*; for GOD *is* mighty and wise. (52) And if thou didst behold when the angels caused the unbelievers to die: they strike their faces and their backs, and *say unto* -

Ibn Málik, a principal person of that tribe, and promised them that they should not be molested, and that himself would go with them. But when they came to join battle, and the devil saw the angels descending to the assistance of the Muslims, he retired; and al Hárith Ibn Hásham, who had him then by the hand, asking him whither he was going, and if he intended to betray them at such a juncture, he answered in the words of this passage, 'I am clear of you all, for I see that which ye see not;' meaning the celestial succours. They say further, that when the Quraish, on their return, laid the blame of their overthrow on Suráqah, he swore that he did not so much as know of their march till he heard they were routed: and afterwards, when they embraced Muhammadanism, they were satisfied it was the devil."—*Salé, Baidháwi, Jaláluddín.*

Wáqkídi gives the circumstantial evidence of a witness regarding the devil's behaviour on this occasion, his jumping into the sea, what he said, &c. See Muir's *Life of Mahomet*, vol. iii. p. 125, note.

(51) *Their religion hath deceived these men.* This saying is ascribed by some to the Madína hypocrites, who, seeing the fewness of the Muslims, thought their purpose to attack so large an army a piece of folly, attributable only to the madness of fanaticism. But the fact that the Muslims went forth from Madína to plunder a comparatively defenceless caravan, and not to attack the army of the Quraish, is against this interpretation. Others therefore explain that there were among the Quraish certain persons who were partially persuaded of the truth of Islám, but declined to flee to Madína with other refugees. These went along with the Quraish, intending to go over to the Muslims provided they should be more in number than they, but seeing the Muslims to be few in number, they said *their religion hath deceived them.* See the *Tafsir-i-Raúfi in loco.*

(52) *When the angels, &c.* "This passage is generally understood of the angels who slew the infidels at Badr, and who fought (as the commentators pretend) with iron maces, which shot forth flames of fire at every stroke (*Baidháwi, Jaláluddín*). Some, however, imagine that the words hint, at least, at the examination of the sepulchre, which the Muhammadans believe every man must undergo after

them, Taste ye the pain of burning: (53) *this shall ye suffer* for that which your hands have set before you, and because GOD is not unjust towards *his* servants. (54) *These have acted* according to the wont of the people of Pharaoh, and of those before them, who disbelieved in the signs of GOD: therefore GOD took them away in their iniquity; for GOD *is* mighty and severe in punishing. (55) *This hath come to pass* because GOD changeth not *his* grace, where-with he hath favoured any people, until they change that which is in their souls; and for that GOD *both* heareth and seeth. (56) According to the wont of the people of Pharaoh, and of those before them, who charged the signs of their LORD with imposture, *have they acted*: wherefore we destroyed them in their sins, and we drowned the people of Pharaoh; for they were all unjust persons. (57) Verily the worst cattle in the sight of GOD are those who are *obstinate* infidels, and will not believe. (58) As to those who enter into a league with thee, and afterwards violate their league at every *convenient* opportunity, and fear not *God*; (59) if thou take them in war, disperse, by *making them an example*, those *who shall come* after them, that they may be warned; (60) or if thou apprehend treachery from any people, throw back *their league* unto

death, and will be very terrible to the unbelievers" (Prelim. Disc., p. 127).—*Sale*.

(53) *Which your hands, &c.* See note on chap. ii. 94.

(54–56) See notes on chap. vii. 128–137.

God changeth not his grace. This passage recognises the freedom of the will, and consequently man's responsibility for his sin. Comp. chap. iii. 145, note.

(57) See note on ver. 22. The allusion here is probably to the Jews, either the Bani Qainuqáa or the Bani Quraidha. See Muir's *Life of Mahomet*, vol. iii. p. 135.

(58) *Afterwards violate their league*, "as did the tribe of Quraidha."—*Sale*. So too the *Tafsir-i-Raufi*. See the story of the treachery of this tribe in Muir's *Life of Mahomet*, vol. iii. chap. xvii.

(59) *Making them an example, i.e.*, by slaying them. How well this command was performed let the 800 gory heads of the Bani Quraidha tell.—Muir's *Life of Mahomet*, vol. iii. p. 278.

(60) *If thou apprehend treachery.* The road to covenant-breaking is here made easy. A suspicion of the Prophet or of his successors that the Jews or Christians with whom covenant had been made were

them with like treatment; for GOD loveth not the treacherous.

R $\frac{s}{4}$.

(61) And think not that the unbelievers have escaped *God's vengeance*, for they shall not weaken *the power of God*. (62) Therefore prepare against them what force ye are able, and troops of horse, whereby ye may strike a terror into the enemy of GOD, and your enemy, and into other *infidels* besides them, whom ye know not, *but* GOD knoweth them. And whatsoever ye shall expend in the defence of the religion of GOD, it shall be repaid unto you, and ye shall not be treated unjustly. (63) And if they incline unto peace, do thou *also* incline thereto; and put thy confidence in GOD, for it is he who heareth *and* knoweth. (64) But if they seek to deceive thee, verily GOD *will be* thy support. It is he who hath strengthened

treacherous is made a sufficient ground for breaking that covenant. As an illustration of this principle, see Muhammad's conduct toward the Bani Nadhîr, described in Muir's *Life of Mahomet*, vol. iii. p. 209.

Like treatment. Lit. *render them the like*. The drift of this passage is so plainly contrary to the principles of honourable dealing, as to make even the Muslim commentators feel the need of softening the tone of it as far as possible. Baidhâwî seems to justify the course here prescribed as fair. Abdul Qâdir says the meaning is, that in case of a suspicion of treachery, the correspondence should be conducted with that *caution* which marked their dealings before conditions of peace were made. He concludes his comment here by saying, "There is no immoral teaching here." Yet notwithstanding the pious sentiment which follows at the end of this verse, *God loveth not the treacherous*, we are left with the conviction that counter-treachery is here justified as a means of self-defence. Of course it is only justifiable when used by Muslims.

(61) *Think not*. Sale says, "Some copies read it in the third person, *Let not the unbelievers think,*" &c.

Who have escaped, i.e., from Badr.

(62) *Prepare . . . what force ye are able*. Prepare for the holy war against the infidels. Primarily the allusion was to the Quraish and the treacherous Jews, but now it has a general application. See Abdul Qâdir and *Tafsîr-i-Raufi*.

Troops of horse. Muhammad here encourages the formation of cavalry in his army. To all such he promises repayment. Later on he ordered that the spoil of a horseman should be three times that of a footman. From chap. lix. ver. 6 we learn that Muhammad claimed and appropriated all the spoil of the expedition against the Bani Nadhîr, because he alone rode on horseback.

thee with his help, and with *that of* the faithful, and hath united their hearts. If thou hadst expended whatever *riches are* in the earth, thou couldst not have united their hearts, but GOD united them; for he *is* mighty *and* wise.

|| (65) O Prophet, GOD is thy support, and such of the R $\frac{9}{5}$.
true believers who followeth thee. (66) O Prophet, stir up the faithful to war: if twenty of you persevere *with constancy*, they shall overcome two hundred, and if there be one hundred of you, they shall overcome a thousand of those who believe not; because they are a people which do not understand. (67) Now hath GOD eased you, for he knew that ye were weak. If there be an hundred of you who persevere *with constancy*, they shall overcome two hundred; and if there be a thousand of you, they shall overcome two thousand, by the permission of GOD; for GOD is with those who persevere. (68) It hath not been *granted* unto any prophet that he should possess captives,

(64) *Hath united their hearts.* The *Tafsir-i-Raufi* thinks the allusion here is to the union of the tribes of Aus and Khazraj, who had been deadly enemies for more than a century before. It might, however, refer to union between other tribes as well.

God united them, i.e., by the bonds of Islám. The union of the tribes of Arabia under the banner of Islám is regarded by Muslims as a miracle, and therefore a proof of their Prophet's mission.

(65) "This passage, as some say, was revealed in a plain called al Baida, between Makkah and Madína, during the expedition of Badr; and, as others, in the sixth year of the Prophet's mission, on the occasion of Omar's embracing Muhammadanism."—*Salé*.

(66, 67) These verses were revealed at different times, but belonging to the same subject, have been grouped together by the compilers. Compare with Lev. xxvi. 8 and Josh. xxiii. 10. The *Tafsir-i-Raufi* says both verses were intended to arouse a spirit of fortitude in battle. As a result of the first injunction, that one Muslim should stand against ten infidels, one of the faithful was slain; whereupon that command was abrogated, and the more moderate one given in its place, which is introduced by the words *Now hath God eased you* (from the rigour of the first command), *for he knew that ye were weak.*

By the permission of God. One would naturally conclude that the first command might have stood on this ground.

(68) *Any prophet.* This verse was given to justify the cruelty of Muhammad towards the captives taken at Badr, many of whom were put to death in cold blood. But for the merciful pleading of Abu Baqr, all would have met a similar fate. The apology for this cruelty here given is that all warrior-prophets had been obliged to

until he hath made a great slaughter of the *infidels* in the earth. Ye seek the accidental *goods* of this world, but GOD regardeth the life to come; and GOD is mighty and wise. (69) Unless a revelation had been previously deli-

make "a great slaughter of the infidels" before they could succeed. Those who would paint the character of Muhammad in soft colours are guilty of deliberate misrepresentation. See on this subject Muir's *Life of Mahomet*, vol. iii. pp. 113-118.

A great slaughter. "Because severity ought to be used where circumstances require it, though clemency be more preferable where it may be exercised with safety. While the Muhammadans therefore were weak, and their religion in its infancy, God's pleasure was that the opposers of it should be cut off, as is particularly directed in this chapter. For which reason they are here upbraided with their preferring the lucre of the ransom to their duty."—Sale.

Ye seek the . . . goods. It would seem that in the Prophet's opinion the Muslims were not so much actuated by feelings of mercy in pleading for the lives of their Makkan captives as by a desire for the ransom-money.

(69) *Unless a revelation, &c.* Lit. a writing—*kitáb*. Abdul Qádir translates thus: "*Had this not been written in God's decrees,*" viz., that many of the captives would be converted to Islám. Muir says, "It may simply mean, 'Had there not been a previous decree to the contrary, a grievous punishment had overtaken you.'"—*Life of Mahomet*, vol. iii. p. 118, note.

This was a message, leaving it with Muhammad to decide whether the prisoners taken at Badr should be slain, or whether they should be ransomed, on condition that there should be an equal number of the Muslims slain at Ohod. Tradition tells us that Muhammad decided to receive the ransoms on the ground that when the Muslims should be slain, they would inherit Paradise and the crown of martyrdom.—Muir's *Life of Mahomet*, vol. iii. pp. 117, 118.

Sale gives the following, taken from Muslim authorities, who felt constrained to place the responsibility of the vindictive spirit shown by their Prophet towards his enemies to the credit of others:—

"Among the seventy prisoners whom the Muslims took in this battle were al Abbás, one of Muhammad's uncles, and Okail, the son of Abu Tálib and brother of Ali. When they were brought before Muhammad, he asking the advice of his companions what should be done with them, Abu Baqr was for releasing them on their paying ransom, saying that they were near relations to the Prophet, and God might possibly forgive them on their repentance; but Omar was for striking off their heads, as professed patrons of infidelity. Muhammad did not approve of the latter advice, but observed that Abu Baqr resembled Abraham, who interceded for offenders, and that Omar was like Noah, who prayed for the utter extirpation of the wicked antediluvians; and thereupon it was agreed to accept a ransom from them and their fellow-captives. Soon after which, Omar, going into the Prophet's tent, found him and Abu Baqr

vered from GOD, verily a severe punishment had been inflicted on you for *the ransom* which ye took *from the captives at Badr*. (70) Eat therefore of what ye have acquired, *that which is lawful and good*; for GOD is gracious and merciful.

|| (71) O Prophet, say unto the captives who are in your hands, If GOD shall know any good *to be* in your hearts, R $\frac{10}{6}$.

weeping, and asking them the reason of their tears, Muhammad acquainted him that this verse had been revealed condemning their ill-timed lenity towards their prisoners, and that they had narrowly escaped the Divine vengeance for it, adding, that if God had not passed the matter over, they had certainly been destroyed to a man, excepting only Omar and Saad Ibn Mu'adh, a person of as great severity, and who was also for putting the prisoners to death." See also note on chap. iii. 140.

It seems that the fierce vindictive spirit apparent in the Qurán at this period was due in some measure at least to the defeat at Ohod. Yet, excepting a few personal enemies of the Prophet, who were summarily executed, all the prisoners were ransomed with the hearty consent of Muhammad himself, who not only needed the ransom price as a compensation to his followers, who were sorely grieved and disappointed at the loss of the caravan they had hoped to capture, but he also hoped for the conversion of some of the captive Quraish. See below on ver. 71. But the battle at Ohod, resulting in the defeat of Muhammad and the slaughter of many of the faithful, not only aroused among the Muslims a bitter desire for vengeance, but required an explanation. Why this defeat? Why were the favourites of Heaven smitten before the infidels? These questions are answered in the latter part of chapter iii. Now, as the number of infidels killed at Badr was raised by the Qurán itself from forty-nine to *seventy* (chap. iii. 140), in order to correspond with the *seventy* Muslims killed at Ohod, it is almost certain that the spirit of the Prophet after Ohod has been, so to speak, forced back upon Badr.

A severe punishment. "That is, had not the ransom been, in strictness, lawful for you to accept, by God's having in general terms allowed you the spoil and the captives, ye had been severely punished. . . . Yet did not this crime go absolutely unpunished neither; for in the battle of Ohod the Muslims lost seventy men, equal to the number of prisoners taken at Badr; which was so ordered by God, as a retaliation or atonement for the same."—Sale.

(70) *Eat therefore, i.e.,* "Of the ransom which ye have received of your prisoners. For it seems, on this rebuke, they had some scruple of conscience whether they might convert it to their own use or not."—Sale, *Ba dháwi*.

(71) *Say unto the captives.* This was said in the hope that the captive Quraish might yet be induced to profess Islám, and this hope was in some measure realised.

he will give you better than what hath been taken from you; and he will forgive you, for GOD *is* gracious and merciful. (72) But if they seek to deceive thee, verily they have deceived GOD; wherefore he hath given *thee* power over them: and GOD *is* knowing and wise. (73) Moreover, they who have believed, and have fled their country, and employed their substance and their persons in fighting for the religion of GOD, and they who have given *the Prophet* a refuge *among them*, and have assisted *him*, these *shall be deemed* the one nearest of kin to the

He will give you better, &c. "That is, if ye repent and believe, God will make you abundant retribution for the ransom ye have now paid. It is said that this passage was revealed on the particular account of al Abbās, who being obliged by Muhammad, though his uncle, to ransom both himself and his two nephews, Okail and Naufal Ibn al Hārith, complained that he should be reduced to beg alms of the Quraish as long as he lived. Whereupon Muhammad asked him what was become of the gold which he delivered to Omm al Fadhl when he left Makkah, telling her that he knew not what might befall him in the expedition, and therefore, if he lost his life, she might keep it herself for the use of her and her children. Al Abbās demanded who told him this; to which Muhammad replied that God had revealed it to him. And upon this al Abbās immediately professed Islām, declaring that none could know of that affair except God, because he gave her the money at midnight. Some years after, al Abbās reflecting on this passage, confessed it to be fulfilled; for he was then not only possessed of a large substance, but had the custody of the well Zamzam, which, he said, he preferred to all the riches of Makkah."—*Sule, Baidhāwī*.

(72) *If they seek to deceive thee.* Of this passage Muir says:—"This is explained to mean 'deceit in not paying the ransom agreed upon;' but it seems an unlikely interpretation, as the ransom was ordinarily paid down on the spot. It may be a significant intimation that those who came over to Islām would be released without ransom;—the deceit contemplated being a treacherous confession of faith followed by desertion to Makkah."—*Life of Mahomet*, vol. iii. p. 119, note.

The same thing is probably intended by the statement of the previous verse, "He will forgive you," &c.

He hath given thee power over them. The prophet-general of Madīna speaks in different terms from those of the "warner" of Makkah. Comp. chap. lxxxviii. 21, 22.

(73) *Who . . . have fled, &c.* The Muhājirīn, or refugees, a term at first applicable only to those who fled from Makkah, but afterwards to all who fled to the Prophet's standard.

They who have assisted, i.e., the Ansārs, or Helpers. This term at

other. But they who have believed, but have not fled their country, shall have no *right of* kindred at all with you, until they *also* fly. Yet if they ask assistance of you on account of religion, *it belongeth* unto you to *give them* assistance; except against a people between whom and yourselves *there shall be* a league *subsisting*: and GOD seeth that which ye do. (74) And as to the infidels, let them be *deemed* of kin the one to the other. Unless ye do this, there will be a sedition in the earth, and grievous corruption. (75) But as for them who have believed, and left their country, and have fought for GOD's true religion, and who have allowed *the Prophet* a retreat *among* them, and have assisted *him*, these are really believers; they shall receive mercy and an honourable provision. (76) And they who have believed since, and have fled their

first applied only to those of Madína who identified themselves with Islám, but other people from the neighbouring tribes having put themselves under the leadership of Muhammad, and having helped him repeatedly, the term was applied to all who allied themselves to Muhammad.

Nearest of kin. "And shall consequently inherit one another's substance, preferably to their relations by blood. And this, they say, was practised for some time, the Muhájjirín and Ansárs being judged heirs to one another, exclusive of the deceased's other kindred, till this passage was abrogated by the following:—*Those who are related by blood shall be deemed the nearest of kin to each other.*"—*Sale.*

Abdul Qádir thinks the relationships of Muslims referred to here to pertain to *faith* only and to the future life, and thus reconciles this verse with ver. 76. But there is nothing in the language to warrant such an interpretation. As a matter of policy this law was inaugurated in order to bind the Muslims together in the earlier days of the Hijra, but it could not long bear the pressure of its own weight, and hence was abrogated by the law of ver. 76.

(74) This verse illustrates the political sagacity of Muhammad. He divides all Arabs into two classes, and *unites* all his following, from whatever quarter they might come, against the fragmentary elements of the opposition.

(75) This verse corresponds with ver. 73, except in so far as the change of law required a change in the language. I think it very probable that this verse gives the *revised reading* of ver. 73, and was intended to take its place in the Qurán.

(76) See notes on ver. 73, also notes on chap. iv. 6-13.

country, and have fought with you, these *also* are of you. And those who are related by consanguinity *shall be deemed* the nearest of kin to each other *preferably to strangers* according to the book of GOD: GOD knoweth all things.

CHAPTER IX.

ENTITLED SURAT AL TAUBA (REPENTANCE, IMMUNITY).

Revealed at Madína.

INTRODUCTION.

OF the many titles given to this chapter, those of *Immunity* and *Repentance* are most commonly known. The former title is based on the first verse, the latter on the third verse, or, perhaps better still, upon the spirit of the whole chapter, which is a call to repentance to a multitude of disaffected and lukewarm Muslims and Arabs who declined to accompany Muhammad in his expedition to Tabúq. Sale says:—"It is observable that this chapter alone has not the auspiciatory form, *In the name of the most merciful God*, prefixed to it; the reason of which omission, as some think, was, because these words imply a concession of security, which is utterly taken away by this chapter after a fixed time; wherefore some have called it the chapter of *Punishment*; others say that Muhammad (who died soon after he had received this chapter), having given no direction where it should be placed, nor for the prefixing the Bismillah to it, as had been done to the other chapters, and the argument of this chapter bearing a near resemblance to that of the preceding, his companions differed about it, some saying that both chapters were but one, and together made the seventh of the seven long ones, and others that they were two distinct chapters; whereupon, to accommodate the dispute, they left a space between them, but did not interpose the distinction of the Bismillah.

"It is agreed that this chapter was the last which was revealed, and the only one, as Muhammad declared, which was revealed entire and at once, except the one hundred and tenth.

"Some will have the two last verses to have been revealed at Makkah."

The statement that this chapter was the last revealed is based
VOL. II. S

upon the testimony of tradition, but the internal evidence fixes the date of most of the revelations within the ninth year of the Hijra. With this also Muslim tradition agrees. It would therefore appear that during one whole year no revelation was vouchsafed to Muhammad, which is contrary to other traditions, which assign portions of chapters ii., v., &c., to the time of the farewell pilgrimage in the end of A.H. 10.

The statement that this whole chapter was revealed at one time is also unfounded, as will be seen by reference to the date of the revelations given below.

Probable Date of the Revelations.

Following Noeldeke for the most part, vers. 1-12 belong to the latter part of A.H. 9, when Muhammad sent Ali to Makkah to notify to the tribes assembled there that henceforth the Holy Temple would be closed against idolaters. Vers. 13-16, however, belong to an earlier period, viz., A.H. 8, when Muhammad planned his expedition for the capture of Makkah. To these may be added vers. 17-24, which, however, mark the time when Muhammad first thought of conquering his native city. Some would place vers. 23 and 24 among the revelations enunciated previous to the expedition to Tabúq in A.H. 9.

Vers. 25-27 mention the victory at Hunain (Shawál, A.H. 8), and belong to the period immediately following the siege of Tayif, i.e., Dzu'l Qáada, A.H. 8.

Ver. 28 seems to be connected with vers. 1-12, and therefore belongs to the latter part of A.H. 9.

Vers. 29-128 refer to the events connected with the expedition to Tabúq, which occurred in Rajab of A.H. 9. They were not, however, all enunciated at one time, but partly before the expedition, partly on the march, and partly after the return.

Vers. 29-35 may be referred to the time of arrival at Tabúq, when the Christian prince, John of Aylah, tendered his submission to Muhammad, paying tribute (Jazya).

Vers. 36 and 37, referring to the abolition of the intercalary year and the fixing the time of the pilgrimage in accordance with the changes of the lunar year, must be assigned to the Dzu'l Hajja of A.H. 10.

The remaining verses Noeldeke distributes as follows :—*Previous to the expedition*, vers. 38-41 (of which, according to Ibn Hishám, 924, ver. 41 is the oldest of the whole Sura), and 49-73. *On the march*, vers. 42-48 and 82-97 (of which ver. 85, if it refers to the death of Abdullah Ibn Ubbai, must have been added later on). *After the*

return, vers. 74-81 and 98-113, of which vers. 108-111 were enunciated just before the entry into Madina.

Vers. 114-117, if they refer to the visit of Muhammad to the tomb of his mother, Amīna Bint Walīb, as many authorities state, must be referred to the latter part of A.H. 6. But if they refer to the death of Abdullah Ibn Ubbai, they belong to a period about two months later than the return from Tabûq. This latter seems to be founded on the best authority.

Vers. 118 and 119 were enunciated about fifty days after the return from Tabûq (see note on ver. 119). The remaining verses, excepting 129 and 130, which are probably of Makkan origin, belong to the time immediately after the return from Tabûq.

Principal Subjects.

	VERSES
{ Four months' immunity proclaimed to idolaters	1, 2,
{ After four months, all idolaters to be slain, with exception of those with whom treaties have been made	3-5
Ignorant idolaters to be taught the religion of Islām, after which, if they repent, they are to be spared alive	5, 6
No new league to be made with idolaters	7
Idolaters are not to be trusted	8-10
Penitent idolaters to be regarded as brethren	11
Muslims exhorted to fight against the truce-breakers of Makkah	13-16
All but Muslims to be excluded from the sacred temples	17, 18
Abbās rebuked for his vainglory	19
The Muhájjirín assigned the first rank among Muslims—their reward	20-22
True believers to refuse friendship with nearest kin if they be infidels	23, 24
The victory of Hunain due to God's help	25-27
Idolaters excluded from the Kaabah	28
The Jews and Christians as well as idolaters to be attacked	29
Jews and Christians reproved for applying the epithet "Son of God" to Ezra and Jesus	30
They also worship their priests and monks	31, 32
Islām superior to all other religions	33
Stingy Muslims likened to covetous monks—their punishment	34, 35
Infidels may be attacked in sacred months	36
—The sacred months not to be transferred	37
Muslims exhorted to go on expedition to Tabûq by reference to God's help to Muhammad and Abu Baqr in the cave	38-41

VERSES

The lukewarm Muslims rebuked for wishing to stay at home	42
Muhammad rebuked for excusing some of these from going	43
Willingness to fight for Muhammad, a test of faith . .	44-46
Seditious Muslims rebuked	47-50
The sure reward of the faithful	51, 52
God refuses the offerings of infidels and hypocrites . .	53-55
The wealth and prosperity of infidels a sign of their reprobation	55
Half-hearted Muslims reproved	56, 57
Those who had spread libellous reports regarding Muhammad's use of alms rebuked	58, 59
How alms should be expended	60
Grumblers and hypocrites threatened	61-69
They are warned by the example of the wicked in former ages	70
The faithful described—their rewards	71-73
Hypocrites denounced and threatened	74, 75
Prosperity of infidels a prelude to their destruction . .	76-79
God shall scoff at the scoffers	80
The traducers of the faithful shall never be forgiven . .	81
Punishment of the "stayers at home"	82-84
Muhammad forbidden to pray at the grave of unbelievers and hypocrites	85
The Prophet not to wonder at the prosperity of the wicked	86-88
Reward of those who assist the Apostle in his wars . .	89, 90
Hypocritical Arabs of the desert reproved	91
Who may lawfully remain at home in time of war . .	92, 93
Other hypocrites reproved	94-97
The Baduín, the worst of hypocrites	98, 99
Some of them true believers	100
The reward of the Ansars and Muhájjirín	101
The desert Arabs and some of the people of Madína reproved	102
The penitent confessors in Madína are pardoned . . .	103-106
Others await God's decision in their case	107
Denunciation against those who built a Masjid in opposition to Muhammad and his faithful ones	108-111
True believers are sold to God	112, 113
Muslims not to pray for idolatrous relatives	114
Why Abraham prayed for his idolatrous parents	115
God merciful to the faithful	116-118
The three recreant Ansars pardoned	119

	VERSES
The people of Madína rebuked for want of loyalty to Muhammad	120-122
Some believers excused from going to war	123
True believers to war against neighbouring infidels and hypocrisy	124
Reproof of those who doubt the revelations of God and Muhammad	125-128
The Apostle trusts in the help of God	129, 130

|| (1) A DECLARATION of immunity from GOD and his RUBA.
 Apostle unto the idolaters with whom ye have entered **R 1**
 into league. (2) Go to and fro in the earth *securely* four
 months; and know that ye shall not weaken GOD, and

(1) *God and his Apostle.* See note on chap. viii. 20. This formula occurs sixteen times in this chapter.

With whom ye have entered into league. "Some understand this sentence of the *immunity* or *security* therein granted to the infidels for the space of four months; but others think that the words properly signify that Muhammad is here declared by God to be absolutely *free* and *discharged* from all truce or league with them after the expiration of that time; and this last seems to be the truest interpretation.

"Muhammad's thus renouncing all league with those who would not receive him as the Apostle of God or submit to become tributary was the consequence of the great power to which he was now arrived. But the pretext he made use of was the treachery he had met with among the Jewish and idolatrous Arabs—scarce any keeping faith with him except Bani Dhamra, Bani Kinána, and a few others."—*Sale, Jaláluddín, Baidháwi, Yahya.*

This proclamation seals the triumph of Islám over all Arabia. Henceforth there is to be no more compromise with idolaters. They are to be converted to Islám or be destroyed by the sword. Previous treaties of peace are to be respected, though this is due to the clemency of "God and his Apostle," who here declare the Muslims to be free from obligation to observe such treaties. How completely the tables have been turned! The Makkan refugee now dictates laws for all Arabia!

(2) *Four months.* These were, according to some authorities, Shawál, Dhu'l Qáada, Dhu'l Hajja, and Muharram, this revelation having been made in Shawál. Others, computing from Dhu'l Hajja,

that GOD will disgrace the unbelievers. (3) And a declaration from GOD and his Apostle unto the people, on the day of the greater pilgrimage, that GOD is clear of the idolaters, and his Apostle *also*. Wherefore if ye repent, this will be better for you; but if ye turn back, know that ye shall not weaken GOD: and denounce unto those who believe not a painful punishment. (4) Except such of the idolaters with whom ye shall have entered into a

when the *proclamation* of this revelation was made, reckon the months to be Dhu'l Hajja, Muharram, Safar and Rabi-ul-auwal. The latter seems to be the sounder opinion.

(3) *The greater pilgrimage*, viz., "The tenth of Dhu'l Hajja, when they slay the victims at Mina, which day is their great feast, and completes the ceremonies of the pilgrimage. Some suppose the adjective *greater* is added here to distinguish the pilgrimage made at the appointed time from *lesser pilgrimages*, as they may be called, or *visitations* of the Kaabah, which may be performed at any time of the year; or else because the concourse at the pilgrimage this year was greater than ordinary, both Muslims and idolaters being present at it.

"The promulgation of this chapter was committed by Muhammad to Ali, who rode for that purpose on the Prophet's slit-eared camel from Madina to Makkah; and on the day above mentioned, standing up before the whole assembly at al Aqabah, told them that he was the messenger of the Apostle of God unto them. Whereupon they asking him what was his errand, he read twenty or thirty verses of the chapter to them, and then said, 'I am commanded to acquaint you with four things: 1. That no idolater is to come near the temple of Makkah after this year; 2. That no man presume to compass the Kaabah naked for the future (see chap. vii. 27-34). 3. That none but true believers shall enter Paradise; and 4. That public faith is to be kept.'"—Sale, *Baidhawî*.

"There seems a kind of contradiction between the first verse, in which all treaties are cast aside, and the subsequent verse and intimation by Ali that treaties would be respected. Perhaps it was meant that, notwithstanding any treaty, idolaters would be prevented from coming to the pilgrimage, though the treaty would be in other respects observed. Or it may mean that, although Mahomet had permission given him in the first verse to cast aside treaties with idolaters, yet he nevertheless voluntarily engaged to respect those treaties which had been faithfully kept. The latter interpretation is not so suitable as the other to the style of the Coran."—*Muir's Life of Mahomet*, vol. iv. p. 210, note.

(4) *Except such*. The exception is in respect to the *painful punishment* denounced against the unbelievers in the previous verse. So long as the idolaters with whom treaties of peace had already been made

league, and who afterwards shall not fail you in any instance, nor assist any *other* against you. Wherefore perform the covenant *which ye shall have made* with them, until their time *shall be elapsed*; for GOD loveth those who fear *him*. (5) And when the months *wherein ye are* not allowed to *attack them* shall be past, kill the idolaters wheresoever ye shall find them, and take them *prisoners*, and besiege them, and lay wait for them in every convenient place. But if they shall repent, and observe the appointed times of prayer and pay the legal alms, dismiss them freely; for GOD *is* gracious *and* merciful. (6) And if any of the idolaters shall demand protection of thee, grant him protection, that he may hear the word of GOD, and afterwards let him reach the place of his security. This *shalt thou do*, because they are people which know not *the excellency of the religion thou preachest*.

should remain faithful to their treaty engagements, they should be exempt from the *punishment* described in the following verse. The spirit of the passage seems clearly to be opposed to that of the first verse. It is probable that several revelations relating to idolaters, and delivered at different times, have been woven together by the compilers of the Qurán. If this view be correct, the first verse was promulgated at a later period than what follows, and we have here an illustration of how the spirit of inspiration subserved the political interests of the Prophet.

(5) *Kill the idolaters.* Compare this passage with chap. iv. 88, 89. *Wherever ye shall find them.* "Either within or without the sacred territory."—Sale. This passage, with what follows, is said to abrogate chap. ii. 216.

If they shall repent, &c., i.e., if they shall embrace Islám, not only formally but heartily. They must perform the duties of Islám. "Hence," says Abdul Qádir, "Abu Baqr slew those who declined to give legal alms, as he did the idolaters."

(6) *That he may hear the word of God.* The plain meaning of this passage, according to the *Tafsir-i-Raufi*, is that the ignorant were to be made acquainted with the claims of Islám, and *if then they accepted it*, they were to be allowed to proceed to their homes in peace; if not, they were to be slain. Sale's paraphrase here seems to me to mistake the purport of the general order to slay all impenitent idolaters, excepting those with whom treaties had been made, and who had observed their treaty obligations. He says, "You shall give him a safe-conduct, that he may return home again securely, in case he shall not think fit to embrace Muhammadanism."

R 2.

|| (7) How shall the idolaters be admitted into a league with GOD and with his Apostle, except those with whom ye entered into a league at the holy temple? So long as they behave with fidelity towards you, do ye *also* behave with fidelity towards them; for GOD loveth those who fear *him*. (8) How *can they be admitted into a league with you*, since, if they prevail against you, they will not regard in you *either* consanguinity or faith? They will please you with their mouths, but their hearts will be averse *from you*; for the greater part of them are wicked doers. (9) They sell the signs of GOD for a small price, and obstruct his way; it is certainly evil which they do. (10) They regard not in a believer *either* consanguinity or faith; and these are the transgressors. (11) Yet if they repent and observe the appointed times of prayer, and give alms, *they shall be deemed* your brethren in religion. We distinctly propound *our* signs unto people who understand.

(7) *Those with whom ye entered into a league, i.e., the Bani Dhamra and Bani Kinána*, mentioned in note to ver. 1.

(8) *How?* This ambiguous interrogative is variously understood. In addition to what is inserted in the text we find the following: "How can they?"—*Rodwell*. "How shall we not smite the infidels?"—*Abdul Qádir*. "How can there be peace?"—*Fatah-ar-Rahmán*. The Persian translation agrees with *Sale*.

If they prevail. The allusion seems to be clearly to Arab unbelievers. If so, this portion of the chapter must be referred to an earlier date than that claimed for it by some of the commentators. The spirit of the following verse, especially the charge against the unbelievers, that they "sell the signs of God for a small price," points to the Quraish of Makkah in particular, with whom are perhaps associated the disaffected inhabitants of Madína, as especially intended here. With this view agrees the tradition concerning the hypocrisy of Jallás, given in *Muir's Life of Mahomet*, vol. iii. p. 30, note.

(9) Compare chap. ii. 175, 176, and see notes there.

(11) *If they repent and observe, &c.* This passage clearly asserts the necessity of piety in religion as an evidence of true repentance. The *piety* required, however, is simply the *outward* observance of the rites of Islám. The contrast between Islám and Christianity on this point is very marked, and needs only to be emphasised to reveal the difference between the counterfeit and the true. The ring of a genuine coin is unmistakable.

(12) But if they violate their oaths after their league, and revile your religion, oppose the leaders of infidelity (for there is no trust in them), that they may desist *from their treachery*. (13) Will ye not fight against people who have violated their oaths, and conspired to expel the Apostle of God; and who of their own accord assaulted you for the first time? Will ye fear them? But it is more just that ye should fear God, if ye are true believers. (14) Attack them, *therefore*; God shall punish them by your hands, and will cover them with shame, and will give you the victory over them; and he will heal the breasts of the people who believe, (15) and will take away

(12) *Oppose the leaders.* Rodwell translates, "Do battle with the ringleaders." This accords with the Persian and Urdú translations. Muslims are now to take active measures for the suppression of infidelity.

(13) *Will ye not fight, &c.* Sale, on the authority of Baidháwi, paraphrases thus: "As did the Quraish in assisting the tribe of Baqr against those of Khudháah (see Prelim. Disc., p. 93), and laying a design to ruin Muhammad without any just provocation; and, as several of the Jewish tribes did, by aiding the enemy and endeavouring to oblige the Prophet to leave Madína as he had been obliged to leave Makkah."

It seems more natural to regard the *people* here referred to as the inhabitants of Makkah in particular. This is the view of the *Tafsir-i-Raufi*. The passage, then, belongs to a period preceding the capture of Makkah, and was intended to stir up the faithful to make war upon the Quraish, who had violated the treaty made at Hudai-biya. This view accounts for the allusion to the perfidy of those who regard neither religion nor consanguinity in ver. 8.

(14) *By your hands.* This passage seems to teach that Muslim crusade against idolatry was commanded by God as a sovereign act of judgment, just as Moses was commanded to destroy the Canaanites. The Muslim, therefore, uses the same arguments in defence of the former that we do in respect of the conduct of Joshua and the Israelites. See note on chap. ii. 191.

Will heal the breasts, &c. Sale, on the authority of Baidháwi, says the allusion is to "those of Khudháah; or, as others say, certain families of Yaman and Saba, who went to Makkah, and there professed Muhammadanism, but were very injuriously treated by the inhabitants; whereupon they complained to Muhammad, who bid them take comfort, for that joy was approaching."

It seems to me more natural to refer the *healing* to those Muslim who were reluctant to fight against their own kindred at Makkah. This is the class specially exhorted (in vers. 23, 24) to drown all filial and fraternal affection in zeal for God and his Apostle. Love

the indignation of their hearts: for GOD will be turned unto whom he pleaseth; and GOD is knowing *and* wise. (16) Did ye imagine that ye should be abandoned, whereas GOD did not yet know those among you who fought *for his religion*, and took not *any* besides GOD, and his Apostle, and the faithful *for their* friends? GOD is well acquainted with that which ye do.

R $\frac{3}{9}$. || (17) It is not *fitting* that the idolaters should visit the temples of GOD, being witnesses against their own souls of *their* infidelity. The works of these *men* are vain, and they shall remain in *hell*-fire for ever. (18) But he only shall visit the temples of GOD who believeth in

for Islám is to be supreme; natural affection may wound the heart, but God "will heal the breasts of the people who believe."

(15) *Indignation of their hearts.* The meaning of this verse depends on ver. 14. According to the view of the commentators, it would be that God, by avenging the faithful upon their persecutors, would satisfy their desire for revenge. My own interpretation of that verse requires this to mean that by *healing the breasts* of the faithful, their indignation at the idea of warring against friends and relations during even the sacred months would be removed amidst the glories of the victory of Islám. This I think to be the better interpretation.

For God will be turned unto whom he pleaseth. The *Tafsir-i-Raufi* regards this as a prophecy foretelling the conversion of Abu Sufián, Akrama Bin Abu Jahl, &c. The passage, however, points to those who, having been reluctant to fight against their relatives, had become reconciled to the views of the Prophet, which fact is here regarded as a sign of the Divine favour.

(16) *God did not yet know.* Rodwell translates, "As if God did not yet know." The *Tafsir-i-Raufi* paraphrases, "Since God has not yet made known." The passage seems to mean that the sincerity of those who claimed to be Muslims could only be known by a trial of their faith, and that the present defection of some was no reason for supposing that all had been abandoned of God.

God is well acquainted, &c., i.e., he knows who are his true followers and who are hypocrites.

(17) *The temples of God.* Literally, *the masjids of God*. Idolaters are here refused admittance to the mosque as well as to the sacred Kaabah at Makkah, a requirement carefully observed in all Muslim communities.

(18) *He only shall visit, &c.* "These words are to warn the believers from having too great a confidence in their own merits, and

GOD and the last day, and is constant at prayer, and payeth the legal alms, and feareth GOD alone. These perhaps may become of *the number of* those who are rightly directed. (19) Do ye reckon the giving drink to the pilgrims and the visiting of the holy temple *to be actions as meritorious as those performed by him who believeth in GOD and the last day, and fighteth for the religion of GOD?* They shall not be held equal with GOD; for GOD directeth not the unrighteous people. (20) They who have believed, and fled their country, and employed their substance and their persons in the defence of GOD's true religion, shall be in the highest degree *of honour* with GOD; and these are they who shall be happy. (21) Their LORD sendeth them good tidings of mercy from him, and goodwill, and of gardens wherein they shall enjoy lasting pleasure: (22) they shall continue therein for ever; for with GOD is a great reward. (23) O true believers, take not your fathers or your brethren for friends, if they love infidelity

likewise to deter the unbelievers; for if the faithful will but *perhaps* be saved, what can the others hope for?"—*Sale, Baidhāwi.*

On the ground of this verse Jews and Christians should also be excluded from the mosque, for whilst these perform the duties here required, and though faith in Muhammad as the Apostle of God is not expressly asserted here as one of the requirements, yet the plain intent of the whole is to exclude all except Muslims.

(19) "This passage was revealed on occasion of some words of Abbās, Muhammad's uncle, who, when he was taken prisoner, being bitterly reproached by the Muslims, and particularly by his nephew Ali, answered, "You rip up our ill actions, but take no notice of our good ones; we visit the temple of Makkah, and adorn the Kaabah with hangings, and give drink to the pilgrims, and free captives."—*Sale, Baidhāwi.*

(20) This passage looks like a Madīna revelation. The praise bestowed upon the Muhājjarīn may, however, be retrospective. The revelation was certainly intended to stir up Muslim fanaticism. The spirit of the fanatic (*Ghāzi*) is the spirit of the true Muslim.

(21) *Gardens, &c.* See note on chap. iii. 15.

(23) *Take not your fathers . . . for friends.* The *Tafsīr-i-Raufi* says this passage refers to those who neglected to perform the pilgrimage on account of domestic opposition and hindrance. The spirit of the passage in this place seems rather to point to those who were reluctant to fight against their relations in Makkah. May not that clemency of Muhammad towards its people, when it fell into his

above faith; and whosoever among you shall take them for *his* friends, they will be unjust doers. (24) Say, If your fathers, and your sons, and your brethren, and your wives, and your relations, and *your* substance which ye have acquired, and *your* merchandise which ye apprehend may not be sold off, and *your* dwellings wherein ye delight, be more dear unto you than GOD, and his Apostle, and the advancement of his religion; wait until GOD shall send his command, for GOD directeth not the ungodly people.

R $\frac{4}{10}$.

(25) Now hath GOD assisted you in many engagements, and *particularly* at the battle of Hunain, when ye pleased yourselves in your multitude, but it was no manner of advantage unto you, and the earth became too strait

hands, be in some measure accounted for on the ground of this known antipathy of his people to slaughter their relatives, and to destroy property in which they had so deep an interest?

(24) *Wait until God shall send his command.* Sale, on the authority of Baidhāwī, says, "Or shall punish you. Some suppose the taking of Makkah to be here intended." This confirms the view that the relations here intended were the relatives of the refugees in Makkah, and points to a time previous to the capture of Makkah as the period in which this passage was revealed.

(25) *God assisted . . . at . . . Hunain.* "This battle was fought in the eighth year of the Hijra, in the valley of Hunain, which lies about three miles from Makkah towards Tayif, between Muhammad, who had an army of twelve thousand men, and the tribes of Hawāzin and Thakīf, whose forces did not exceed four thousand. The Muhammadans, seeing themselves so greatly superior to their enemies, made sure of the victory; a certain person, whom some suppose to have been the Prophet himself, crying out, 'These can never be overcome by so few.' But God was so highly displeased with this confidence, that in the first encounter the Muslims were put to flight, some of them running away quite to Makkah, so that none stood their ground except Muhammad himself and some few of his family; and they say the Prophet's courage was so great, that his uncle al Abbās, and his cousin Abu Sufiān Ibn al Hārith, had much ado to prevent his spurring his mule into the midst of the enemy, by laying hold of the bridle and stirrup. Then he ordered al Abbās, who had the voice of a Stentor, to recall his flying troops; upon which they rallied, and the Prophet throwing a handful of dust against the enemy, they attacked them a second time, and by the Divine assistance gained the victory."—Sale, Baidhāwī, Jalāluddīn.

The earth became too straight for you. "Alluding to the narrow and precipitous character of the pass, where their great numbers, of

for you, notwithstanding it was spacious; then did ye retreat and turn your backs. (26) Afterwards GOD sent down his security upon his Apostle and upon the faithful, and sent down troops of *angels*, which ye saw not; and he punished those who disbelieved; and this was the reward of the unbelievers. (27) Nevertheless GOD will hereafter be turned unto whom he pleaseth; for GOD *is* gracious and merciful. (28) O true believers, verily the idolaters are unclean; let them not therefore come near unto the holy

which they had been vaingloriously proud, only added to the difficulty.”—*Muir’s Life of Mahomet*, vol. iv. p. 143, note.

(26) *God sent down his security.* “The original word is *Sakīnat*, which the commentators interpret in this sense; but it seems rather to signify the *Divine presence*, or *Shekinah*, appearing to aid the Muslims.”—*Sale*. See also note on chap. ii. 248.

Send down troops. Commentators differ as to the number. Some say there were 5000, others 8000 and 16000. Tradition describes the uniform they wore, and declares that they filled the valley like a cloud, and were in multitude like an army of ants. See *Sale*, and *Muir’s Life of Mahomet*, vol. iv. p. 144, note.

Which ye saw not. “As usual, Muhammad’s wonderful things are only seen or known to himself. Elisha showed his servants the angels ready to fight, but Muhammad never has a witness. His great witness for the night journey did not see it, but only swore he believed it.”—*Brinckman in “Notes on Islām.”*

The commentators, however, say that the infidels saw the angelic hosts, and were, of course, reliable witnesses.

He punished those who disbelieved, i.e., the infidels who were defeated, for many were slain, 6000 of their women and children taken captive, 24,000 camels, 4000 ounces of silver, and over 40,000 goats became spoil for the Muslims.—*Tafsīr-i-Raufi*.

(27) *Hereafter turned, &c.* “Besides a great number of proselytes who were gained by this battle, Muhammad, on their request, was so generous as to restore the captives (which were no less than six thousand) to their friends, and offered to make amends himself to any of his men who should not be willing to part with his prisoners.”—*Sale, Baidhāwī*.

This took place some time after the battle on the return of the army from Tayif, and was done as a matter of policy, as all the authorities show. See *Muir’s Life of Mahomet*, vol. iv. pp. 142, 148, 149. Yet this matter is here described as the subject of prophecy. Surely it did not now require much prophetic foresight to foretell the conversion of at least some of the unfortunate Hawāzīn.

(28) *The idolaters are unclean.* This verse seems to be connected with those at the beginning of the chapter. Muhammad is now

temple after this year. And if ye fear want, *by the cutting off trade and communication with them*, GOD will enrich you of his abundance, if he pleaseth; for GOD *is* knowing and wise. (29) Fight against them who believe not in GOD nor the last day, and forbid not that which GOD and

master of Arabia. The idolaters are now to be converted by force. Exclusion from the sacred precincts of the ancient pantheon is now visited upon them, accompanied with the command to the Muslims to slay them wherever they find them, unless they confess Islám. The purity of the Muslims was not affected by contact with idolatry in visiting the idol temple at Makkah (for such it was until captured by Muhammad), so long as Islám was too weak to abolish it. Now that Muhammad is victorious, the spirit of his inspiration suddenly informs him that idolaters are unclean, and that Muslims may not perform the rites of the pilgrimage with them. Muhammad was not, however, in any way inconsistent with the principle that seems to have guided him everywhere—that everything was right that could in any way advance the cause of Islám. He was therefore right in becoming almost a Jew in hope of winning them. This failing, he was justified in patronising an idol temple and idolatrous rites in order to win over the Arabs. On the same principle he could condone assassination, sanction the plunder of caravans and the murder of defenceless merchants, even in the sacred months, and could on the same principle deny having any complicity in it. He could for the same reason witness the massacre of 800 Jewish prisoners, and spare, with a show of magnanimity, his bitterest enemies on the capture of Makkah. All was right—all was commanded of God, that promoted his selfish ambition, in the advancement of his political and prophetic or politico-prophetical pretensions. He had unhesitatingly adopted the pernicious rule that evil may be done in order to the accomplishment of a good end—that the end sanctifies the means.

After this year, i.e., the ninth year A.H. “In consequence of this prohibition, neither Jews nor Christians, nor those of any other religion, are suffered to come near Makkah to this day.”—Sale.

God will enrich you. “This promise, says al Baidhawi, was fulfilled by God’s sending plenty of rain, and disposing the inhabitants of Tabála and Jurásh, two towns in Yaman, to embrace Islám, who thereupon brought sufficient provisions to Muhammad’s men; and also by the subsequent coming in of the Arabs from all quarters to him.”—Sale.

(29) *Fight against them, &c.* “That is, those who have not a just and true faith in these matters, but either believe a plurality of gods, or deny the eternity of hell-torments, or the delights of Paradise as described in the Qurán. For, as it appears by the following words, the Jews and Christians are the persons here chiefly meant.”—Sale.

The *Tafstr-i-Raúfi* says the passage alludes to “the Jews, who

his Apostle have forbidden, and profess not the true religion, of those unto whom the scriptures have been delivered, until they pay tribute by right of subjection, and they be reduced low.

|| (30) The Jews say, Ezra is the son of GOD; and the R $\frac{5}{11}$.

allegorise (in respect to the Godhead), and the Christians, who acknowledge a Trinity; the Jews, who deny eating and drinking in Paradise, and the Christians, who declare the enjoyments of heaven to be spiritual."

Profess not the true religion, &c. It is here implied that Islám was the religion of Jewish prophets and of Jesus, from which Jews and Christians have departed. The Qurán, by this claim so often repeated, challenges investigation, and thereby points to the evidence of its own imposture. See notes on chap. ii. 136.

Until they pay tribute, &c. "This I think the true meaning of the words *an yadin*, which literally signify *by* or *out of hand*, and are variously interpreted; some supposing they mean that the tribute is to be paid *readily*, or by their *own hands* and not by another; or that tribute is to be exacted of the *rich* only, or those who are able to pay it, and not of the poor; or else that it is to be taken as a *favour* that the Muhammadans are satisfied with so small an imposition, &c. That the Jews and Christians are, according to this law, to be admitted to protection on payment of tribute, there is no doubt, though the Muhammadan doctors differ as to those of other religions. It is said that Omar at first refused to accept tribute from a Magian, till Abdul Rahmán Ibn Auf assured him that Muhammad himself had granted protection to a Magian, and ordered that the professors of that religion should be included among *the people of the book*, or those who found their religion on some book which they suppose to be of Divine origin. And it is the more received opinion that these three religions only ought to be tolerated on the condition of paying tribute: others, however, admit the Sabians also. Abu Hanífa supposed people of any religion might be suffered, except the idolatrous Arabs; and Málik excepted only apostates from Muhammadanism. The least tribute that can be taken from every such person is generally agreed to be a *dínár*, or about ten shillings a year; nor can he be obliged to pay more, unless he consent to it: and this, they say, ought to be laid as well on the poor as on the rich. But Abu Hanífa decided that the rich should pay forty-eight *dirhams* (twenty, and sometimes twenty-five of which made a *dínár*) a year; one in middling circumstances half that sum; and a poor man, who was able to get his living, a quarter of it; but that he who was not able to support himself should pay nothing."—Sale, *Baidháwi*.

(30) *Ezra is the son of God.* "This grievous charge against the Jews the commentators endeavour to support by telling us that it is meant of some ancient heterodox Jews or else of some Jews of

Christians say, Christ is the Son of GOD. This is their saying in their mouths; they imitate the saying of those who were unbelievers in former times. May GOD resist them. How are they infatuated! (31) They take their priests and their monks for *their* lords, besides GOD, and Christ

Madīna, who said so for no other reason than for that the law being utterly lost and forgotten during the Babylonish captivity, Ezra having been raised to life after he had been dead one hundred years (chap. ii. 259, note), dictated the whole anew unto the scribes out of his own memory; at which they greatly marvelled, and declared that he could not have done it unless he were the son of God. Al Baidhāwī adds, that the imputation must be true, because this verse was read to the Jews, and they did not contradict it, which they were ready enough to do in other instances. That Ezra did thus restore not only the Pentateuch, but also the other books of the Old Testament, by Divine revelation, was the opinion of several of the Christian fathers, who are quoted by Dr. Prideaux, and of some other writers, which they seem to have first borrowed from a passage in that very ancient apocryphal book called in our English Bible the *Second Book of Esdras* (chap. xiv. 20, &c.) Dr. Prideaux tells us that herein the fathers attributed more to Ezra than the Jews themselves, who suppose that he only collected and set forth a correct edition of the Scriptures, which he laboured much in, and went a great way in the perfecting of it. It is not improbable, however, that the fiction came originally from the Jews, though they be now of another opinion, and I cannot fix it upon them by any direct proof. For, not to insist upon the testimony of the Muhammadans (which yet I cannot but think of some little weight in a point of this nature), it is allowed by the most sagacious critics that the *Second Book of Ezra* was written by a Christian indeed, but yet one who had been bred a Jew, and was intimately acquainted with the fables of the Rabbins; and the story itself is perfectly in the taste and way of thinking of those men.”—Sale, *Baidhāwī*.

Rodwell regards this charge against the Jews as purely the invention of Muhammad.

May God resist them. The spirit of this passage is in marked contrast with the allusions made to the “people of the book” in the earlier chapters of the Qurān. Compare chap. v. 85, and note there.

The whole passage points to the latter years of the Prophet’s life, when he began to realise that the Christian power of Heracleus was likely to oppose the strongest barrier to his ambitious projects.

(31) *Priests . . . for their lords.* An inference from the use of the title *Rabbi*, coupled with the reverence accorded to the ordained ministry. See note on chap. iii. 63. The charge here made, that Christians worshipped their priests and monks as they did Christ and God, is scarcely true. It is also noteworthy that the Messiah is here deliberately denied all divine honours, and that the depre-

the son of Mary ; although they are commanded to worship one GOD only : there is no GOD but he ; far be that from him which they associate *with him* ! (32) They seek to extinguish the light of GOD with their mouths ; but GOD willeth no other than to perfect his light, although the infidels be averse *thereto*.

(33) It is he who hath sent his Apostle with the direc-^{NISF.} tion and true religion, that he may cause it to appear superior to every *other* religion, although the idolaters be averse *thereto*. (34) O true believers, verily many of the priests and monks devour the substance of GOD in vanity, and obstruct the way of GOD. But unto those who trea-

catory formula, "far be it from him," &c., is the same as that used in reproaching the idolatrous Arabs for their service to heathen gods. Whatever phrases, therefore, we find in the Qurán expressive of Messianic dignity must be attributed to the ignorance of the Prophet as to their real import. See notes on chaps. ii. 86 and iii. 39.

(32) *The light of God, i.e., the Qurán, or the Divine Unity, or the prophetic office of Muhammad, &c.—Tafstr-i-Raufi.*

(33) *Superior to every other religion.* Rodwell translates more correctly, "victorious over every other religion." This was true of the religions of Arabia, to which the expression must primarily be referred, but it is not true of the religions of the world, Islám at present being almost everywhere subject to or dependent for existence on Christian rule.

Christian apologists for Islám, in their endeavour to draw a favourable comparison between Islám and Christianity, are in the habit of ignoring the fact that what is good and true in Islám is very much more clearly revealed in the Old and New Testament Scriptures, while at the same time they carefully set aside the peculiar doctrines of Christianity : the new birth, the atonement of Christ, the graces of the Holy Spirit, and the holy character essential to the Christian life. By such a process black may be made to appear white, and *vice versa*. See R. Bosworth Smith's *Mohammed and Mohammedanism*, pp. 338, 339. This writer's statement that Islám is "the religion of stability," a religion dwelling on the "inherent dignity" of human nature, "the religion of the best parts of Asia and Africa," with the implication that Christianity is unsuited to the stable races, is contradicted by the history of the Church and of her missions.

(34) *Monks devour, &c.* "By taking bribes, says Baidháwi, meaning, probably, the money they took for dispensing with the commands of God, and by way of commutation."—*Salé*. It more probably refers to the fact that these classes were supported by the people.

Obstruct the way of God, i.e., by preventing their followers from becoming Muslims.

sure up gold and silver, and employ it not for the advancement of GOD's true religion, denounce a grievous punishment. (35) On the day of judgment *their treasures* shall be intensely heated in the fire of hell, and their foreheads, and their sides, and their backs shall be stigmatised therewith; *and their tormentors shall say*, This is what ye have treasured up for your souls; taste therefore that which ye have treasured up. (36) Moreover, the *complete* number of months with GOD is twelve months, *which were ordained* in the book of GOD on the day whereon he created the heavens and the earth: of these, four are sacred. This is the right religion; therefore deal not unjustly with yourselves therein. But attack the idolaters in all *the months*, as they attack you in all; and know that GOD is with those who fear *him*. (37) Verily the transferring of a *sacred month*

Those who treasure up, &c. This refers to all men, being suggested by the conduct of the priests and monks. The exigencies of Islám required that all Muslims should be willing to give freely of their substance for the support of religion. Hence the dreadful denunciation of the next verse, pointing at once to the fate of Christian monks and Muslim misers.

(35) This verse describes the fate not only of miserly Muslims, but also that of the Christian priests and monks of ver. 31. "Thus," says Muir in his *Life of Mahomet*, vol. iv. p. 212, "with threats of abasement and with bitter curses, Mahomet parted finally from the Jews and Christians, whom he had so long deceived with vain professions of attachment to their Scriptures, and from whose teaching he had borrowed all that was most valuable in his own system. Having reached the pinnacle of prosperity and power, he cast contemptuously aside the supports to which in no small measure he owed his elevation."

(36) *The complete number of months.* "According to this passage, the intercalation of a month every third or second year, which the Arabs had learned of the Jews, in order to reduce their lunar years to solar years, is absolutely unlawful. For by this means they fixed the time of the pilgrimage and of the feast of Ramadhán to certain seasons of the year, which ought to be ambulatory."—Sale. See also Prelim. Disc., pp. 229, 230, and chap. ii. 185, note.

The book of God, viz., the Preserved Table.—Sale.

Four are sacred. See Prelim. Disc., p. 228.

Attack the idolaters in all. "For it is not reasonable that you should observe the sacred months with regard to those who do not acknowledge them to be sacred, but make war against you therein."—Sale. See notes on chap. ii. 191, 193.

to another month is an additional infidelity. The unbelievers are led into an error thereby: they allow a month to be violated one year, and declare it sacred another year, that they may agree in the number of months which God hath commanded to be kept sacred; and they allow that which God hath forbidden. The evil of their actions hath been prepared for them; for God directeth not the unbelieving people.

|| (38) O true believers, what ailed you, that when it was said unto you, Go forth to fight for the religion of God, ye inclined heavily towards the earth? Do ye prefer the present life to that which is to come? But the provision of this life, in respect of that which is to come, is but slender. (39) Unless ye go forth when ye are summoned to war, God will punish you with a grievous punishment; and he will place another people in your stead, and ye shall not hurt him at all; for God is almighty. (40) If

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(37) *An additional infidelity.* "This was an invention or innovation of the idolatrous Arabs, whereby they avoided keeping a sacred month, when it suited not their conveniency, by keeping a profane month in its stead, transferring, for example, the observance of *Muharram* to the succeeding month *Safar*. The first man who put this in practice, they say, was Junáda Ibn Auf, of the tribe of Kináná. These ordinances relating to the months were promulgated by Muhammad himself at the pilgrimage of *valediction*."—Sale.

They . . . declare it sacred another year, &c. "As did Junáda, who made public proclamation at the assembly of pilgrims that their gods had allowed *Muharram* to be profane, whereupon they observed it not; but the next year he told them that the gods had ordered it to be kept sacred."—Sale, *Baidháwi*.

(38) *What ailed you, viz.,* "In the expedition of Tabúq, a town situate about half-way between Madina and Damascus, which Muhammad undertook against the Greeks, with an army of thirty thousand men, in the ninth year of the Hijra. On this expedition the Muslims set out with great unwillingness, because it was undertaken in the midst of the summer heats, and at a time of great drought and scarcity, whereby the soldiers suffered so much, that this army was called the *distressed army*; besides, their fruits were just ripe, and they had much rather have stayed to have gathered them."—Sale, *Jaláluddín, Baidháwi*.

(39) *Another people in your stead.* See chap. v. 59, and notes there.

ye assist not *the Prophet*, verily GOD *will assist him*, as he assisted him formerly, when the unbelievers drove him out of *Makkah*, the second of two when they *were* both in the cave: when he said unto his companion, Be not grieved, for GOD is with us. And GOD sent down his security upon him, and strengthened him with armies of *angels*, whom ye saw not. And he made the word of those who believed not to be abased, and the word of GOD was exalted; for GOD *is* mighty and wise. (41) Go forth to *battle*, both light and heavy, and employ your substance and your persons for the advancement of GOD's religion. This will be better for you, if ye know it. (42) If it had been a near advantage, and a moderate journey, they had surely followed thee; but the way seemed tedious unto them: and yet they will swear by GOD, *saying*, If we had been able, we had surely gone forth with you. They

(40) *The unbelievers*, i.e., the people or chiefs of *Makkah*, who compelled his flight to *Madina*.

The second of two. "That is, having only *Ábu Baqr* with him."—*Salé*. See Prelim. Disc., pp. 86, 87.

His security. See note on ver. 26.

Armies of angels. The allusion is to the angelic hosts, whose help he pretended to have received at the battle of *Badr*, at the *Ditch*, and at *Hunain*. If these angels are here intended, then the statement that they were not seen by the Muslims does not accord with the statements of chap. iii. 13, 123, and chap. viii. 44, 45.

(41) *Light and heavy*. *Savary* translates *young and old*. The *Tafsir-i-Raafi* comments as follows: "Go forth on horseback and on foot, in health or sickness, young and old, poor and rich, without preparation and with preparation, the virgin and the married woman."

The advancement of God's religion. The faithful are now to hold their all in readiness to promote the cause of Islám by the sword. The outlook is not now upon unbelieving Arabia, as in chap. ii. 190 and 244, but upon the unbelieving world. The expedition to *Tabúk* was the beginning of a struggle which was only accomplished in part by the conquest of Constantinople; and yet this was far from realising the ambitious purpose of the Prophet of Arabia.

(42) *A near advantage, &c.* "That is, had there been no difficulties to surmount in the expedition to *Tabúk*, and the march thither had been short and easy, so that the plunder might have cost them little or no trouble, they would not have been so backward."—*Salé*.

They will swear, &c. This verse, with those following to ver. 48, are said by the commentators to have been revealed during the

destroy their own souls; for GOD knoweth that they are liars.

¶ (43) GOD forgive thee! why didst thou give them $R \frac{7}{13}$ leave *to stay at home*, until they who speak the truth, *when they excuse themselves*, had become manifested unto thee, and thou hadst known the liars? (44) They who believe in GOD and the last day will not ask leave of thee to be excused from employing their substance and their persons for the advancement of GOD's true religion; and GOD knoweth those who fear *him*. (45) Verily they only will ask leave of thee *to stay behind* who believe not in GOD and the last day, and whose hearts doubt *concerning the faith*; wherefore they are tossed to and fro in their doubting. (46) If they had been willing to go forth *with thee*,

march to Tabúq, and the statement of the text is regarded as a prophecy, which was, of course, fulfilled on the return of the army to Madina. Granting the claim that the passage was revealed on the way to Tabúq, the character of this prophecy may be determined from the statement of ver. 48, where these same hypocrites are said to have "sought to raise sedition" *on a previous occasion*. It is, however, almost certain, from the statement of ver. 47, that the passage was enunciated after the return, and delivered as a rebuke to the hypocrites and others affected by their indifference.

(43) *God forgive thee*. Muhammad is here "reprehended for having excused some of his followers from going on this expedition, as Abdullah Ibn Ubbai and his hypocritical adherents, and three of the Ansárs."—Sale.

The *Tafsír-i-Raufi* regards this as a benediction, which in no way implies that the Prophet had sinned, and illustrates it by reference to the Oriental custom of pronouncing a benediction on the water-carrier, "The Lord pardon thee;" to which he replies, "The Lord have mercy on thee." Here, the commentators says, no charge of sinfulness is intended, and so when God speaks to the Prophet, saying, "God forgive thee," no crime is laid to his charge! The fact is overlooked that the *custom* alluded to could only exist among sinful men, ever needing God's mercy and pardon. The passage certainly implies the sinfulness of Muhammad. The doctrine of Muslims that the prophets were sinless cannot even bear the light of the Qurán, which clearly charges sin against all the great prophets (*nabi ul ázim*) excepting Jesus. See chap. ii. 253.

Until . . . thou hadst known. "Contrast to Christ, 'knowing their thoughts,' and Peter discovering the lies of Ananías and his wife."—Brinckman's "Notes on Islám."

(44-46) These verses teach that all interests of private individuals must yield to the interests of Islám. Failure here is a sure sign of

they had certainly prepared for that *purpose* a provision of *arms and necessaries*: but GOD was averse to their going forth; wherefore he rendered them slothful, and it was said *unto them*, Sit ye still with those who sit still. (47) If they had gone forth with you, they had only been a burden unto you, and had run to and fro between you, stirring you up to sedition; and *there would have been some* among you who would have given ear unto them: and GOD knoweth the wicked. (48) They formerly sought to raise a sedition, and they disturbed thy affairs, until the truth came, and the decree of GOD was made manifest; although they were adverse thereto. (49) There is of them who saith *unto thee*, Give me leave to *stay behind*, and expose me not to temptation. Have they not fallen into temptation *at home*? But hell will surely encompass the unbelievers. (50) If good happen unto thee, it grieveth them: but if a misfortune befall thee, they say, We ordered our business before, and they turn their backs, and rejoice *at thy mishap*. (51) Say, Nothing shall befall us but what GOD hath decreed for us; he is our patron,

infidelity. Another point worthy of notice is that man's free agency and God's sovereignty are both clearly recognised in this passage.

Sit . . . with those who sit still, i.e., with those who are incapable of active service, as the women and children, the aged and infirm.

(48) *Formerly sought to raise a sedition.* As at Ohod. See notes on chap. iii. 156-160.

(49) *Expose me not to temptation.* "By obliging me to go, against my will, on an expedition the hardships of which may tempt me to rebel or to desert. It is related that one Jadd Ibn Qais said that the Ansárs well knew he was much given to women, and he dared not trust himself with the Greek girls; wherefore he desired he might be left behind, and he would assist them with his purse."—Sale, *Baidhāwi*.

Have they not fallen, &c., i.e., by falling into the sin of cowardice and infidelity.

(50) *It grieveth them.* For envy, or because they are unable to share the booty.

We ordered our business before, i.e., "We took care to keep out of harm's way by staying at home."—Sale.

(51) *What God hath decreed.* Literally, *What God hath written*, meaning what God hath determined from eternity, and recorded on the Preserved Table. On the question of Muhammad's fatalism see notes on chap. iii. 145 and 155.

and on God let the faithful trust. (52) Say, Do ye expect *any other should befall* us than one of the two most excellent things, *either victory or martyrdom*? But we expect concerning you that God inflict a punishment on you, *either* from himself or by our hands. Wait, therefore, *to see what will be the end of both*; for we will wait for you. (53) Say, *Expend your money in pious uses, either* voluntarily or by constraint, it shall not be accepted of you, because ye are wicked people. (54) And nothing hindereth their contributions from being accepted of them, but that they believe not in God and his Apostle, and perform not the *duty of prayer* otherwise than sluggishly, and expend not *their money for God's service* otherwise than unwillingly.

|| (55) Let not therefore their riches or their children R $\frac{8}{14}$ cause thee to marvel. Verily God intendeth only to punish them by these things in this world, and that their souls may depart while they are unbelievers. (56) They

(52) *The two most excellent things.* This passage illustrates the confidence Muhammad had in the success of Islām, whilst it shows the strong spirit of fanaticism already fixed in the minds of the Muslims. To fight for Islām was to conquer or to gain admission to Paradise. An army made up of men holding such a faith could hardly fail of success. War and bloodshed thus sanctified are the very antipodes of the peace and benevolence of the Gospel.

We will wait for you. The threat contained in this verse shows the changed attitude of Muhammad towards the disaffected. Compare chap. ii. 108. Either God would punish them by a judgment from heaven, as he had punished Ad and Thamūd (Prelim. Disc., pp. 20-22), or they would be punished by the faithful by Divine command. The facility with which Muhammad could produce such commands was, no doubt, well understood by the hypocrites, so that these words would convey to their minds a very distinct threat of assault.

(53, 54) The distinction between true Muslims and merely nominal adherents is here clearly defined. The former were those who had consecrated all to Islām, and held themselves ready to obey every command of the Prophet with unquestioning obedience. Their bodies, souls, time, strength, property, all was devoted to their religion. The unpardonable sin was want of devotion to Muhammad and his cause. The property of hypocrites could not be accepted except as the lawful booty of the faithful.

(55) Comp. with chap. iii. 179.

swear by God that they are of you; yet they are not of you, but are people who stand in fear. (57) If they find a place of refuge, or caves, or a retreating hole, they surely turn towards the same, and in a headstrong manner haste *thereto*. (58) There is of them also who spreadeth ill reports of thee, in relation to *thy distribution of the alms*: yet if they receive *part* thereof they are well pleased; but if they receive not *a part* thereof, behold they are angry. (59) But if they had been pleased with that which GOD and his Apostle had given them, and had said, GOD is our support; GOD will give unto us of his abundance, and his Prophet *also*; verily unto GOD do we make our supplications: *it would have been more decent*. (60) Alms *are to be distributed* only unto the poor and the needy, and those

(56) *People who stand in fear*. "Hypocritically concealing their infidelity, lest ye should chastise them, as ye have done the professed infidels and apostates; and yet ready to avow their infidelity when they think they may do it with safety."—Sale.

(58, 59) *Them also who spread ill reports of thee, &c.* "This person was Abu'l Jawádh, the hypocrite, who said Muhammad gave them away among the keepers of sheep only; or, as others suppose, Ibn Dhu'l Khusaisarah, who found fault with the Prophet's distribution of the spoils taken at Hunain, because he gave them all among the Makkans, to reconcile and gain them over to his religion and interest."—Sale, Abdul Qádir.

Complaints among the Muslims frequently grew out of the claim of Muhammad that the booty was God's (see chap. viii. 1), and that the distribution of it depended upon His will as revealed by the Apostle. So long as the division was equal, no objection, so far as we know, was ever raised. Dissatisfaction on this point arose out of Muhammad's purpose to gain influence by means of rich presents bestowed out of the common heap, as at Hunain, alluded to above. Yet we find the Prophet deliberately associating God with himself in carrying out this very worldly policy by appealing to one of the lowest passions of depraved human nature.

If, as seems certain, the allusion is to the trouble at Hunain, God is here also made a partner in appeasing the covetous Muslim Bedouins by a promise of increased booty in future expeditions (see above in ver. 27). This is styled in the next verse (59) the *abundance of God and his Prophet*, which the faithful receive in answer to their prayers. Was there no consciousness of deception and imposture in this affair?

(60) This verse abrogates chap. ii. 214 on the subject of almsgiving. See Prelim. Disc., pp. 172-175.

The poor and the needy. "The commentators make a distinction

who are employed in *collecting and distributing* the same, and unto those whose hearts are reconciled, and for the *redemption of captives*, and unto those who are in debt and insolvent, and for the advancement of GOD's religion, and unto the traveller. *This is* an ordinance from GOD; and GOD is knowing and wise. (61) There are some of them who injure the Prophet, and say, He is an ear. Answer, He is an ear of good unto you; he believeth in GOD, and giveth credit to the faithful, (62) and is a mercy

between these two words in the original, *fakîr* and *miskîn*; one, they say, signifies him who is utterly destitute both of money and means of livelihood; the other, one who is in want indeed, but is able to get something towards his own support. But to which of the two words either of these different significations properly belongs the critics differ."—Sale.

Those whose hearts are reconciled. These were the Arab chiefs upon whom Muhammad lavished expensive presents in order to secure their allegiance to Islâm. See the matter fully described in Muir's *Life of Mahomet*, vol. iv. pp. 152-155.

Sale's note here is as follows:—"Those who were lately enemies to the faithful, but have now embraced Muhammadanism and entered into amity with them. For Muhammad, to gain their hearts and confirm them in his religion, made large presents to the chief of the Quraish out of the spoils at Hunain, as has been just now mentioned. But this law, they say, became of no obligation when the Muhammadan faith was established, and stood not in need of such methods for its support."

(61) *He is an ear.* Rodwell translates "He is all ear." Sale paraphrases thus: "He hears everything that we say, and gives credit to all the stories that are carried to him." This seems to express blameworthiness on the part of the Prophet. The *Tafsîr-i-Raufi* understands these words to express the feelings of the Prophet's enemies, who, taking advantage of his simplicity, spoke evil of him behind his back, in the assurance that, if reported, he would credit their hypocritical professions of friendship. This view accords with the verses following.

An ear of good, i.e., "Giving credit to nothing that may do you hurt."—Sale.

Giveth credit to the faithful. It is here intimated that the Prophet was aware of the evil-speaking of his enemies, and that he did not credit the declarations of loyalty made by the unbelievers.

That Muhammad deserved the title here given him is abundantly exhibited by the numerous passages of the Qurân specially written to refute the sayings of his foes, or to record the lessons in Jewish history and tradition he had learned from friends. To use a modern expression, "he was thoroughly wide-awake." He understood his followers and divined the purposes of his enemies, because he *heard* them

unto such of you who believe. But they who injure the Apostle of God shall suffer a painful punishment. (63) They swear unto you by God, that they may please you; but it is more just that they should please God and his Apostle, if they are true believers. (64) Do they not know that he who opposeth God and his Apostle shall without doubt *be punished with the fire of hell, and shall remain therein for ever?* This will be great ignominy. (65) The hypocrites are apprehensive lest a Sura should be revealed concerning them, to declare unto them that which *is in*

express their feelings, carefully treasuring all in his memory until such time as he had determined on to reveal his knowledge, while assuming the outward garb of one inspired, and pretending to have received his knowledge by revelation, declaring it as coming from God himself. Comp. note on chap. ii. 145.

(63, 64) *God and his Apostle.* The chief duty of a Muslim is here declared to be to *please God and his Apostle*, for to *oppose God and his Apostle* is sure to end in the punishment of *the fire of hell*. A Muslim sees nothing in this passage derogatory to Muhammad's character, because he believes that he was truly a prophet of God, and therefore judges that to oppose the Prophet is to oppose God. How our Christian apologists for Muhammad can exonerate their hero here we cannot imagine. Was he a prophet? Did he originate the language of this passage in his own mind, or did he receive it, as he pretended, directly from God, so that he was merely the mouthpiece of God? We are not aware that any of these admirers of Muhammad hold opinions consistent with such a claim. But if he be the author of the Qurán, and if he be not a prophet, how can he be exonerated from blasphemy and imposture in the use of such language as this? We should indeed like to hear what they have to say in defence of this very characteristic feature of the revelations of the Qurán. See also chap. viii. 20.

(65) *The hypocrites are apprehensive lest a Sura.* This passage illustrates Muhammad's method of procedure. The *hypocrites* had already abundant experience as to the correspondence between the wishes and designs of the Prophet and the Suras of his Qurán. They had seen this fact illustrated in bloody characters in the case of their Jewish neighbours, in characters of a different hue in the matter of the distribution of the spoils, and the numerous interferences of the inspiring angel in settlement of grave matters pertaining to the Prophet's harem. No wonder they should be "apprehensive lest a Sura should be revealed concerning them." No wonder that, as a result of such apprehension, hypocrisy soon became lost in zeal for the cause of the Prophet. On the word *sura*, see introduction to chap. i.

their hearts. Say *unto them*, Scoff ye; *but* GOD will surely bring to light that which ye fear *should be discovered*.

|| (66) And if thou ask them *the reason of this scoffing*, ^{SULS.} they say, Verily we were only engaged in discourse, and jesting *among ourselves*. Say, Do ye scoff at GOD and his signs, and at his Apostle? (67) Offer not an excuse: now are ye become infidels, after your faith. If we forgive a part of you, we will punish a part, for that they have been wicked doers.

|| (68) Hypocritical men and women are the one of ^{R 15.} them of the other: they command that which is evil, and forbid that which is just, and shut their hands *from giving alms*. They have forgotten GOD, wherefore he hath forgotten them: verily the hypocrites are those who act wickedly. (69) GOD denounceth unto the hypocrites, both men and women, and to the unbelievers, the fire of hell; they shall remain therein *for ever*: this will be their sufficient *reward*; GOD hath cursed them, and they shall endure a lasting torment. (70) As they who have

(66) *Jesting*. "It is related that in the expedition of Tabúq, a company of hypocrites, passing near Muhammad, said to one another, 'Behold that man! he would take the strongholds of Syria: away! away!' which being told the Prophet, he called them to him, and asked them why they had said so; whereto they replied with an oath, that they were not talking of what related to him or his companions, but were only diverting themselves with indifferent discourse, to beguile the tediousness of the way."—*Sale, Baidháwi*.

Such stories have every appearance of being invented to account for the text. Hypocrites were not in the habit of going on distant expeditions; and, at this date in the career of the Prophet, they would not have ventured to jest at his expense, and that in his hearing. The passage must be assigned to an earlier date.

(68) *One of them from the other*. Rodwell translates this idiom, and renders it "imitate one another." *Who act wickedly*, i.e., they opposed Muhammad's pretensions, and declined to spend money for his wars. As to moral conduct, we have every reason to believe them to have been better than the Muslims. But with these morality had already become identical with adhesion to Islám.

(69) *God denounceth . . . the fire of hell*. Of the seven apartments of hell, the lowest is assigned to the hypocrites. See Prelim. Disc., p. 148.

(70) This description of the hypocrites points to the days of their prosperity and power, and confirms what was said under ver. 66.

been before you, *so are ye*. They were superior to you in strength, and had more abundance of wealth and of children, and they enjoyed their portion *in this world*; and *ye* also enjoy your portion *here*, as they who have preceded you enjoyed their portion. And ye engage yourselves in vain discourses, like unto those wherein they engaged themselves. The works of these are vain *both* in this world and in that which is to come; and these are they who perish. (71) Have they not been acquainted with the history of those who have been before them? of the people of Noah, and of Ád, and of Thamúd, and of the people of Abraham, and of the inhabitants of Madian, and of the *cities which were* overthrown. Their apostles came unto them with evident demonstrations, and GOD was not disposed to treat them unjustly; but they dealt unjustly with their own souls. (72) And the faithful men and the faithful women are friends one to another: they command that which is just, and they forbid that which is evil; and they are constant at prayer, and pay their appointed alms; and they obey GOD and his Apostle: unto these will GOD be merciful; for he *is* mighty and wise. (73) GOD promiseth unto the true believers, both men and women, gardens through which rivers flow, wherein they shall remain for ever; and delicious dwellings in the gardens of perpetual abode: but

(71) *The people of Noah, &c.* See notes on chap. vii. 60-86. *The cities . . . overthrown*, namely, "Sodom and Gomorrah, and the other cities which shared their fate, and are thence called *Al Mutikifát*, or *the subverted*."—Sale.

(73) *Both men and women.* See note on chap. iv. 123.

Gardens. "Lit. gardens of Eden; but the commentators do not take the word Eden in the sense which it bears in Hebrew, as has been elsewhere observed." See Prelim. Disc., p. 155.—Sale.

"In Hebrew it signifies *a place of delight*. In the Arabic it means *a place fit for the pasturing of flocks*."—Savary.

But good-will from God, &c. The commentators have very little to say on this passage—one of the few passages suggesting a higher joy in heaven than the satisfaction of carnal appetites. The very exceptions of the Qurán prove the rule that the heaven of Islám is one of carnal joy. See notes on chaps. ii. 25 and iii. 15.

good-will from GOD *shall be their most excellent reward.*
This *will be great felicity.*

|| (74) O Prophet, wage war against the unbelievers R $\frac{10}{16}$.

(74) *Wage war against the unbelievers, &c.* Mr. Bosworth Smith in his *Mohammed and Mohammedanism*, pp. 137-142, admits a change of practice on the part of Muhammad in respect to his opponents: "The free toleration of the purer among the creeds around him, which the Prophet had at first enjoined, gradually changes into intolerance. Persecuted no longer, Mohammed becomes a persecutor himself; with the Koran in one hand, the scymiter in the other, he goes forth to offer to the nations the three-fold alternative of conversion, tribute, death." This, however, along with his being "guilty more than once of conniving at the assassination of inveterate opponents, and the massacre of the Bani Koraitza," is excused partly on the ground that, believing himself to be inspired, he "found an ample precedent for the act in the slaughter of the Midianites by Moses or the Canaanites by Joshua," and partly on the ground of his being an Oriental, who must therefore be judged by a lower standard of morality. In Mr. Smith's estimation these are apparently but a few slight blemishes in an otherwise estimable character. In opposition to Gibbon, he lauds the magnanimity of Muhammad on his capture of Makkah. "If ever he had worn a mask at all, he would now at all events have thrown it off; if lower aims had gradually sapped the higher, or his moderation had been directed, as Gibbon supposes, by his selfish interests, we should now have seen the effect; now would have been the moment to gratify his ambition, to satiate his lust, to glut his revenge. Is there anything of the kind? Read the account of the entry of Mohammed into Mecca, side by side with that of Marius or Sulla into Rome. Compare all the attendant circumstances, the outrages that preceded, and the use made by each of his recovered power, and we shall then be in a position better to appreciate the magnanimity and moderation of the Prophet of Arabia."

I have thus quoted at length, because this is perhaps the strongest plea for Muhammad's sincerity and magnanimity to be found in the English language. It is made to cover a multitude of Muhammad's sins. And yet I am persuaded that Gibbon's estimate of his character is the fairest. It must never be forgotten that this so-called magnanimity was avowedly exceptional. It was contrary to numerous threats made by the Prophet in previous years. It was in striking contrast with the spirit shown at Badr and Ohod, and yet was in equally striking accord with his treatment of the Bani Hawázin after the battle of Hunain. There were indeed important reasons for the clemency shown towards the people of Makkah. Not to mention the fact that hundreds of the Muslims, like the Prophet himself, were bound to the Makkans by ties of relationship, there were many secret disciples in Makkah. Besides, there is very good reason to believe that both Abbás and Ábu Sufián were in collusion with Muhammad, and that the city was really surrendered by them

and the hypocrites, and be severe unto them; for their dwelling shall be hell: an unhappy journey *shall it be thither!* (75) They swear by GOD that they said not *what they are charged with*: yet they spake the word of infidelity, and became unbelievers after they had embraced Islám. And they designed that which they could not effect; and they did not disapprove *the design for any other reason* than because GOD and his Apostle had enriched them of his bounty. If they repent, it will be better for them; but if they relapse, GOD will punish them with a grievous torment in this world and in the next; and they shall have no portion on earth, nor any

to Muhammad, with the express understanding that violence should not be permitted. Then policy would dictate clemency, inasmuch as the powerful tribes which, a few days later, well-nigh defeated him at Hunain, would have gained much by any impolitic severity towards the people of the holy city. Muhammad's treatment of the inhabitants of Makkah, therefore, rather argues in favour of his wisdom and prudence than of his forbearance and clemency. The passage under consideration, written at least a year after the capture of Makkah, testifies to the intolerant temper of Muhammad. He had now secured the power to do what he always desired to do, and there was no reason for concealing the real hatred with which he regarded every rival religion. Indeed, the mainspring of his whole prophetic career was *policy*. He was as magnanimous as he was cruel whenever the interest of his prophetic-political pretensions required it.

(75) *They spake the word of infidelity.* "It is related that al Jallás Ibn Suwaid, hearing some passages of this chapter which sharply reprehended those who refused to go on the above-mentioned expedition of Tabúq, declared that if what Muhammad said of his brethren was true, they were worse than asses. Which coming to the Prophet's ear, he sent for him, and he denied the words upon oath. But on the immediate revelation of this passage, he confessed his fault, and his repentance was accepted."—Sale, *Baidhawi*.

They designed, &c. "The commentators tell us that fifteen men conspired to kill Muhammad on his return from Tabúq, by pushing him from his camel into a precipice as he rode by night over the highest part of al Aqabah. But when they were going to execute their design, Hudhaifah, who followed and drove the Prophet's camel, which was led by Ammár Ibn Yasir, hearing the tread of camels and the clashing of arms, gave the alarm, upon which they fled. Some however suppose the design here meant was a plot to expel Muhammad from Madína."—Sale, *Baidhawi*.

Had enriched them. "For Muhammad's residing at Madína was of great advantage to the place, the inhabitants being generally poor,

protector. (76) There are some of them who made a covenant with GOD, *saying*, Verily if he give us of his abundance, we will give alms, and become righteous people. (77) Yet when they had given unto him of his abundance, they became covetous thereof, and turned back, and retired afar off. (78) Wherefore he hath caused hypocrisy to succeed in their hearts, until the day whereon they shall meet him; for that they failed to perform unto GOD that which they had promised him, and for that they prevaricated. (79) Do they not know that GOD knoweth

and in want of most conveniences of life; but on the Prophet's coming among them, they became possessed of large herds of cattle, and money also. Al Baidhāwī says that the above-named al Jallās, in particular, having a servant killed, received, by Muhammad's order, no less than ten thousand *dirhems*, or about three hundred pounds, as a fine for the redemption of his blood."—*Sale*.

The predatory expeditions of the Muslims, the plunder of numerous caravans, and the successful wars waged against the wealthy Jewish tribes in the vicinity of Madīna, must have resulted in changing the condition of the people from poverty to wealth. Let it be observed that the Qurān here justifies all the means adopted by "his Apostle" for the acquisition of this wealth. It was, in the strictest and most direct sense of the words, a gift from God and Muhammad.

(76) *If he give . . . we will give, &c.* "An instance of this is given in Thálabah Ibn Hátib, who came to Muhammad, and desired him to beg of God that he would bestow riches on him. The Prophet at first advised him rather to be thankful for the little he had than to covet more, which might become a temptation to him; but on Thálabah's repeated request and solemn promise that he would make a good use of his riches, he was at length prevailed on, and preferred the petition to God. Thálabah in a short time grew vastly rich, which Muhammad being acquainted with, sent two collectors to gather the alms; other people readily paid them, but when they came to Thálabah, and read the injunction to him out of the Qurān, he told them that it was not alms, but tribute, or next kin to tribute, and bid them go back till he had better considered of it. Upon which this passage was revealed; and when Thálabah came afterwards and brought his alms, Muhammad told him that God had commanded him not to accept it, and threw dust on his head, saying, 'This is what thou hast deserved.' He then offered his alms to Ábu Baqr, who refused to accept them, as did Omar some years after, when he was Khalifah."—*Sale*.

I confess this story sounds exceedingly like an invention of the commentators. Its spirit accords better with a later period in the history of the Khalifahs. It is given, however, on the authority of Baidhāwī.

(79) This verse clearly teaches that God is omniscient—that all things are open to the gaze of his all-seeing eye.

whatever they conceal, and their private discourses; and that GOD is the knower of secrets? (80) They who traduce such of the believers as are liberal in *giving alms beyond what they are obliged*, and those who find nothing to give but *what they gain by their industry*, and therefore scoff at them: GOD shall scoff at them, and they shall suffer a grievous punishment. (81) Ask forgiveness for them, or do not ask forgiveness for them; *it will be equal*. If thou ask forgiveness for them seventy times, GOD will by no means forgive them. *This is the divine pleasure*, for

(80) *They who traduce . . . believers.* "Al Baidhāwī relates that Muhammad, exhorting his followers to voluntary alms, among others, Abd-ur-Rahmān Ibn Auf gave four thousand *dirhems*, which was one-half of what he had; Asim Ibn Adda gave a hundred beasts' loads of dates; and Abu Ukail a *saā*, which is no more than a sixtieth part of a load, of the same fruit, but was the half of what he had earned by a night's hard work. This Muhammad accepted: whereupon the hypocrites said that Abd-ur-Rahmān and Asim gave what they did out of ostentation, and that God and his Apostle might well have excused Abu Ukail's mite; which occasioned this passage.

"I suppose this collection was made to defray the charge of the expedition of Tabūq, towards which, as another writer tells us, Abu Baqr contributed all that he had, and Othmān very largely, viz., as it is said, three hundred camels for slaughter, and a thousand *dinārs* of gold."—Sale, *Tafsīr-i-Raufi*.

(81) *God will by no means forgive them.* "In the last sickness of Abdullah Ibn Ubbāi, the hypocrite (who died in the ninth year of the Hijra), his son, named also Abdullah, came and asked Muhammad to beg pardon of God for him, which he did, and thereupon the former part of this verse was revealed. But the Prophet, not taking that for a repulse, said he would *pray seventy times* for him; upon which the latter part of the verse was revealed, declaring it would be absolutely in vain. It may be observed that the numbers *seven*, and *seventy*, and *seven hundred*, are frequently used by the Eastern writers, to signify not so many precisely, but only an indefinite number, either greater or lesser, several examples of which are to be met with in the Scriptures."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*.

If we are to credit this story, as all Muslims do, it very well illustrates Muhammad's character as an intercessor on behalf of sinners. He may *intercede*, but there is no certainty he will be heard. According to this story, he does not even know that he will not be heard. Of course the reply of the Muslim is, that his office as intercessor only begins with the judgment-day, and that then it will be effectual. But then it will only be of avail in the case of Muslims who are now assured salvation on the ground of their

that they believe not in God and his Apostle; and God directeth not the ungodly people.

|| (82) They who were left at home *in the expedition* R 11
17
of Tabúq were glad of their staying behind the Apostle of God, and were unwilling to employ their substance and their persons for the advancement of God's true religion; and they said, Go not forth in the heat. Say, The fire of hell will be hotter; if they understood *this*. (83) Wherefore let them laugh little and weep much, as a reward for that which they have done. (84) If God bring thee back unto some of them, and they ask thee leave to go forth *to war with thee*, say, Ye shall not go forth with me for the future, neither shall ye fight an enemy with me; ye were pleased with sitting *at home*

being Muslims. They therefore require no intercessor. There can be no doubt that the doctrine of Muhammad's intercession is at variance with the teaching of the Qurán. Nevertheless, the faith of Muslims is not only that Muhammad will intercede for them at the judgment-day, but that a multitude of saints can intercede for them even now. This faith testifies against the Qurán, and, so far, attests the doctrine of salvation by atonement and Christ's intercession as taught in the Bible. Muslims feel their need of an intercessor. The Qurán gives them none, whereupon they constitute Muhammad and a host of saints their intercessors.

It is probable that the story given by Sale misrepresents the feelings of Muhammad toward Abdullah Ibn Ubbái at the time of his death. "Muhammad prayed over his corpse, thereby professing to recognise Abdullah as having been a faithful Moslem; he walked behind the bier to the grave, and waited there till the ceremonies of the funeral were ended."—*Muir's Life of Mahomet*, vol. iv. p. 200.

(82) *They who were left behind, i.e., the hypocrites, under the leadership of Abdullah Ibn Ubbái.*

Go forth in the heat. "This they spoke in a scoffing manner to one another, because, as has been observed, the expedition of Tabúq was undertaken in a very hot and dry season."—*Sale*.

(84) *And they ask thee.* "That is, if thou return in safety to Madína to the hypocrites, who are here called some of them who stayed behind, because they were not all hypocrites. The whole number is said to have been twelve."—*Sale, Baidháwi*.

A careful perusal of this whole passage will convince almost any one but a Muslim that this revelation was delivered after the return from Tabúq to Madína. Note the passive forms in the verses preceding this. Here, however, the revelation purports to have emanated while still absent on the expedition. The resolution of

the first time; sit ye *at home* therefore with those who stay behind. (85) Neither do thou ever pray over any of them who shall die, neither stand at his grave, for that they believed not in GOD and his Apostle, and die in their wickedness. (86) Let not their riches or their children cause thee to marvel; for GOD intendeth only to punish them therewith in this world, and that their souls may depart while they are infidels. (87) When a Sura is sent down, *wherein it is said*, Believe in GOD, and go forth to

the Prophet concerning the disaffected is here presented as a revelation from God.

With those who stay behind, viz., the women and children, the sick and infirm.

(85) *Neither do thou ever pray over any of them.* "This passage was also revealed on account of Abdullah Ibn Ubbai. In his last illness he desired to see Muhammad, and, when he was come, asked him to beg forgiveness of God for him, and requested that his corpse might be wrapped up in the garment that was next his body (which might have the same efficacy with the habit of a Franciscan), and that he would pray over him when dead. Accordingly, when he was dead, the Prophet sent his shirt, or inner vestment, to shroud the corpse, and was going to pray over it, but was forbidden by these words. Some say they were not revealed till he had actually prayed for him."—*Salé, Baidhâwi.*

But see note above on ver. 81. This command is rigidly observed by all Muslims. All who profess belief "in God and his Apostle" are regarded as orthodox, notwithstanding their immoral character. But those who reject Islâm, however holy their lives, are so wicked that even the vilest Muslim may not sully his character for piety by being present at his burial. The words "neither stand at his grave" are understood to prohibit all attendance at the funerals of unbelievers.

Observe that Muhammad practised the old heathen Arab custom of praying for the dead, a practice still current among Muslims, but limited by this verse to prayers for the faithful. The practice is utterly at variance with the teaching of the Qurân and the principles of Islâm, but having the example of the Prophet, Muslims feel justified in the practice, as they do in kissing the black stone at Makkah. See note on chap. ii. 156.

(86) *To punish them therewith*, i.e., by inflicting upon them the care and anxiety which their riches and children bring with them.—*Tafsîr-i-Raufi.*

A better interpretation would be that by these very blessings the infidels are wedded to their infidelity, and their final condemnation thereby ensured.

(87) *A Sura.* See introduction to chap. i., and note above on ver. 65. The word here is used as equivalent to any portion of the Qurân containing a message or revelation for the people.

war with his Apostle; those who are in plentiful circumstances among them ask leave of thee *to stay behind*, and say, Suffer us to be *of the number* of those who sit *at home*. (88) They are well pleased to be with those who stay behind, and their hearts are sealed up; wherefore they do not understand. (89) But the Apostle, and those who have believed with him, expose their fortunes and their lives *for God's service*; they shall enjoy the good things *of either life*, and they shall be happy. (90) GOD hath prepared for them gardens through which rivers flow; they shall remain therein *for ever*. This will be great felicity.

|| (91) And certain Arabs of the desert came to excuse R $\frac{12}{1}$ themselves, *praying* that they might be permitted *to stay behind*; and they sat *at home* who had renounced GOD and his Apostle. But a painful punishment shall be inflicted on such of them as believe not. (92) In those who are weak, or are afflicted with sickness, or in those who find not wherewith to contribute *to the war*, it shall be no crime *if they stay at home*, provided they behave themselves faithfully towards GOD and his Apostle. There is no room *to lay blame* on the righteous; for GOD is gracious and merciful: (93) nor on those unto whom,

Suffer us, &c. See above on vers. 82-84.

(90) *They shall remain, &c.* Warring for the faith is here made the reason and ground of salvation, being the test of faith and obedience.

(91) *Certain Arabs of the desert.* "These were the tribes of Asad and Ghatfán, who excused themselves on account of the necessities of their families, which their industry only maintained. But some write they were the family of Amar Ibn al Tufail, who said that if they went with the army, the tribe of Tay would take advantage of their absence, and fall upon their wives and children, and their cattle."—Sale, Baidhāwī.

(92) This verse defines the classes of Muslims exempt from military service in a holy war or crusade.

Weak, by reason of age or health.

Who find not wherewith to contribute, on account of "their extreme poverty," as those, of Juhaina, Muzaina, and Banu Udhra."—Sale.

Provided they behave themselves, &c., i.e., do not show contempt for their undertakings, and thus sympathise with their enemies.

when they came unto thee *requesting* that thou wouldest supply them with necessaries for travelling, thou didst answer, I find not wherewith to supply you, returned, their eyes shedding tears for grief that they found not wherewith to contribute to *the expedition*. (94) But there is reason to *blame* those who ask leave of thee to sit at home, when they are rich. They are pleased to be with those who stay behind, and GOD hath sealed up their hearts, wherefore they do not understand.

ELEVENTH
SIPARA.

|| (95) They will excuse themselves unto you when ye are returned unto them. Say, Excuse not yourselves; we will by no means believe you: GOD hath acquainted us with your behaviour; and GOD will observe his actions, and his Apostle *also*: and hereafter shall ye be brought before him who knoweth that which is hidden and that which is manifest, and he will declare unto you that which ye have done. (96) They will swear unto you by

(93) *Eyes shedding tears, &c.* "The persons here intended were seven men of the Ansárs, who came to Muhammad and begged he would give them some patched boots and soled shoes, it being impossible for them to march so far barefoot in such a season; but he told them he could not supply them; whereupon they went away weeping. Some however say these were the Banu Mukrán, and others Ábu Musa and his companions."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*.

These are honoured in Muslim tradition as *The Weepers* (Al Bakkáim). Compare Judges ii. 1, 5.

(95) *God hath acquainted us.* We are here informed by the author of the Qurán that this revelation was delivered during the expedition to Tabúq, or at least before its return to Madína. Now granting that Muhammad was a prophet indeed, as Muslims do, there is nothing in the statement of the text derogatory to such a character. But those who claim that Muhammad was not an impostor, while denying his prophetic claims, find themselves in trouble here. For if he had no revelation, as is here claimed, how vindicate his honesty and truthfulness? Could he be deluded into a belief like this without being a madman? We think not. Such a plea of madness, if set up in any court of justice, would undoubtedly be set aside as simply incredible. The position of Christian apologists for Islám is unreasonable. If Muhammad were a prophet—and if sincere and honest, as is claimed, he must have been a prophet—the apologists should profess Islám without delay. But if he were not a prophet, he must have been an impostor of no ordinary character.

(96) *They will swear, &c.* The statements of this and the follow-

GOD, when ye are returned unto them, that ye may let them alone. Let them alone, therefore, for they are an abomination, and their dwelling *shall be hell*, a reward for that which they have deserved. (97) They will swear unto you, that ye may be well pleased with them; but if ye be well pleased with them, verily GOD will not be well pleased with people who prevaricate. (98) The Arabs of the desert are more obstinate in *their* unbelief and hypocrisy, and it is easier for them to be ignorant of the ordinances of that which GOD hath sent down unto his Apostle; and GOD is knowing *and* wise. (99) Of the Arabs of the desert there is who reckoneth that which he expendeth *for the service of God to be as* tribute, and waiteth that some change of fortune may befall you. A change for evil *shall happen* unto them; for GOD *both* heareth *and* knoweth. (100) And of the Arabs of the

ing verses purport to be prophecies, which were literally fulfilled shortly after their enunciation. From a Muslim standpoint they are prophecies, but from a Christian standpoint, and from the standpoint of the Christian apologists of Muhammad, they must be regarded as deliberate forgeries, perpetrated by Muhammad on his return from Tabâq or thereabout. As to the matter of the prophecies, there is nothing in them which Muhammad could not have devised or foreseen, even before his return from Tabâq.

(98) *The Arabs of the desert are more obstinate, &c.* "Because of their wild way of life, the hardness of their hearts, their not frequenting people of knowledge, and the few opportunities they have of being instructed."—Sale, *Baidhâwi*.

(99) *There is who reckoneth . . . as tribute, i.e.,* "or a contribution exacted by force, the payment of which he can in no wise avoid."—Sale.

Waiteth some change, &c. "Hoping that some reverse may afford a convenient opportunity of throwing off the burden."—Sale.

The character here given to the Bedouins was substantiated by their universal rebellion on the death of Muhammad. See Muir's *Life of Mahomet*, vol. iv. p. 300.

According to Burekhardt and Palgrave, they still show the same instability, except as they become adherents to the Wahâby faith, which Burekhardt calls "the Protestantism, or even Puritanism, of the Muhammadans," whose principle is, "The Korân, and nothing but the Korân."—*Notes on the Bedouins and Wahâbys*, vol. i. p. 102.

(100) *Of the Arabs . . . there is who believeth, &c.* "The Arabs meant in the former of these two passages are said to have been the

desert there is who believeth in GOD and in the last day, and esteemeth that which he layeth out *for the service of God* to be the *means* of bringing him near unto GOD and the prayers of the Apostle. Is it not unto them *the means* of a near approach? GOD shall lead them into his mercy; for GOD *is* gracious and merciful.

R $\frac{13}{2}$.

|| (101) *As for the leaders and the first of the Muhájjirín and the Ansárs, and those who have followed them in well-doing, GOD is well pleased with them, and they are well pleased in him: and he hath prepared for them gardens watered by rivers; they shall remain therein for ever. This shall be great felicity.* (102) And of the Arabs of the desert who *dwelt* round about you, *there are* hypocritical persons; and of the inhabitants of Madína *there are some* who are obstinate in hypocrisy. Thou knowest them not, *O Prophet, but we know them: we*

tribes of Asad, Ghatfán, and Banu Tamím; and those intended in the latter, Abdullah, surnamed Dhu'l Bajádín, and his people."—Sale, *Baidháwi*.

That which he layeth out, &c. Expenditure in the holy cause of Islám is here declared to be the ground of acceptance with God. The prayers of the Apostle can only be obtained by loyalty to the same cause. Apparently allusion is made to the prohibition of ver. 85.

(101) *The Muhájjirín and the Ansárs.* "The Muhájjirín, or *refugees*, were those of Makkah who fled thence on account of their religion; and the Ansárs, or *helpers*, were those of Madína, who received Muhammad and his followers into their protection, and assisted them against their enemies. By the leaders of the Muhájjirín are meant those who believed on Muhammad before the Hijra, or early enough to pray towards Jerusalem, from which the Qiblah was changed to the temple of Makkah in the second year of the Hijra, or else such of them as were present at the battle of Badr. The leaders of the Ansárs were those who took the oath of fidelity to him at al Aqabah, either the first or the second time."—Sale, *Baidháwi*.

(102) *Hypocritical persons, i.e., the tribes of Juhaina, Muzaina, Aslam, Ashja, and Ghafár, who dwelt in the neighbourhood of Madína.*—Sale, *Baidháwi*.

Thou knowest them not. Many passages like this illustrate Muhammad's marvellous subtlety. If he knew them, he thus endeavoured to conceal the fact. If he did not know them, he would reach them by bringing them under the omniscient eye of God.

will surely punish them twice; afterwards shall they be sent to a grievous torment. (103) And others have acknowledged their crimes. They have mixed a good action with another *which is bad*: peradventure God will be turned unto them; for God *is* gracious *and* merciful. (104) Take alms of their substance, that thou mayest cleanse them and purify them thereby; and pray for them, for thy prayers shall be a security of *mind* unto them; and God *both* heareth *and* knoweth. (105) Do they not know that God accepteth repentance from his servants and accepteth alms, and that God is easy to be

We will punish them twice. "Either by exposing them to public shame and putting them to death; or by either of those punishments and the torment of the sepulchre; or else by exacting alms of them by way of fine, and giving them corporal punishment."—*Sale, Baidhāwī.*

(103) *Others have acknowledged their crimes.* "Making no hypocritical excuses for them. These were certain men who, having stayed at home instead of accompanying Muhammad to Tabūk, as soon as they heard the severe reprehensions and threats of this chapter against those who had stayed behind, bound themselves to the pillars of the mosque, and swore that they would not loose themselves till they were loosed by the Prophet. But when he entered the mosque to pray, and was informed of the matter, he also swore that he would not loose them without a particular command from God; whereupon this passage was revealed, and they were accordingly dismissed."—*Sale, Baidhāwī.*

Another which is bad. "Though they were backward in going to war, and held with the hypocrites, yet they confessed their crime and repented."—*Sale.*

(104) *Take alms, &c.* "When these persons were loosed, they prayed Muhammad to take their substance, for the sake of which they had stayed at home, as alms, to cleanse them from their transgression; but he told them he had no orders to accept anything from them: upon which this verse was sent down, allowing him to take their alms."—*Sale, Baidhāwī.*

Compare Luke xi. 41, where the idea seems to be that the presence in the treasure-house of those things required to be given in alms is defiling to the whole. Here the idea of giving a certain sum in alms in order to expiate crime is certainly intended, and it is here taught that alms confer holiness upon the giver, which accords with a tradition as follows:—"Verily the shade of a believer, and his place of asylum and cause of rest and redemption on the day of resurrection, are from his alms, given in the road to God."—*Mishqāt al Musābih*, vol. i. p. 453.

reconciled *and* merciful? (106) Say *unto them*, Work *as ye will*; but GOD will behold your work, and his Apostle *also*, and the true believers; and ye shall be brought before him who knoweth that which is kept secret, and that which is made public; and he will declare unto you whatever ye have done. (107) And *there are* others who wait with suspense the decree of GOD, whether he will punish them, or whether he will be turned unto them; but GOD is knowing *and* wise. (108) *There are some* who have built a temple to hurt *the faithful*, and to *propagate* infidelity, and to *foment* division among the true believers, and for a lurking-place for him who hath fought against GOD and his Apostle in time past; and they swear, *saying*, Verily, we intended no other than *to do* for the best;

(106) *Work, i.e.*, see that your works correspond with your profession of repentance.

(107) *Others who wait.* "This verse refers to Káb Ibn Málik, a poet, who had done good service to Mahomet, and to two other believers who had incurred his special displeasure. They had no pretext to offer for their absence from the army, and their bad example had encouraged the hesitating and disaffected citizens in their neglect of the Prophet's summons. These could not with any show of justice be reprimanded or punished if the far more serious offence of those three, his professed followers, were passed over. A ban was therefore placed upon them. They were cut off from all intercourse with the people, and even with their own wives and families. Fifty days passed thus miserably, and the lives of the three men became a burden to them. At length the heart of Mahomet relented, and by the delivery of the revelation (recorded in vers. 118 and 119 below) he received them back into his favour." —*Muir's Life of Mahomet*, vol. iv. p. 197.

(108) *Who have built a temple.* "When Banu Ámru Ibn Auf had built the temple or mosque of Qubá, which will be mentioned by and by, they asked Muhammad to come and pray in it, and he complied with their request. This exciting the envy of their brethren, Banu Ganím Ibn Auf, they also built a mosque, intending that the Imám or priest who should officiate there should be Ábu Amir, a Christian monk; but he dying in Syria, they came to Muhammad and desired he would consecrate, as it were, their mosque by praying in it. The Prophet accordingly prepared himself to go with them, but was forbidden by the immediate revelation of this passage, discovering their hypocrisy and ill design: whereupon he sent Málik Ibn al Dukhshum, Maan Ibn Addi, Amír Ibn al Saqan, and al Wahsha, the Ethiopian, to demolish and burn it;

but GOD is witness that they do certainly lie. (109) Stand not *up to pray* therein for ever. *There is a temple founded on piety, from the first day of its building. It is more just that thou stand up to pray therein: therein are men who*

which they performed, and made it a dunghill. According to another account, this mosque was built a little before the expedition of Tabúq, with a design to hinder Muhammad's men from engaging therein; and when he was asked to pray there, he answered that he was just setting out on a journey, but that when he came back, with God's leave, he would do what they desired; but when they applied to him again, on his return, this passage was revealed."—Sale, *Jaláluddín*.

A lurking-place for him, &c. "That is, Ábu Amír, the monk, who was a declared enemy to Muhammad, having threatened him at Ohod, that no party should appear in the field against him but he would make one of them; and, to be as good as his word, he continued to oppose him till the battle of Hunain, at which he was present; and being put to flight with those of Hawázín, he retreated into Syria, designing to obtain a supply of troops from the Grecian emperor to renew the war; but he died at Kinnisrín. Others say that this monk was a confederate at the war of the ditch, and that he fled thence into Syria."—Sale, *Jaláluddín*.

(109) *A temple founded on piety*, viz., "that of Qubá, a place about two miles from Madína, where Muhammad rested four days before he entered that city, in his flight from Makkah, and where he laid the foundation of a mosque, which was afterwards built by Banu Ámru Ibn Auf. But according to a different tradition, the mosque here meant was that which Muhammad built at Madína."

Men who love to be purified. "Al Baidháwí says that Muhammad, walking once with the Muhájjarín to Qubá, found the Ansárs sitting at the mosque door, and asked them whether they were believers, and, on their being silent, repeated the question; whereupon Omar answered that they were believers; and Muhammad demanding whether they acquiesced in the judgment Omar had made of them, they said yes. He then asked them whether they would be patient in adversity and thankful in prosperity, to which they answering in the affirmative, he swore by the Lord of the Kaabah that they were true believers. Afterwards he examined them as to their manner of performing the legal washings, and particularly what they did after easing themselves. They told him that in such a case they used three stones, and after that washed with water; upon which he repeated these words of the Qurán to them."—Sale.

The purity and holiness required by the Qurán is invariably of this character. The traditions relating to purification are simply abominable, and yet they were scrupulously taught to every Muslim woman and to every youth, the Mullah gravely introducing the subject by the statement that *there is no shame in religion*. Thus by striving after ceremonial cleanliness the very fountain of moral purity is polluted.

love to be purified, for GOD loveth the clean. (110) Whether therefore is he better who hath founded his building on the fear of GOD and *his* good-will, or he who hath founded his building on the brink of a bank of earth which is washed away by waters, so that it falleth with him into the fire of hell? GOD directeth not the ungodly people. (111) Their building which they have built will not cease *to be an occasion of* doubting in their hearts, until their hearts be cut in pieces; and GOD is knowing and wise.

R $\frac{14}{3}$.

|| (112) Verily GOD hath purchased of the true believers their souls and their substance, *promising* them the enjoyment of Paradise *on condition that* they fight for the cause of GOD: whether they slay or be slain, the promise for the same is assuredly due by the law, and the gospel, and the Qurán; and who performeth his contract more faithfully than GOD? Rejoice therefore in the contract which ye have made. This shall be great happiness. (113) The penitent, *and* those who serve *God* and praise *him*, *and* who fast, and bow down, and worship, *and* who command that which is just and forbid that which is evil, and keep the ordinances of GOD, *shall likewise be rewarded with Paradise*: wherefore bear good tidings unto the faithful.

(110) Compare with the simile used by our Lord in Matt. vii. 24-27.

(111) *Until their hearts be cut in pieces.* "Some interpret these words of their being deprived of their judgment and understanding, and others of the punishment they are to expect, either of death in this world, or of the rack of the sepulchre, or the pains of hell."—*Salé.*

Others refer it to the bitter pangs of conscience. See Rodwell's note *in loco*.

(112) *God hath purchased . . . their souls, i.e.,* "He has been pleased to grant them the joys of Paradise for their meritorious works."—*Tafsir-i-Raufi.*

It would appear that there is a double purchase—the believer's purchase of Paradise by works of merit and God's purchase of believers by the allurements of Paradise. The salvation of a soul here is dependent on its readiness "to fight for the cause of God."

The promise for the same, &c. "God hath purchased the souls of believers; in return they are to enjoy Paradise if they fight for God.

(114) It is not *allowed* unto the Prophet, nor those who are true believers, that they pray for idolaters, although they be of kin, after it is become known unto them that they are inhabitants of hell. (115) Neither did Abraham ask forgiveness for his father, otherwise than in pursuance of a promise which he had promised unto him ; but when it became known unto him that he was an enemy unto GOD, he declared himself clear of him. Verily Abraham

Conquered or slain, this is promised in the law, the gospel, and the Korán. This verse is perhaps the greatest untruth in the whole of the Korán."—*Brinckman's "Notes on Islám."*

Certainly the statement recorded in this verse has no foundation in truth. The teaching is diametrically opposed to all the doctrine of the Bible. The passage, however, illustrates the ignorance of Muhammad as to Biblical teaching and his unscrupulous habit of bolstering up the doctrines of his Qurán by assertions contrary to truth. Worse than this, these are all put into the mouth of the God of truth.

(114) *It is not allowed . . . to pray for idolaters.* "This passage was revealed, as some think, on account of Abu Tálib, Muhammad's uncle and great benefactor, who, on his deathbed, being pressed by his nephew to speak a word which might enable him to plead his cause before God, that is, to profess Islám, absolutely refused. Muhammad, however, told him that he would not cease to pray for him till he should be forbidden by God—which he was by these words. Others suppose the occasion to have been Muhammad's visiting his mother Amína's sepulchre at al Abwá, soon after the taking of Makkah ; for they say that while he stood at the tomb he burst into tears, and said, 'I asked leave of God to visit my mother's tomb, and he granted it me ; but when I asked leave to pray for her, it was denied me.'"—*Sale, Baidháwi.*

After it is become known. "By their dying infidels. For otherwise it is not only lawful but commendable to pray for unbelievers, while there are hopes of their conversion."—*Sale.*

The passage clearly teaches that Muslims are permitted to pray for departed friends, provided they were not idolaters. What advantages can accrue to the dead from these prayers is not clear. The Muslim doctors say it secures a mitigation of the punishment of the grave and of the pains to be inflicted on the judgment-day. It has been made the basis of as profitable a business to the Muslim priests as ever Purgatory brought to the priests of Rome.

(115) *A promise, viz.,* "To pray that God would dispose his heart to repentance. Some suppose this was a promise made to Abraham by his father, that he would believe in God. For the words may be taken either way."—*Sale.*

Clear of him. "Desisting to pray for him, when he was assured by inspiration that he was not to be converted ; or after he actually died an infidel."—*Sale.*

See notes on chap. vi. 77-84.

was pitiful and compassionate. (116) Nor is GOD *disposed* to lead people into error after that he hath directed them, until that which they ought to avoid is become known unto them; for GOD knoweth all things. (117) Verily unto GOD *belongeth* the kingdom of heaven and of earth; he giveth life and he causeth to die; and ye have no patron or helper besides GOD. (118) GOD is reconciled unto the Prophet, and unto the Muhájjirín and the Ansárs, who followed him in the hour of distress, after that it had wanted little but that the hearts of a part of them had swerved *from their duty*: afterwards was he turned unto them, for he *was* compassionate *and* merciful towards

Abraham was pitiful, &c. It is here suggested that Abraham's condition and feeling was like that of Muhammad. The passage seems to teach that Abraham's pity and compassion were chiefly manifest before the command of God came forbidding their exercise.

(116) *Nor is God to lead people into error, i.e.,* "To consider or punish them as transgressors. This passage was revealed to excuse those who had prayed for such of their friends as had died idolaters before it was forbidden, or else to excuse certain people who had ignorantly prayed towards the first Qibla, and drank wine, &c."—*Sale*.

Sin, according to most Muslim authorities, is a *conscious act committed against known law*, wherefore sins of ignorance are not numbered in the catalogue of crimes. The "leading into error" mentioned seems to be equivalent to a retributive giving over to reprobation.

(118) *God is reconciled to the Prophet, &c.* "Having forgiven the crime they committed, in giving the hypocrites leave to be absent from the expedition to Tabúq, or for the other sins which they might, through inadvertence, have been guilty of. For the best men have need of repentance."—*Sale, Baidhawi*.

This passage declares Muhammad to have been in fault in permitting those to remain at home who had requested permission to do so. This passage is contrary to the Muslim belief that Muhammad was always inspired. For if so, how err in the matter here reproved? It also animadverts the doctrine of Muhammad's being absolutely sinless. See note on chap. ii. 253.

The hour of distress, viz., "In the expedition of Tabúq, wherein Muhammad's men were driven to such extremities that, besides what they endured by reason of the excessive heat, ten men were obliged to ride by turns on one camel, and provisions and water were so scarce that two men divided a date between them, and they were obliged to drink the water out of the camels' stomachs."—*Sale, Baidhawi*.

them. (119) And *he is* also reconciled unto the three who were left behind, so that the earth became too strait for them, notwithstanding its spaciousness, and their souls became straitened within them, and they considered that there was no refuge from GOD, otherwise than *by having recourse* unto him. Then was he turned unto them that they might repent, for GOD *is* easy to be reconciled and merciful.

|| (120) O true believers, fear GOD and be with the sincere. (121) There was no *reason* why the inhabitants of Madína, and the Arabs of the desert who dwell around them, should stay behind the Apostle of GOD, or should prefer themselves before him. This *is unreasonable*, because they are not distressed either by thirst, or labour, or hunger, for the defence of GOD's true religion; neither do they stir a step which may irritate the unbelievers; neither do they receive from the enemy any damage, but a good

R $\frac{15}{4}$.

(119) *The three who were left behind.* "Or, as it may be translated, *who were left in suspense*, whether they should be pardoned or not. These were three Ansárs, named Qáb Ibn Málík, Halál Ibn Umaiya, and Marára Ibn Rabi, who went not with Muhammad to Tabúq, and were therefore, on his return, secluded from the fellowship of the other Muslims, the Prophet forbidding any to salute them or to hold discourse with them; under which interdiction they continued fifty days, till, on their sincere repentance, they were at length discharged from it by the revelation of this passage."—Sale.

See note on ver. 106 above.

God is easy to be reconciled. It was Muhammad who was not easy to be reconciled, and yet he deliberately ascribes all he had done to God. Is it possible to believe him sincere in this business? If so, there is no apparent alternative but to regard him as being given over to believe a lie.

(121) *Should prefer themselves before him.* "By not caring to share with him the dangers and fatigues of war. Al Bajdháwí tells us, that after Muhammad had set out for Tabúq, one Ábu Khaithama, sitting in his garden, where his wife, a very beautiful woman, had spread a mat for him in the shade, and had set new dates and fresh water before him, after a little reflection, cried out, 'This is not well, that I should thus take my ease and pleasure while the Apostle of God is exposed to the scorching of the sunbeams and the inclemencies of the air;' and immediately mounting his camel, took his sword and lance, and went to join the army."—Sale.

A good work is written down, &c., i.e., though they sit idly by, so far as the warfare is concerned, yet they receive benefit through the

work is written down unto them for the same; for GOD suffereth not the reward of the righteous to perish. (122) And they contribute not any sum either small or great, nor do they pass a valley; but it is written down unto them that GOD may reward them with a recompense exceeding that which they have wrought. (123) The believers are not *obliged* to go forth *to war* altogether: if a part of every band of them go not forth, *it is* that they may diligently instruct themselves in *their* religion, and may admonish their people when they return unto them, that they may take heed to themselves.

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|| (124) O true believers, wage war against such of the infidels as are near you; and let them find severity in

plunder of the infidels, in which they have some participation. The reason for this proceeding is given in the next verse.

(123) *Not obliged to go forth.* "That is, if some of every tribe or town be left behind, the end of their being so left is that they may apply themselves to study, and attain a more exact knowledge of the several points of their religion, so as to be able to instruct such as, by reason of their continual employment in the wars, have no other means of information. They say that after the preceding passages were revealed, reprehending those who had stayed at home during the expedition of Tabûq, every man went to war, so that the study of religion, which is rather more necessary for the defence and propagation of the faith than even arms themselves, became wholly laid aside and neglected; to prevent which for the future a convenient number are hereby directed to be left behind, that they may have leisure to prosecute their studies."—Sale.

(124) *Wage war against . . . the infidels.* Arabia now lay at the feet of Muhammad; even foreign conquest had been undertaken with success. For this reason the command to wage war for the faith against all, both far away and near at hand, is now promulgated. The principle of chap. ii. 256 had long since been abandoned, and while the Muslims had hardly grasped the plan of the Prophet during his lifetime, yet the doctrine of a universal conquest of the world for Islâm was clearly set forth in the Qurân. Comp. chap. ii. 193, 215, and 244, and notes there.

Such . . . as are near. "Either of your kindred or neighbours; for these claim your pity and care in the first place, and their conversion ought first to be endeavoured. The persons particularly meant in this passage are supposed to have been the Jews of the tribes of Quraidha and Nadhir, and those of Khaibar; or else the Greeks of Syria."—Sale, Baidhâwi.

It seems best to apply this injunction to the infidels still to be

you: and know that GOD is with those who fear *him*. (125) Whenever a Sura is sent down, there are some of them who say, Which of you hath this caused to increase in faith? It will increase the faith of those who believe, and they shall rejoice: (126) but unto those in whose hearts there is an infirmity it will add *further* doubt unto their *present* doubt; and they shall die in their infidelity. (127) Do they not see that they are tried every year once or twice? yet they repent not, neither are they warned. (128) And whenever a Sura is sent down, they look at one another, *saying*, Doth any one see you? then do they turn aside. GOD shall turn aside their hearts *from the truth*; because they are a people who do not understand. (129) Now hath an apostle come unto you of our own nation, an excellent *person*: it is *grievous* unto him that ye commit wickedness; *he is* careful over you, *and* compassionate and merciful towards the believers.

found in Arabia, and especially to the disaffected citizens of Madína, who were now to be dealt with in a different spirit from that shown while Muhammad had reason to fear them.

Let them find severity. Compare this with chap. iii. 160, and see notes there.

(125) The commentators say "the hypocrites were usually known when a crusade was proclaimed," *i.e.*, by their unwillingness to go to the war. A readiness to fight in the cause of Islám had now become the test of faith.

(127) *Tried every year, i.e.*, "by various kinds of trials, or by being called forth to war, and by being made witnesses of God's miraculous protection of the faithful."—*Sale*.

(128) *They look at one another.* "They wink at one another to rise and leave the Prophet's presence, if they think they can do it without being observed, to avoid hearing the severe and deserved reproofs which they apprehend in every new revelation. The persons intended are the hypocritical Muslims."—*Sale*.

(129) *An apostle . . . of our own nation.* See note on chap. iii. 165. This encomium, self-invented, and put into the mouth of God, is hardly consistent with the character of Muhammad as described by the apologists. Perhaps some one of them will undertake to show us how this comports with a character for honest sincerity and prophetic purity.

It is grievous to him that ye commit wickedness. The wickedness grievous to the Arabian Prophet was indifference to his wishes and

(130) If they turn back, say, GOD is my support; there is no GOD but he. On him do I trust; and he is the LORD of the magnificent throne.

want of zeal in the crusade against the infidels. It is notable that he was never grieved at the assassination of Káb and the plunder of the Quraish at Nakhla during the sacred months, or the slaughter of eight hundred helpless prisoners in cold blood.

CHAPTER X.

ENTITLED SURAT AL YUNAS (JONAH).

Revealed at Makkah.

INTRODUCTION.

THIS chapter is so called on account of the mention of the Prophet Jonah in ver. 98. It is undoubtedly of Makkan origin. There are some, however, who would assign vers. 41 and 94, or vers. 94-97, or 41-109, or even the whole Sura, to Madína. The only ground for such an opinion seems to be the reference made to the Jews in various parts of the chapter, which Jews are supposed to be of Madína. But, granting that the Jews referred to belonged to Madína, it does not follow that the chapter belongs to Madína, for history proves that for some time previous to the Hijra, Muhammad had intercourse with many of the people of Madína, some of whom were no doubt Jews. A tradition tells of Jews going to Makkah to question the Prophet, which, though in great measure apocryphal, must have had some foundation in fact. However this may be, Muhammad's familiarity with Jewish history and tradition shows that he had Jews among his friends and acquaintance. Certainly the matter of this chapter, as well as the style and animus of discourse, points to Makkah.

Date of the Revelations.

Little can be said as to the date of the revelations. The allusion to the famine in ver. 22 points to a period not far removed from the Hijra; and if what has been said of Muhammad's intercourse with the Jews of Madína be well founded, that fact points to the same period.

Principal Subjects.

	VERSES
The Makkans charge their Prophet with sorcery because he is a man from among them	1, 2
The Creator and Ruler of the universe the only true God	3
Believers rewarded at death for good deeds	4

	VERSES
Unbelievers punished after death	4
God's works are signs to all men	5, 6
Rewards and punishments of the faithful and the un- believing	7-11
God's purpose in prospering the wicked	12
Men pray to God in affliction, but forget Him with the return of prosperity	13
The people of Makkah warned by the example of former generations	14, 15
The Quraish desire a different Qurán—Muhammad protests his inability to alter it	16-18
Idolaters trust intercessors who can neither profit nor harm them	19
All men originally professed one religion	20
The people demand of Muhammad a sign	21
When men despise the judgments of God he threatens greater suffering	22
Unbelievers remember God in distress by land and sea, but forget Him when delivered	23, 24
Life likened to water which sustains vegetable life	25
Paradise for Muslims and hell for the infidels	26-28
Idolaters will be deserted by their gods in the judgment-day	29-31
Idolaters exhorted to worship him whom they recognise as their Creator, Preserver, and Governor	32-37
The Qurán no forgery ; it confirms the former Scriptures	38
Those who charge Muhammad with imposture challenged to produce a chapter like it	39, 40
Some believe in the Qurán, others reject it	41
The unbelieving Quraish declared to be reprobate	42-47
An apostle is sent to every nation	48
Unbelievers mock at the threatenings of their prophet	49
Every nation has its fixed period of existence	50
Infidels will believe when their punishment comes upon them	51-55
God is the Author of life and death	56, 57
The Qurán an admonition and direction to the unbelievers	58, 59
Lawful food not to be prohibited	60, 61
Muhammad ever under Divine guidance	62
The blessedness of those who believe and fear God	63-65
Unbelievers cannot harm the Prophet	66-68
Those rebuked who say that God hath begotten children	69-71
Muhammad likened to Noah and other prophets	72-75
Moses and Aaron sent to Pharaoh and his princes	76
They are rejected as sorcerers and perverters of the national religion	77-82

	VERSES
A few of the people only believe on them	83
Moses and Aaron with the believers put their trust in God .	84-86
The Israelites commanded to be constant in prayer to God .	87
Moses's prayer, that God would destroy the Egyptians, is heard	88, 89
Pharaoh and his people drowned in the sea	90
He repents and is raised out of the sea for a sign to the people	90-92
The Israelites are provided with a habitation and blessing .	93
Jews and Christians appealed to in confirmation of the statements of the Qurán	94, 95
No kind of miracle will suffice to make the reprobate believe	96-98
Infidels do not believe on Muhammad because God does not permit them to do so	99-103
The people of Makkah exhorted to accept the true orthodox faith	104-107
Muhammad not responsible for the faith or unbelief of the people	108
The Prophet exhorted to be patient	109

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

- || (1) AL. R. These are the signs of the wise book. THIRD MUNZIL.
- (2) Is it a strange thing unto the men of *Makkah*, that we have revealed *our will* unto a man from among them, R $\frac{1}{6}$.
saying, Denounce threats unto men *if they believe not* ;
 and bear good tidings unto those who believe, that on the merit of their sincerity they have an interest with their LORD ? The unbelievers say, This is manifest sorcery.
- (3) Verily your LORD is GOD, who hath created the heavens and the earth in six days; and then ascended

(1) A. L. R. See Prelim. Disc., pp. 100-102.

(2) *A man from among them*. "And not one of the most powerful among them neither; so that the Quraish said it was a wonder God could find out no other messenger than the orphan pupil of Abu Tálib."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*.

This is manifest sorcery. "Meaning the Qurán. According to the reading of some copies, the words may be rendered, 'This man (i.e., Muhammad) is no other than a manifest sorcerer.'"—Sale.

(3) *In six days*. See note on chap. vii. 55.

his throne, to take on himself the government of *all* things. There is no intercessor, but by his permission. This is GOD, your LORD; therefore serve him. Will ye not consider? (4) Unto him shall ye all return *according* to the certain promise of GOD; for he produceth a creature and then causeth it to return again: that he may reward those who believe and do that which is right, with equity. But as for the unbelievers, they shall drink boiling water, and *they shall suffer* a grievous punishment for that they have disbelieved. (5) It is he who hath ordained the sun to shine *by day*, and the moon for a light *by night*; and had appointed her stations, that ye might know the number of years, and the computation *of time*. GOD hath not created this, but with truth. He explaineth *his* signs unto people who understand. (6) Moreover in the vicissitudes of night and day, and whatever GOD hath created in heaven and earth, are surely signs unto men who fear *him*. (7) Verily they who hope not to meet us *at the last day*, and delight in this present life, and rest securely in the same, and who are negligent of our signs: (8) their dwelling shall be *hell-fire*, for that which they have deserved. (9) But as to those who believe, and work righteousness, their LORD will direct them because of their faith; they shall have rivers flowing through gardens of pleasure. (10) Their prayer therein *shall be* Praise be unto thee, O GOD! and their salutation therein *shall be* Peace! (11)

No intercessor, but &c. "These words were revealed to refute the foolish opinion of the idolatrous Makkans, who imagined their idols were intercessors with God for them."—*Salé*. See notes on chap. ii. 47, 123, 254; vi. 50.

(4) *Boiling water*. See chap. ii. 38.

(5) *But with truth, i.e.*, to manifest the truth of the Divine unity. The Makkan preacher here sets forth God the Creator as the true object of worship.

(7) *Who hope not to meet us, i.e.*, the Quraish, who strenuously denied the doctrine of bodily resurrection.

(9) *Believe and work righteousness*. See note on chap. ii. 25, 223; and chap. iii. 15.

(10) *Their salutation*. "Either the mutual salutation of the blessed to one another, or that of the angels to the blessed."—*Salé*.

and the end of their prayer *shall be*, Praise be unto GOD, the LORD of all creatures !

|| (12) If GOD should cause evil to hasten unto men, according to their desire of hastening good, verily their end had been decreed. Wherefore we suffer those we hope not to meet us *at the resurrection* to wander amazedly in their error. (13) When evil befalleth a man, he prayeth unto us *lying* on his side, or sitting, or standing; but when we deliver him from his affliction, he continueth *his former course of life*, as though he had not called upon us *to defend him* against the evil which had befallen him. Thus was that which the transgressors committed prepared for them. (14) We have formerly destroyed the generations *who were* before you, O men of *Makkah*, when they had acted unjustly, and our apostles had come unto them with evident *miracles* and they would not believe. Thus do we reward the wicked people. (15) Afterwards did we cause you to succeed them in the earth, that we might see how ye would act. (16) When our evident signs are recited unto them, they who hope not to meet us *at the resurrection*, say, Bring a different Qurán from this; or make some change therein. Answer, It is not *fit* for me that I should change it at my pleasure: I follow that only which is revealed unto me. Verily I fear, if I should be disobedient unto my LORD, the punishment of the great day. (17) Say, if GOD had so pleased, I had not read it unto you, neither had I taught you the same.

(11) Compare the Revelation, chap. iv. 8, and v. 11-13.

(13) See notes on chap. ii. 15, 16.

(13) *Prayeth . . . on his side or sitting, &c., i.e.,* "in all postures and at all times."—*Sale*. The *Tafsír-i-Raufi* informs us that allusion is here made to the great famine which visited Makkah shortly before the Hijra. See below on ver. 23.

(15) The allusion is to the prosperity succeeding the famine referred to in note on preceding verse.

(16) *Bring a different Qurán, i.e.,* instead of denouncing threatenings against us, bring us a message of mercy.—*Tafsír-i-Raufi*.

Not fit that I should change it. "The changes or abrogations of the Koran do not contradict this verse, as Muhammad says God is the Author of them."—*Brinckman's "Notes on Islám."*

I have already dwelt among you to the age of *forty years*, before *I received it*. Do ye not therefore understand? (18) And who is more unjust than he who deviseth a lie against GOD, or accuseth his signs of falsehood? Surely the wicked shall not prosper. (19) They worship besides GOD that which can neither hurt them or profit them, and they say, These are our intercessors with GOD. Answer, Will ye tell GOD that which he knoweth not, neither in

(17) *To the age*. Rodwell translates literally "for years." Sale's addition "of forty years" is, however, correct. "For so old was Muhammad before he took upon him to be a prophet; during which time his fellow-citizens well knew that he had not applied himself to learning of any sort, nor frequented learned men, nor had ever exercised himself in composing verses or orations, whereby he might acquire the art of rhetoric or elegance of speech (Prelim. Disc., p. 73). A flagrant proof, says al Baidhāwī, that this book could be taught him by none but God."

This view, however, does not agree with what is recorded of his previous career. Is it likely that he should have been trained in the same household with Ali, who knew both how to read and write, and not have received similar instruction? Could he have conducted an important mercantile business for years without some knowledge of letters? That he could read and write in later years is certain. Tradition tells us he said to Mu'āwīa, one of his secretaries, "Draw

the ب straight, divide the و properly," &c., and that in his last moments he called for writing materials. The question arises, When did he acquire this art? The commentators say that God gave him the power, as he did his inspiration, and they quote chap. xvi. 4, one of the earliest verses of the Qurán, in proof. Certainly that verse seems to teach clearly that he could write as well as read, though it by no means teaches that he had not received the knowledge of both beforehand, or that he did not receive it in the ordinary way. His use of amanuenses does not militate against his knowledge of the art of writing, for such use of amanuenses was common in that age, even among the most learned. But still there remains the testimony of many traditions and the almost universal belief of Muhammadans. How account for this? I am inclined to think it originated with a misunderstanding of Muhammad's repeated claim that he was the "Illiterate Prophet," or rather the "Prophet of the Illiterate," the term "illiterate" being generally applied by the Jews to the Arabs. See notes on chap. v. 85, 86. This misunderstanding turned out to the furtherance of Muhammad's claims, inasmuch as the miracle of the matchless style of the Qurán was enhanced by the consideration that the Prophet was illiterate. On the whole, we think there is very good reason for believing Muhammad to have been acquainted with the art of both reading and writing from an early period in his life.

(19) *These are our intercessors*. See Prelim. Disc., p. 36.

heaven nor in earth? Praise be unto him! and far be that from him which they associate *with him*! (20) Men were professors of one religion only, but they dissented *therefrom*; and if a decree had not previously issued from thy LORD *deferring their punishment*, verily the *matter* had been decided between them, concerning which they disagreed. (21) They say, Unless a sign be sent down unto him from his LORD *we will not believe*. Answer, Verily that which is hidden *is known* only unto GOD: wait, therefore, *the pleasure of God*; and I also will wait with you.

|| (22) And when we caused the men of *Makkah* to taste R $\frac{3}{8}$. mercy, after an affliction which had befallen them, behold, they *devised* a stratagem against our signs. Say *unto them*, GOD is more swift in *executing* a stratagem *than ye*. Verily our messengers write down that which

That which he knoweth not, viz., "That he hath equals or companions either in heaven or on earth, since he acknowledgeth none."—Sale.

(20) *One religion only*. "That is to say, the true religion, or Islám, which was generally professed, as some say, till Abel was murdered, or, as others, till the days of Noah. Some suppose the first ages after the Flood are here intended; others, the state of religion in Arabia from the time of Abraham to that of Amru Ibn Luhai, the great introducer of idolatry into that country."—Sale.

(21) *Unless a sign be sent, &c.* This verse shows that as yet Muhammad wrought no miracle; but he seems to have expected to receive the power to do so. At least this seems to be the best interpretation of the following sentence:—"Wait, therefore, and I also will wait with you."

(22) *After an affliction*. This affliction is described by the commentators as a famine, yet there is no tradition giving any satisfactory account of it. The repeated references to it in the Qurán prove that some kind of affliction did occur, which Muhammad declared to be due to the Divine vengeance against the wickedness of the Quraish. See chaps. vii. 95, and xxiii. 77-79. See Muir's *Life of Mahomet*, vol. ii. p. 227. Sale, on the authority of Baidháwi says, "That they were afflicted with a dearth for seven years, so that they were very near perishing; but no sooner relieved by God's sending them plenty, than they began again to charge Muhammad with imposture, and to ridicule his revelations."

Our messengers, i.e., "guardian angels."—Sale. "The two recording angels called the *Mu'qqibát*, or the angels who continually succeed each other, who record the good and evil actions of a man, one standing at his right hand and another on his left."—Hughes, *Notes on Muhammadanism*, p. 82.

ye deceitfully devise. (23) It is he who hath given you conveniences for travelling by land and by sea; so that ye be in ships, which sail with them, with a favourable wind, and they rejoice therein. *And when* a tempestuous wind overtaketh them, and waves come upon them from every side, and they think themselves encompassed *with inevitable dangers*, they call upon God, exhibiting the pure religion unto him, *and saying*, Verily if thou deliver us from this *peril*, we will be of those who give thanks. (24) But when he hath delivered them, behold, they behave themselves insolently in the earth, without justice. O men, verily the violence which ye commit against your own souls *is for the* enjoyment of this present life only; afterwards unto us shall ye return, and we will declare unto you that which ye have done. (25) Verily the likeness of this present life is no other than as water, which we send down from heaven, and wherewith the productions of the earth are mixed, of which men eat, and cattle *also*, until the earth receive its vesture, and be adorned *with various plants*: the inhabitants thereof imagine that they have power over the same; *but* our command cometh unto it by night or by day, and we render it *as though it had been mowen*, as though it had not yesterday abounded *with fruits*. Thus do we explain *our* signs unto people who consider. (26) GOD inviteth unto the dwelling of peace, and directeth whom he pleaseth into the right way. (27) They who do right shall *receive* a most excellent *reward*, and a superabundant addition; neither blackness

(23) *Exhibiting the pure religion*. "That is, applying themselves to God only, and neglecting their idols; their fears directing them in such an extremity to ask help of him only who could give it."—Sale.

Compare with this verse Psalm cvii. 23-31.

(26) *Dwelling of peace* = Paradise; and *right way* = Islám. See chap. vi. 126, 127.

(27) *Superabundant addition*. "For their reward will vastly exceed the merit of their good works. Al Ghazáli supposes this *additional recompense* will be the beatific vision."—Sale. Prelim. Disc., p. 159.

Neither blackness. See Prelim. Disc., p. 149.

nor shame shall cover their faces. These *shall be* the inhabitants of Paradise; they shall continue therein *for ever*. (28) But they who commit evil *shall* receive the reward of evil, equal thereunto, and they shall be covered with shame (*for* they shall have no protector against God); as though their faces were covered with the profound darkness of the night. These shall be the inhabitants of *hell-fire*: they shall remain therein *for ever*. (29) On the day of the *resurrection* we will gather them altogether; then will we say unto the idolaters, *Get ye* to your place, ye and your companions: and we will separate them from one another; and their companions will say *unto them*, Ye do not worship us; (30) and GOD is a sufficient witness between us and you; neither did we mind your worshipping of us. (31) There shall every soul experience that which it shall have sent before it; and they shall be brought before GOD their true LORD; and the *false deities* which they vainly imagined shall disappear from before them.

NIST.

|| (32) Say, Who provideth you food from heaven and R $\frac{4}{9}$.

(28) *Equal thereunto*, "i.e., though the blessed will be rewarded beyond their deserts, yet God will not punish any beyond their demerits, but treat them with the exactest justice."—Sale.

But what kind of justice is that which rewards beyond merit? See ver. 27. Is not this view of God's justice accountable for the perverted ideas of justice prevalent in Muslim countries, where the most trifling services are reckoned as deserving munificent rewards?

(29) *Companions*, i.e., idols or inferior deities worshipped by the Quraish.

Ye do not worship us. "But ye really worshipped your own lusts, and were seduced to idolatry, not by us, but by your own superstitious fancies. It is pretended that God will, at the last day, enable the idols to speak, and that they will thus reproach their worshippers, instead of interceding for them, as they hoped. Some suppose the angels, who were also objects of the worship of the pagan Arabs, are particularly intended in this place."—Sale.

(31) *Every soul shall experience*. "Some copies, instead of *tablu*, read *tatlu*, i.e., shall follow or meditate upon."—Sale.

That which it shall have sent before it. See note on chap. ii. 94.

(32-37) This passage contains very cogent reasoning against the idolaters, and very justly represents their folly in worshipping inferior deities, while regarding God as the source of all their blessings,

earth? or who hath the absolute power over the hearing and the sight? and who bringeth forth the living from the dead, and bringeth forth the dead from the living? and who governeth *all* things? They will surely answer, GOD. Say, Will ye not therefore fear *him*? (33) This is therefore GOD your true LORD: and what *remaineth there* after truth except error? How therefore are ye turned aside *from the truth*? (34) Thus is the word of thy LORD verified upon them who do wickedly; that they believe not. (35) Say, Is there any of your companions who produceth a creature, and then causeth it to return *unto himself*? Say, GOD produceth a creature, and then causeth it to return *unto himself*. How therefore are ye turned aside *from his worship*? (36) Say, Is there any of your companions who directeth unto the truth? Say, GOD directeth unto the truth. Whether is he, therefore, who directeth unto the truth more worthy to be followed, or he who directeth not, unless he be directed? What aileth you therefore, that ye judge as ye do? (37) And the greater part of them follow an *uncertain* opinion only; but a *mere* opinion attaineth not unto any truth. Verily GOD knoweth that which they do. (38) This Qurán could not have been composed by *any* except GOD; but *it is* a confirmation of that which was *revealed* before it, and an

and fleeing to him in every time of trouble. These teachings account for much of the success of Islám as a missionary religion. Its pure monotheism stands out in strong contrast with the polytheism of the idolaters.

(38) *The Qurán could not have been composed by any except God.* "No reason is given why none other but God could have composed it. In the next verse Muhammad declares the interpretation of the Koran had not come to the people he reproves: if, then, they did not understand it, how could they judge if it was miraculous? If it was 'dark sentences to them,' their saying was true that the verses were meaningless, jangling rhymes."—*Brinckman's "Notes on Islam."* See also notes on chaps. ii. 23, and vi. 93.

A confirmation of that which was revealed before it. This passage explicitly declares the former Scriptures to be the Word of God. It also claims that the Qurán explains these Scriptures. If, therefore, it fails to fulfil its own claims, it thereby proves itself a forgery.

explanation of the scripture; there is no doubt thereof; *sent down* from the LORD of all creatures. (39) Will they say, *Muhammad* hath forged it? Answer, Bring therefore a chapter like unto it; and call whom you may *to your assistance*, besides GOD, if ye speak truth. (40) But they have charged that with falsehood, the knowledge whereof they do not comprehend, neither hath the interpretation thereof come unto them. In the same manner did those who were before them accuse *their prophets* of imposture; but behold, what was the end of the unjust! (41) There are some of them who believe therein; and there are some of them who believe not therein: and thy LORD well knoweth the corrupt doers.

|| (42) If they accuse thee of imposture, say, I have my work and ye have your work; ye shall be clear of that which I do, and I will be clear of that which ye do. (43) There are some of them who hearken unto thee; but wilt thou make the deaf to hear, although they do not understand? (44) And there are some of them who look at thee; but wilt thou direct the blind, although they see not? (45) Verily GOD will not deal unjustly with men

(39) *Will they say Muhammad hath forged it?* The charge of imposture is as old as Muhammad's prophetic claims. In reply he gave no better proof of his sincerity than that of this verse. On this claim see chaps. ii. 23 and vi. 93.

(40) *In the same manner, &c.* Muhammad here likens himself to the former prophets. But unfortunately for the likeness, it is not true. The former prophets, as a class, were not charged with imposture.

(41) *Some . . . who believe, &c., i.e.,* "There are some of them who are inwardly well satisfied of the truth of thy doctrine, though they are so wicked as to oppose it; and there are others of them who believe it not, through prejudice and want of consideration. Or the passage may be understood in the future tense, of some who should afterwards believe and repent, and of others who should die infidels." —Sale, *Baidhāwī*.

(42) See note on chap. iii. 185.

(44) *Although they see not.* "These words were revealed on account of certain Makkans, who seemed to attend while Muhammad read the Qurān to them or instructed them in any point of religion, but yet were as far from being convinced or edified, as if they had not heard him at all." —Sale.

in any respect: but men deal unjustly with their own souls. (46) On a certain day he will gather them together, as though they had not tarried above an hour of a day; they shall know one another. Then shall they perish who have denied the meeting of GOD; and were not *rightly* directed. (47) Whether we cause thee to see a part of *the punishment* wherewith we have threatened them, or whether we cause thee to die *before thou see it*; unto us shall they return: then *shall* GOD be witness of that which they do. (48) Unto every nation *hath* an apostle *been sent*; and when their apostle came, *the matter* was decided between them with equity; and they were not treated unjustly. (49) *The unbelievers* say, When *will* this threatening *be made good*, if ye speak truth? (50) Answer, I am able neither to procure advantage unto myself, nor to avert mischief *from me*, but as GOD pleaseth. Unto every nation is fixed term *decreed*; when their term therefore is expired, they shall not have respite for an hour, neither shall *their punishment* be anticipated. (51) Say, Tell me, if the punishment of GOD overtake you by night or by day, what *part* thereof will the ungodly

(45) *Men deal unjustly, &c.* "For God deprives them not of their senses or understanding; but they corrupt and make an ill use of them."—Sale.

(46) *As though they had not tarried, &c.* This passage, which alludes to the resurrection, teaches that death is a sleep from which men shall awaken as though they had slept but an hour.

They shall know one another, "as if it were but a little while since they parted. But this will happen during the first moments only of the resurrection, for afterwards the terror of the day will disturb and take from them all knowledge of one another."—Sale.

(48) See notes on chap. vi. 41. This idea was borrowed from the Jews.

With equity. "By delivering the Prophet and those who believed on him, and destroying the obstinate infidels."—Sale.

How far this is from the truth the reader need not be told.

(50) *When their term is expired, &c.* The doctrine of the decrees as here set forth carries with it a strong bent towards fatalism. But see note on chap. iii. 145.

Their punishment. This insertion is an error. The word *it*, meaning *the fixed time*, would convey the meaning of the original.

(51) *By night or by day, i.e., sudden and unexpected.* The infi-

wish to be hastened? (52) When it falleth *on you*, do ye then believe it? Now *do ye believe, and wish it far from you*, when as ye formerly desired it should be hastened? (53) Then shall it be said unto the wicked, Taste the punishment of eternity; would ye receive *other* than the reward of that which ye have wrought? (54) They will desire to know of thee whether this be true. Answer, Yea, by my LORD, it is certainly true; neither shall ye weaken *God's power so as to escape it*.

|| (55) Verily, if every soul which hath acted wickedly R ⁶/₁₁ had whatever is on the earth, it would *willingly* redeem itself therewith *at the last day*. Yet they will conceal *their* repentance, after they shall have seen the punishment; and *the matter* shall be decided between them with equity, and they shall not be unjustly treated. (56) Doth not whatsoever is in heaven and on earth *belong* unto GOD? Is not the promise of GOD true? But the greater part of them know *it* not. (57) He giveth life, and he causeth to die; and unto him shall ye *all* return. (58) O men, now hath an admonition come unto you from your LORD, and a remedy for the *doubts* which are in *your* breasts; and a direction and mercy unto the true believers. (59) Say, Through the grace of GOD and his mercy; therein therefore let them rejoice; this will be better than what they heap together *of worldly riches*.

dels had said they did not believe in the threatened judgments of Muhammad's revelation, and had defiantly declared their wish for it to come upon them at once."—*Tafsir-i-Raafi*.

(55) *They will conceal their repentance*. "To hide their shame and regret, or because their surprise and astonishment will deprive them of the use of speech. Some, however, understand the verb which is here rendered *will conceal* in the contrary signification, which it sometimes bears; and then it must be translated, 'They will openly declare their repentance,' &c."—*Sale, Jaláluddín, Baidháwi*.

Rodwell translates, "they will proclaim their repentance."

(57) This is said in proof of the doctrine of the resurrection and judgment which the Quraish so strenuously rejected.

(58) *An admonition, i.e., the Qurán*. How it could be "a remedy for the doubts" of the Quraish is not very evident, seeing "the interpretation" had not yet come to them. See ver. 38.

(60) Say, Tell me, of that which GOD hath sent down unto you for food, have ye declared *part to be* lawful, and *other part to be* unlawful? Say, Hath GOD permitted you to *make this distinction*? or do ye devise a *lie* concerning GOD? (61) But what will be the opinion of those who devise a lie concerning GOD on the day of the resurrection? Verily GOD is endued with beneficence towards mankind; but the greater part of them do not give thanks.

R 12. || (62) Thou shalt be *engaged* in no business, neither shalt thou be *employed* in meditating on *any passage* of the Qurán; nor shall ye do any action, but we will be witnesses over you, when ye are employed therein. Nor is so much as the weight of an ant hidden from thy LORD in earth or in heaven: neither *is there anything* lesser than that, or greater, but it is *written* in the Perspicuous Book. (63) Are not the friends of GOD *the persons* on whom no fear shall come, and who shall not be grieved? (64) They who believe and fear *God*, (65) shall receive good tidings in this life and in that which is to come. There is no change in the words of GOD. This *shall be* great felicity. (66) Let not their discourse grieve thee; for all might *belongeth* unto GOD: he *both* heareth *and* knoweth. (67) Is not whoever *dwelleth* in heaven and on earth *subject* unto GOD? What therefore do they follow who invoke idols besides GOD? They follow nothing but a *vain*

(60) *Food . . . lawful and unlawful.* See chap. vi. 118, 119.

(61) *Tafsír-i-Raufi* paraphrases as follows: "And thou, O my beloved, art not in any condition, nor readest thou aught of the divine Qurán; nor do ye, O men, any work, but we are present with you in the day ye begin it."

This is one of the few passages of the Qurán which teach the omnipresence of GOD.

Weight of an ant. See chap. iv. 39, and note there.

Perspicuous Book. "The Preserved Table whereon God's decrees are recorded."—Sale.

(65) *No change in the words of God, i.e.,* his promises are sure.

(66) *Their discourse, viz.,* "the impious and rebellious talk of the infidels."—Sale.

opinion; and they only utter lies. (68) It is he who hath ordained the night for you, that you may take your rest therein, and the clear day *for labour*: verily herein are signs unto people who hearken. (69) They say, God hath begotten children: GOD forbid! He is self-sufficient. Unto him *belongeth* whatsoever is in heaven and on earth: ye have no demonstrative proof of this. Do ye speak of GOD that which ye know not? (70) Say, Verily, they who imagine a lie concerning GOD shall not prosper. (71) *They may enjoy* a provision in this world; but afterwards unto us shall they return, and we will then cause them to taste a grievous punishment, for that they were unbelievers.

|| (72) Rehearse unto them the history of Noah, when he said unto his people, O my people, if my standing forth *among you*, and my warning *you* of the signs of GOD, be grievous unto you, in GOD do I put my trust. Therefore lay your design *against me*, and assemble your false gods; but let not your design be *carried on* by you *in the dark*: then come forth against me, and delay not. (73) And if ye turn aside *from my admonitions*, I ask not any reward of you *for the same*; I expect my reward from GOD alone, and I am commanded to be *one* of those who are resigned *unto him*. (74) But they accused him of imposture, wherefore we delivered him, and those who *were* with him in the ark, and we caused them to survive *the flood*, but we drowned those who charged our signs with falsehood. Behold, therefore, what was the end of those who were warned *by Noah*. (75) Then did we send, after him,

SULS.

R $\frac{8}{13}$.

(69) *God hath begotten children.* This is said of the Quraish. Compare chap. vi. 101. The opinion of the idolaters here combated no doubt exercised an influence in leading Muhammad to reject the doctrine of the sonship of Christ.

(71) *A provision in this world.* Alluding to the prosperity of the infidel Quraish.

(72) *The history of Noah.* See chap. vii. 60.

(73) *I ask not any reward from you.* "Therefore, ye cannot excuse yourselves by saying that I am burdensome to you."—Sale.

(75) *Then did we send . . . apostles.* "As Húd, Sáliḥ, Abraham,

apostles unto their *respective* people, and they came unto them with evident demonstrations: yet they were not *disposed* to believe in that which they had before rejected as false. Thus do we seal up the hearts of the transgressors. (76) Then did we send, after them, Moses and Aaron unto Pharaoh and his princes with our signs: but they behaved proudly, and were a wicked people. (77) And when the truth from us had come unto them, they said, Verily this is manifest sorcery. (78) Moses said *unto them*, Do ye speak *this* of the truth, after it hath come unto you? Is this sorcery? but sorcerers shall not prosper. (79) They said, Art thou come unto us to turn us aside from that *religion* which we found our fathers practise, and that ye two may have the command in the land? But we do not believe you. (80) And Pharaoh said, Bring unto me every expert magician. And when the magicians were come, Moses said unto them, Cast down that which ye are about to cast down. (81) And when they had cast down *their rods and cords*, Moses said *unto them*, The enchantment which ye have performed shall God surely render vain; for GOD prospereth not the work of the wicked doers; (82) and GOD will verify the truth of his words, although the wicked be adverse *thereto*.

|| (83) And there believed not *any* on Moses, except a generation of his people, for fear of Pharaoh and of his

Lot, and Shuaib, to those of Ad, Thamúd, Babel, Sodom, and Midian."—*Sale*.

(76) *Moses and Aaron, &c.* See notes on chap. vii. 104, &c.

(77) *Sorcery.* According to the Qurán, the charges made against the former prophets were of a kind with those made by the Quraish against Muhammad. This constant effort of Muhammad, everywhere visible in the Qurán, does not well accord with the conduct of the prophets to whom he likened himself.

(79) *To turn us aside, &c.* Here again the Qurán contradicts Holy Writ. Moses and Aaron are nowhere in the Bible set forth as apostles sent for the conversion of the Egyptians to the true faith. Nor is there any reason to believe that Pharaoh regarded Moses and Aaron as usurpers striving to obtain "the command of the land."

(83) *Except a generation.* "For when he first began to preach, a few of the younger Israelites only believed in him; the others not

princes, lest he should afflict them. And Pharaoh was lifted up with pride in the earth, and was surely *one* of the transgressors. (84) And Moses said, O my people, if ye believe in God, put your trust in him, if ye be resigned to *his will*. (85) They answered, We put our trust in GOD: O LORD, suffer us not to be afflicted by unjust people; (86) but deliver us, through thy mercy, from the unbelieving people. (87) And we spake by inspiration unto Moses and his brother, *saying*, Provide habitations for your people in Egypt, and make your houses a place of worship, and be constant at prayer; and bear good news unto the true believers. (88) And Moses said, O LORD, verily thou hast given unto Pharaoh and his people *pompous ornaments* and riches in this present life, O LORD, that they may be seduced from thy way: O LORD, bring their riches to nought, and harden their hearts; that they may not believe, until they see *their* grievous punishment.

giving ear to him for fear of the king. But some suppose the pronoun *his* refers to Pharaoh, and that these were certain Egyptians who, together with his wife Asia, believed in Moses."—*Sale, Baidhārwi*.

The allusion may be to the magicians, who are said to have been converted to the faith of Moses and Aaron. See chap. vii. 121-127. Arnold thinks the allusion is to the Israelites (*Islām and Christianity*, p. 139). The succeeding verses seem to justify this view.

(87) *Make your houses a place of worship*. "So Jalāluddīn expounds the original word Qibla, which properly signifies that place or quarter towards which one prays. Wherefore al Zamakhsharī supposes that the Israelites are here ordered to dispose their oratories in such a manner that, when they prayed, their faces might be turned towards Makkah, which he imagines was the Qibla of Moses, as it is that of the Muhammadans. The former commentator adds that Pharaoh had forbidden the Israelites to pray to God, for which reason they were obliged to perform that duty privately in their houses."—*Sale*.

It is more likely that the allusion is to the Passover feast. Abdul Qādir says that the Israelites were made to occupy a special quarter of the city so as to escape the judgments about to come on Pharaoh.

(88) *Pompous ornaments*. "As magnificent apparel, chariots, and the like."—*Sale*.

Harden their hearts. This statement also contradicts the Pentateuch.

Your petition is heard. "The pronoun is in the dual number; the antecedent being Moses and Aaron. The commentators say that, in consequence of this prayer, all the treasures of Egypt were turned into stones."—*Sale, Jalāluddīn*.

(89) *God* said, Your petition is heard; be ye upright, therefore, and follow not the way of those who are ignorant.

(90) And we caused the children of Israel to pass through the sea: and Pharaoh and his army followed them in a violent and hostile manner; until, when he was drowning, he said, I believe that there is no GOD but he on whom the children of Israel believe; and I am *one* of the resigned.

(91) Now *dost thou believe*, when thou hast been hitherto rebellious, and one of the wicked doers? (92) This day will we raise thy body *from the bottom of the sea*, that thou mayest be a sign unto those who shall be after thee; and verily a great number of men are negligent of our signs.

|| (93) And we prepared for the children of Israel an established dwelling *in the land of Canaan*, and we provided good things for their sustenance; and they differed not *in point of religion* until knowledge had come unto them; verily thy LORD will judge between them on the

Be ye upright. "Or, as al Baidhāwī interprets it, Be ye constant and steady in preaching to the people. The Muhammadans pretend that Moses continued in Egypt no less than forty years after he had first published his mission, which cannot be reconciled to Scripture."
—Sale.

(90) *I am one of the resigned.* "These words, it is said, Pharaoh repeated often in his extremity that he might be heard. But his repentance came too late; for Gabriel soon stopped his mouth with mud lest he should obtain mercy, reproaching him at the same time in the words which follow."—Sale.

This is a vague rendering of the Jewish legend that Pharaoh repented and was forgiven, and that he was raised from the dead, in accordance with Exod. ix. 15, 16. See Rodwell *in loco*, and Arnold's *Islām and Christianity*, p. 140.

(92) *We will raise thy body.* "Some of the children of Israel doubting whether Pharaoh was really drowned, Gabriel, by God's command, caused his naked corpse to swim to shore that they might see it (cf. Exod. xiv. 30). The word here translated *body*, signifying also a *coat of mail*, some imagine the meaning to be that his corpse floated armed with his coat of mail, which they tell us was of gold, by which they knew that it was he."—Sale.

(93) *Until knowledge, &c., i.e.,* "until the law had been revealed and published by Moses."—Sale. It seems to me the *knowledge* intended here is that of the Qurān, and the allusion is to the rejection of Muhammad by the Jews, though some were questioning whether he were not a prophet, and perhaps even believing him to be such. See Muir's *Life of Mahomet*, vol. ii. p. 183.

day of resurrection concerning that wherein they disagreed. (94) If thou art in doubt concerning *any part of* that which we have set down unto thee, ask them who have read the book *of the law* before thee. Now hath the truth come unto thee from thy LORD; be not therefore *one* of those who doubt; (95) neither be thou *one* of those who charge the signs of GOD with falsehood, lest thou become *one* of those who perish. (96) Verily those against whom the word of thy LORD is decreed shall not believe, (97) although there come unto them every *kind of* miracle, until they see the grievous punishment *prepared for them*. (98) And if *it were* not so, some city, *among the many which have been destroyed*, would have believed; and the faith of its *inhabitants* would have been of advantage unto them; *but none of them believed, before the execution of their sentence*, except the people of Jonas. When they believed, we delivered them from the punishment of shame in this world, and suffered them to enjoy

(94) *If thou art in doubt . . . ask, &c.* "That is, concerning the truth of the histories which are here related. The commentators doubt whether the person here spoken be Muhammad himself, or his auditor."—*Sale*.

This passage clearly confirms the Scriptures current in the days of Muhammad. See note on chap. vi. 93.

(98) *Except the people of Jonas, viz.,* "the inhabitants of Ninive, which stood on or near the place where al Mausul now stands. This people having corrupted themselves with idolatry, Jonas, the son of Mattai (or 'Amittai, which the Muhammadans suppose to be the name of his mother), an Israelite of the tribe of Benjamin, was sent by God to preach to and reclaim them. When he first began to exhort them to repentance, instead of hearkening to him, they used him very ill, so that he was obliged to leave the city, threatening them, at his departure, that they should be destroyed within three days, or, as others say, within forty. But when the time drew near, and they saw the heavens overcast with a black cloud, which shot forth fire and filled the air with smoke, and hung directly over their city, they were in a terrible consternation, and getting into the fields with their families and cattle, they put on sackcloth and humbled themselves before God, calling aloud for pardon, and sincerely repenting of their past wickedness. Whereupon God was pleased to forgive them, and the storm blew over."—*Sale, Baidhāwī, Jalāl-uddin.*

their lives and possessions for a time. (99) But if thy LORD had pleased, verily all who are in the earth would have believed in general. Wilt thou therefore forcibly compel men to be true believers? (100) No soul can believe but by the permission of GOD; and he shall pour out *his* indignation on those who will not understand. (101) Say, Consider whatever is in heaven and on earth: but signs are of no avail, neither preachers unto people who will not believe. (102) Do they therefore expect any other than *some terrible judgment*, like unto the judgments *which have fallen* on those who have gone before them? Say, Wait ye *the issue*; and I also will wait with you; (103) then will we deliver our apostles and those who believe. Thus is it a justice due from us that we should deliver the true believers.

R $\frac{11}{16}$. || (104) Say, O men of *Makkah*, if ye be in doubt concerning my religion, verily I worship not the *idols* which ye worship, besides GOD; but I worship GOD, who will

For a time. Sale says, "Until they died in the ordinary course of nature." It is better to understand it of the continued duration of the city. See Jonah iii. 10.

(99) *If thy Lord had pleased, &c.* The Prophet was very desirous all should believe on Islām, but God revealed this verse to show that the question of faith depends on his will.—*Tafsīr-i-Raufi*.

Forcibly compel, &c. Briuckman says this verse "distinctly forbids Muhammad to use force for Islām, and contradicts at least thirty other verses of the Korān."—*Notes on Islām*, p. 110. But the commentators say this verse is abrogated by "the sword verse." See chap. iv. 88 and chap. ix. 5. Both parties seem to have missed the sense of the verse. The meaning evidently is that the *Prophet can do nothing*, since "none can believe but by the permission of God."

(100) *No soul can believe, &c. . . and he shall pour, &c.* The free agency of the unbeliever is not recognised here. The infidel is such because God is not pleased he should believe (ver. 99), and because he is an infidel, God will "pour out his indignation" on him.

(104–109) These verses contain Muhammad's confession of faith at Makkah. They are at once a defence of his opposition to the national idolatry and an exhortation to his countrymen to believe in the true God. Muhammad is no guardian, but only a preacher of the true religion. God is the judge, and will decide between the Prophet and the unbelievers. Some, however, regard the last sentence of ver. 108 as abrogated by the command to convert by the sword. See *Tafsīr-i-Raufi in loco*.

cause you to die: and I am commanded to be *one* of the true believers. (105) And *it was said unto me*, Set thy face towards the *true* religion, and be orthodox; and by no means be *one* of those who attribute companions unto God; (106) neither invoke, besides God, that which can neither profit thee nor hurt thee: for if thou do, thou *will* then certainly *become one* of the unjust. (107) If God afflict thee with hurt, there is none who can relieve thee from it except he; and if he willeth thee any good, there is none who can keep back his bounty: he will confer it on such of his servants as he pleaseth; and he *is* gracious and merciful. (108) Say, O men, now hath the truth come unto you from your LORD. He therefore who shall be directed, will be directed to *the advantage of* his own soul; but he who shall err, will err only against the same. I am no guardian over you. (109) Do thou, *O Prophet*, follow that which is revealed unto thee: and persevere with patience until God shall judge; for he is the best judge.

CHAPTER XI.

ENTITLED SURAT AL HÚD.

Revealed at Makkah.

INTRODUCTION.

I HAVE not been able to find any better reason for the name of this chapter than that given by Sale: that the story of that prophet is repeated in it.

There is much in this chapter of a like character with the seventh chapter. Its several parts are closely connected together, and present what may be called an elaborate vindication of Muhammad's claim to be a prophet. The Quraish had rejected him as an impostor, and had styled his Qurán a forgery. Accordingly he falls back upon the example of former prophets, and threatens the infidels with that Divine wrath which had invariably destroyed the unbelievers who had rejected his predecessors in this holy office.

In respect to the histories of the prophets given in this chapter, there is one feature worthy of very special attention, as it bears directly on the question of Muhammad's sincerity and honesty as a religious teacher: it is *the Muhammadan colouring of the history of these prophets*. They were all, like Muhammad, sent to reclaim their people from idolatry. Like him, they were all rejected by the great majority of the people, only a few poor, despised persons professing faith in their prophet's message. Like him, they were all charged with imposture, and their messages were characterised as forgeries. This conduct was invariably followed by Divine retribution, the prophets and their followers being miraculously delivered from wicked hands.

The whole chapter marks a period of sharp and bitter opposition on the part of Muhammad's townsmen. It is probable that this fact, as well as the sharp epileptic paroxysms with which these revelations are said to have been accompanied, caused Muhammad to designate "Húd and its Sisters" as the "*Terrific Suras*." "The

'Sisters' are variously given as Suras xi., xxi., lvi., lxix., lxxvii., lxxviii., lxxxii., and ci.; all Meccan, and some of them very early Suras."—*Muir's Life of Mahomet*, vol. ii. p. 88.

Probable Date of the Revelations.

As to the date of composition, little can be said that is satisfactory beyond the fact that it belongs to a period of Muhammad's prophetic career at Makkah when the opposition of the Quraish was very fierce. A part of the chapter would seem to indicate the period immediately preceding the Ban of the Húshimites, say B.H. 4 (see note on ver. 91), but the greater part must be referred to a period succeeding that event (see notes on vers. 37 and 55).

Principal Subjects.

	VERSES
The Qurán a revelation from God	1, 2
Muhammad a warner and a preacher of goodness	3-5
Infidels cannot hide their sin from God	6
God the Creator and Preserver of all creatures	7, 8
The resurrection rejected by the infidels as sorcery	8
They scoff at threatened punishment	9
Mercy and judgment alike disregarded by infidels	10, 11
Those who persevere in good works shall be rewarded	12
The unbelievers demand a sign from heaven	13
Muhammad charged with forging the Qurán	14
He challenges the infidels to produce ten chapters like it, or to become Muslims	14, 15
The miserable fate of those who live for this present world	16, 17
Moses and the Jews attest the truth of the Qurán	18
The maligners of prophets shall be cursed	19-23
The blessed portion of believers	24
Similitudes of believers and unbelievers	25

The History of Noah :—

He is sent as a public preacher	26, 27
The chiefs of his people reject him as a liar	28
Noah protests his integrity—Refuses to drive away his poor followers—Deprecates being thought a seer or an angel	29-32
His people challenge him to bring on the threatened judgment	33
Noah declares that God destroys and saves whom he pleaseth	34, 35
Noah's people declare his message a forgery	36

God tells Noah that no more of his people will believe on him	37
He is commanded to make an ark	38
Noah builds the ark and is derided by the people	39
Embarks with his followers and one pair each of the animals	40, 41
Noah in vain entreats his unbelieving son to embark	42, 43
The waters abate and the ark rests on Al Júdi	44
Noah pleads with God for his son	45
God reproves him for his intercession for his son	46
Noah repents and asks pardon for his fault	47
He descends from the ark	48
This history a secret revealed to Muhammad	49

The History of Húd :—

He is sent to call Ád from idolatry	50-52
The Ádites reject him as a liar	53
Húd protests his integrity, and declares his trust in God to save him from their plots	54-57
God delivers Húd and his followers	58
The Ádites reject their messenger and are destroyed	59, 60

The History of Sálîh :—

He is sent to call the Thamúrites from idolatry	61
They reject his message	62
Sálîh protests his integrity, and gives them a she-camel as a sign from God	63, 64
They kill the camel, and are threatened with destruction	65
Sálîh and his followers are saved from destruction	66
The Thamúrites are miserably destroyed	67, 68

The History of Abraham and Lot :—

God's messengers sent to Abraham—He entertains them	69
He is filled with fear because they refuse to eat his meat	70
The angels quiet his fears and tell him they are sent to the people of Lot	70, 71
Sarah receives the promise of Isaac and Jacob	71-73
Abraham intercedes for the people of Lot	74
The angels refuse his request	75
Lot is anxious for the safety of his angel visitors	76
The Sodomites attack his house	77-79
The angels warn Lot to leave the city and inform him of the destruction impending over his people and his wife	80
The cities are overthrown and the people killed by a shower of bricks	81, 82

The History of Shuaib :—

He is sent to call the Midianites from idolatry . . .	83
He reproaches them for dishonest weights and measures . . .	84-86
The people reject him, refusing to leave their idols . . .	87
Shuaib protests his integrity, and exhorts them to flee the fate of the people of Noah, Húd, Sálîh, and Lot	88-90
The people threaten to stone him	91
Shuaib threatens them with Divine judgment . . .	92-94
God destroys the infidels, but saves Shuaib and his followers	95, 96

The History of Moses :—

He is sent with signs to Pharaoh and his princes . . .	97
They reject him, and are consigned to hell-fire . . .	98-100

Exhortation and warning drawn from the fate of these cities	101-105
The condition of the righteous and wicked in judgment . .	106-109
Muhammad not to doubt about the religion of the Quarish . .	110
The Quarish doubt the Qurán as the Jews did the Penta- teuch	111
God will punish their evil deeds	112
Muhammad exhorted to be steadfast	113, 114
An exhortation to prayer	115
God just in destroying the unbelieving cities	116-118
The unbelievers predestinated to damnation	119
The whole history of the prophets related to Muhammad . .	120
Unbelievers threatened	121, 122
Muhammad exhorted to put his trust in God	123

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

|| (1) A. L. R. (2) *This* book, the verses whereof are R 1.
guarded against corruption, and are also distinctly ex-

(1) A. L. R. See Prelim. Disc., pp. 100-102.

(2) *Guarded against corruption.* "According to the various senses which the verb *uhkimat* in the original may bear, the commentators suggest as many different interpretations. Some suppose the meaning to be, according to our version, that the Qurán is not liable to be corrupted, as the law and the gospel have been in the opinion of the Muhammadans; others, that every verse in this particular chapter

plained, *is a revelation* from the wise, the knowing God: (3) that ye serve not *any other* GOD (verily I am a denouncer of threats, and a bearer of good tidings unto you from him); (4) and that ye ask pardon of your LORD, and then be turned unto him. He will cause you to enjoy a plentiful provision, until a prefixed time; and unto every one that hath merit *by good works* will he give his abundant reward. But if ye turn back, verily I fear for you the punishment of the great day: (5) unto GOD shall ye return; and he is almighty. (6) Do they not double *the folds* of their breasts, that they may conceal *their designs* from him? When they cover themselves with their garments, doth not he know that which they conceal and that which they discover? For he knoweth the innermost parts of the breasts of men.

is in full force, and not one of them abrogated; others, that the verses of the Qurán are disposed in a clear and perspicuous method, or contain evident and demonstrative arguments; and others, that they comprise judicial declarations to regulate both faith and practice."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*, *Jalāluddīn*, *Zamakhsharī*. See also Prelim. Disc., sect. iii.

Distinctly explained. "The signification of the verb *fussilat*, which is here used, being also ambiguous, the meaning of this passage is supposed to be, either that the verses are distinctly proposed or expressed in a clear manner; or that the subject-matter of the whole may be distinguished or divided into laws, monitions, and examples; or else that the verses were revealed by parcels."—Sale.

(3) *A denouncer, &c.* The usual title claimed at Makkah, and probably assumed along with the prophetic office.

(4) The condition of salvation is here declared to be repentance and good works. See notes on chap. iii. 31.

(6) *Double . . . their breasts.* "Or, as it may be translated, 'Do they not turn away their breasts?'"—Sale. Rodwell has it, "Do they not doubly fold up their breasts?"

He knoweth the innermost parts. "This passage was occasioned by the words of the idolaters, who said to one another, 'When we let down our curtains (such as the women use in the East to screen themselves from the sight of the men, when they happen to be in the room), and wrap ourselves up in our garments, and fold up our breasts, to conceal our malice against Muhammad, how should he come to the knowledge of it?' Some suppose this passage relates to certain hypocritical Muslims; but this opinion is generally rejected, because this verse was revealed at Makkah, and the birth of hypocrisy among the Muhammadans happened not till after the Hijra."—Sale.

|| (7) There is no *creature* which creepeth on the earth but GOD *provideth* its food; and he knoweth the place of its retreat, and where it is laid up. The whole *is written* in the perspicuous book of *his decrees*. (8) It is he who hath created the heavens and the earth in six days (but his throne was above the waters *before the creation thereof*), that he might prove you, *and see* which of you would excel in works. If thou say, Ye shall surely be raised again after death; the unbelievers will say, This is nothing but manifest sorcery. (9) And verily if we defer their punishment unto a determined season, they will say, What hindereth it *from falling on us*? Will it not come upon them on a day, wherein there shall be none to avert it from them; and that which they scoffed at shall encompass them?

|| (10) Verily, if we cause man to taste mercy from us, and afterwards take it away from him, he *will* surely become desperate and ungrateful. (11) And if we cause him to taste favour after an affliction had befallen him, he will surely say, The evils *which I suffered* are passed from me, and he *will become* joyful and insolent: (12) except those who persevere with patience and do that which is right; they shall *receive* pardon and a great reward. (13) Per-

(7) This passage also teaches the omniscience of God, and also the doctrine of a particular providence. Everything is a matter of eternal decree.

(8) *Six days*. See chaps. vii. 55, and x. 3.

His throne was, &c. "For the Muhammadans suppose this throne, and the waters whereon it stands, which waters they imagine are supported by a spirit or wind, were, with some other things, created before the heavens and earth. This fancy they borrowed from the Jews, who also say that the throne of glory then stood in the air, and was borne on the face of the waters by the breath of God's mouth" (*Rashi* ad Gen. i. 2).—*Sale*.

Manifest sorcery. See note on chap. x. 77.

(11) *After an affliction*. The allusion is to the famine which befell Makkah, see chap. x. 22 and note. The effect of the withdrawal of mercy is to make the unbeliever "cast aside all hope of Divine favour, for want of patience and God" (*Sale*); but the restoration of Divine favour has no other effect than to make them "joyful and insolent."

adventure thou wilt omit to *publish* part of that which hath been revealed unto thee, and thy breast will become straitened, lest they say, Unless a treasure be sent down unto him, or an angel come with him, to *bear witness unto him, we will not believe*. Verily thou art a preacher only; and GOD is the governor of all things. (14) Will they say, He hath forged the *Qurán*? Answer, Bring therefore ten chapters like unto it, forged by yourselves; and call on whomsoever ye may to assist you, except GOD, if ye speak truth. (15) But if they whom ye call to your assistance hear you not; know that *this book* hath been revealed by the knowledge of GOD only, and that there is no GOD but he. Will ye therefore become Muslims? (16) Whoso chooseth the present life and the pomp thereof, unto them will we give the recompense of their works therein, and the same shall not be diminished unto them. (17) These are they for whom no other reward is prepared in the next life except the fire of hell: that which they have done in *this life* shall perish, and that which they have wrought shall be vain. (18) Shall he therefore be compared with them who followeth the evident declaration of his LORD,

(13) *That which hath been revealed unto thee*. Godfrey Higgins, whom our Indian Mussalmáns are so fond of quoting, since his apology has become known through Sayad Ahmad's garbled translation, thinks Muhammad imagined himself to be inspired, as did "Johanna Southcote, Baron Swedenborg, &c."—*Apology for Mohamed*, p. 83.

Unless a treasure, &c. See notes on chap. vi. 34-36.

A preacher only. See notes on chaps. ii. 119, iii. 184, and vi. 109.

(14) *He hath forged*. See chap. x. 39.

"This was the number which he first challenged them to compose; but they not being able to do it, he made the matter still easier, challenging them to produce a single chapter only, comparable to the *Qurán* in doctrine and eloquence."—*Sale*.

See also on chap. ii. 23.

Rodwell thinks the challenge in such passages is not to produce a book which shall equal the *Qurán* in point of poetry or rhetoric, but "in the importance of its subject-matter, with reference to the Divine unity, the future retribution," &c. All Muslim authorities, so far as I know, include the rhetoric and poetry among the incomparable excellences.

and whom a witness from him attendeth, preceded by the book of Moses, *which was revealed for a guide, and out of mercy to mankind?* These believe in the *Qurán*; but whosoever of the confederate *infidels* believeth not therein, is threatened the fire of hell, *which threat shall certainly be executed*: be not therefore in a doubt concerning it; for it is the truth from thy LORD: but the greater part of men will not believe. (19) Who is more unjust than he who imagineth a lie concerning GOD? They shall be set before the LORD *at the day of judgment*, and the witnesses shall say, These are they who devised lies against their LORD. Shall not the curse of GOD *fall* on the unjust; (20) who turn *men* aside from the way of GOD, and seek to render it crooked, and who believe not in the life to come? (21) These were not able to prevail *against God* on earth, *so as to escape punishment*; neither had they any protectors besides GOD: their punishment shall be doubled unto them. They could not hear, neither did they see. (22) These are they who have lost their souls; and the *idols* which they falsely imagined have abandoned them. (23) There is no doubt but they shall be most miserable in the world to come. (24) But as for those who believe and do good works, and humble themselves before their LORD,

(18) *A witness.* Various opinions obtain as to who this witness was. Some say the *Qurán* is meant. Others say Gabriel or an angel. Others will have it to be the Light of Muhammad, which impartial spectators always beheld in the countenance of the prophet. —*Tafsir-i-Raufi.*

The book of Moses. The Pentateuch is here again referred to in such a way as to show that Muhammad regarded the copies current in his day as genuine.

These believe, i.e., those who possess the book of Moses. No doubt Muhammad was confirmed in his prophetic claims by the flattery of some Jewish followers. *His own doubts* seem to be expressed in what follows: "Be not therefore in doubt concerning it;" and yet they are only expressed to be refuted by this testimony.

It is the truth from thy Lord. This passage with verse below, if it may be applied to Muhammad, assert his sincerity in his own claims as strongly as any in the *Qurán*.

(19) *The witnesses.* "That is, the angels and prophets, and their own members."—*Salé.*

they shall be the inhabitants of Paradise; they shall remain therein *for ever*. (25) The similitude of the two parties is as the blind and the deaf, and *as* he who seeth and heareth: shall they be compared as equal? Will ye not therefore consider?

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|| (26) We formerly sent Noah unto his people; *and he said*, Verily I am a public preacher unto you; (27) that ye worship GOD alone; verily I fear for you the punishment of the terrible day. (28) But the chiefs of the people, who believed not, answered, We see thee *to be* no other than a man, like unto us; and we do not see that any follow thee, except those who are the most abject among us, *who have believed on thee* by a rash judgment; neither do we perceive any excellence in you above us: but we esteem you to be liars. (29) *Noah* said, O my people, tell me; if I have *received* an evident declaration from my LORD, and he hath bestowed on me mercy from himself, which is hidden from you, do we compel you to *receive* the same, in case ye be averse thereto? (30) O my people, I ask not of you riches, for *my preaching unto you*: my reward is with GOD alone. I will not drive away those who have believed: verily they shall meet their LORD *at the resurrection*; but I perceive that ye are

(25) *The two parties*. "Believers and unbelievers."—*Salé*. Muir thinks there is an allusion to the confederates of Makkah and the believers of Madina. See *Life of Mahomet*, vol. ii. p. 225 note.

(26) *We sent Noah, &c.* See notes on chap. vii. 60.

(28) *We see thee, &c.* This is what the chiefs of the Quraish said to Muhammad. See note on chap. x. 77.

A rash judgment. "For want of mature consideration, and moved by the first impulse of their fancy."—*Salé*.

(29) *Do we compel you, &c.* Muhammad had not yet conceived the idea of using the force of the sword to make converts. Moral suasion is the instrument now used. If the infidels choose the fire of hell, it is no concern of the prophets. He is not responsible. He is only a preacher of good news and a warner.

(30) *I will not drive away, &c.* "For this they asked him to do, because they were poor mean people. The same thing the Quraish demanded of Muhammad, but he was forbidden to comply with their request" (see chap. vi. 51).—*Salé*.

ignorant men. (31) O my people, who shall assist me against GOD, if I drive them away? Will ye not therefore consider? (32) I say not unto you, The treasures of GOD are in my power; neither *do I say*, I know the secrets of GOD: neither do I say, Verily I am an angel; neither do I say of those whom your eyes do condemn, GOD will by no means bestow good on them: (GOD best knoweth that which is in their souls;) for then should I certainly be *one* of the unjust. (33) They answered, O Noah, thou hast already disputed with us, and hast multiplied disputes with us; now therefore do thou bring that *punishment* upon us wherewith thou hast threatened us, if thou speakest truth. (34) *Noah* said, Verily GOD alone shall bring it upon you, if he pleaseth; and ye shall not prevail against him, *so as to escape the same*. (35) Neither shall my counsel profit you, although I endeavour to counsel you aright, if GOD shall please to lead you into error. He is your LORD, and unto him shall ye return. (36) Will the *Makkans* say, *Muhammad* hath forged the *Qurán*? Answer, If I have forged it, on me *be* my guilt; and let me be clear of that which ye are guilty of.

|| (37) And it was revealed unto Noah, *saying*, Verily R 4
none of thy people shall believe, except he who hath

(31) See notes on chap. vi. 51.

(32) See notes on chap. vi. 49. A comparison of these two passages shows with what facility Muhammad placed the account of his own persecutions in the mouths of former prophets. Here Noah utters the very words Muhammad utters!

(35) *If God shall please to lead you into error*. See notes on chap. x. 99, 100.

(36) The italics of the text seem to me certainly to be misplaced. Rodwell and Palmer have fallen into the same error. The passage is identical in meaning with that of ver. 14 and x. 39. But here these words are put in the mouths of the *chiefs of the people of Noah*, and the reply protesting sincerity is that of *Noah* himself. Both the preceding and succeeding contexts require this interpretation.

Understood in this light, the passage is most damaging to the claims of Muhammad for sincerity.

(37) *None . . . shall believe, &c.* If this statement reflects the feeling of Muhammad, as I believe it does, the chapter must be referred to that period of Muhammad's career at Makkah when he

already believed; be not therefore grieved for that which they are doing. (38) But make an ark in our presence, *according to the form and dimensions* which we have revealed unto thee; and speak not unto me in behalf of those who have acted unjustly, for they *are doomed to be drowned*. (39) And he built the ark; and so often as a company of his people passed by him they derided him; *but* he said, Though ye scoff at us *now*, we will scoff at you

despaired of his people believing on him, probably some time after the ban against the Hashimites.

(39) *They derided him.* "For building a vessel in an inland country, and so far from the sea; and for that he was turned carpenter, after he had set up for a prophet."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*.

(40) *Heaven poured forth.* "Or, as the original literally signifies, *boiled over*; which is consonant to what the Rabbins say, that the waters of the deluge were boiling hot.

This oven was, as some say, at Kufa, in a spot whereon a mosque now stands; or, as others rather think, in a certain place in India, or else at Aín Warda, in Mesopotamia; and its exudation was the sign by which Noah knew the flood was coming. Some pretend that it was the same oven which Eve made use of to bake her bread in, being of a form different from those we use, having the mouth in the upper part, and that it descended from patriarch to patriarch, till it came to Noah (*vide* D'Herbelot, *Bibl. Orient. art. Noah*). It is remarkable that Muhammad, in all probability, borrowed this circumstance from the Persian Magi, who also fancied that the first waters of the deluge gushed out of the oven of a certain old woman named Zala Kufa (*vide* Hyde, *De Rel. Vet. Persar.*, and Lord's *Account of the Relig. of the Persees*, p. 9).

"But the word *tannūr*, which is here translated *oven*, also signifying the *superficies of the earth*, or a *place whence waters spring forth*, or *where they are collected*, some suppose it means no more in this passage than the spot or fissure whence the first eruption of waters brake forth."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*, *Jalāluddīn*.

One pair. "Or, as the words may also be rendered, and some commentators think they ought, *two pair*, that is, two males and two females of each species; wherein they partly agree with divers Jewish and Christian writers (Aben Ezra, Origen, &c.), who from the Hebrew expression, *seven and seven*, and *two and two*, the male and his female (Gen. vii. 2), suppose there went into the ark fourteen pair of every clean, and two pair of every unclean species. There is a tradition that God gathered together unto Noah all sorts of beasts, birds, and other animals (it being indeed difficult to conceive how he should come by them all without some supernatural assistance), and that, as he laid hold on them, his right hand constantly fell on the male and his left on the female."—Sale, *Jalāluddīn*.

Except him, &c. "This was an unbelieving son of Noah, named Canaan or Yam; though others say he was not the son of Noah, but

hereafter as ye scoff at us; (40) and ye shall surely know on whom a punishment shall be inflicted, which shall cover him with shame, and on whom a lasting punishment shall fall. *Thus were they employed* until our sentence was put in execution and the oven poured forth *water*. And we said unto Noah, Carry into the ark of every species of animals one pair; and thy family (except him on whom a previous sentence of destruction hath passed), and those who believe. But there believed not with him except a few. (41) And Noah said, Embark thereon, in the name of God, while it moveth forward and while it standeth

his grandson by his son Ham, or his wife's son by another husband; nay, some pretend he was related to him no farther than by having been educated and brought up in his house. The best commentators add that Noah's wife, named Wáila, who was an infidel, was also comprehended in this exception, and perished with her son."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*, *Jalāluddīn*, *Zamakhsharī*.

Much of this is Muslim invention, a kind of improvement on the Jewish tradition alluded to in the text. The whole passage is a clear contradiction of the Bible, which the Qurán professes to attest.

Those who believe. "Noah's family being mentioned before, it is supposed that by these words are intended the other believers, who were his proselytes, but not of his family; whence the common opinion among Muhammadans of a greater number than eight being saved in the ark seems to have taken its rise."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*.

See also notes on chap. vii. 60.

Except a few, viz., "his other wife, who was a true believer, his three sons, Shem, Ham, and Japhet, and their wives, and seventy-two persons more."

See note on chap. vii. 65.

(41) *While it standeth still.* "That is, omit no opportunity of getting on board. According to a different reading, the latter words may be rendered, *who shall cause it to move forward and to stop*, as there shall be occasion. The commentators tell us that the ark moved forwards or stood still as Noah would have it, on his pronouncing only the words, *In the name of God*."

It is to be observed that the more judicious commentators make the dimensions of the ark to be the same with those assigned by Moses, notwithstanding others have enlarged them extravagantly, as some Christian writers (Origen, *Contr. Cels.* lib. 4) have also done. They likewise tell us that Noah was two years in building the ark, which was framed of Indian plane-trees; that it was divided into three stories, of which the lower was designed for the beasts, the middle one for the men and women, and the upper for the birds; and that the men were separated from the women by the body of Adam, which Noah had taken into the Ark. This last is a tradition of the

still; for my LORD *is* gracious *and* merciful. (42) And *the ark* swam with them between waves like mountains; and Noah called unto his son, who was separated *from him*, saying, Embark with us, my son, and stay not with the unbelievers. (43) He answered, I will get on a mountain, which will secure me from the water. *Noah* replied, There is no security this day from the decree of GOD, except for him on whom he shall have mercy. And a wave passed between them, and he became *one* of those who were drowned. (44) And it was said, O earth, swallow up thy waters, and thou, O heaven, withhold *thy rain*. And *immediately* the water abated, and the decree was fulfilled, and *the ark* rested on *the mountain* Al Júdí; and it was said, Away with the ungodly people!

Eastern Christians (Jacob. Edesseus, apud *Barcepham de Parad.*, part 1. chap. 14. *Vide* etiam Eliezer, pirke chap. 23), some of whom pretended that the matrimonial duty was superseded and suspended during the time Noah and his family were in the ark (Ambros, *De Noa et Arca*, chap. 21), though Ham has been accused of not observing continency on that occasion, his wife, it seems, bringing forth Canaan in the very ark (*vide* Heidegger, *Hist. Patriarchar.*, vol. i. p. 409).—Sale, *Baidháwi*, *Yahya*.

(42) *Noah called unto his son*. See note above on ver. 40.

(44) *Al Júdí*. "This mountain is one of those which divide Armenia on the south from Mesopotamia and that part of Assyria which is inhabited by the Kurds, from whom the mountains took the name of Kardú, or Gardú, by the Greeks turned into Gordyæi, and other names (see Bochart, *Phaleg.*, l. i. c. 3). Mount al Júdí (which name seems to be a corruption, though it be constantly so written by the Arabs, for Jordí or Giordí) is also called Thamánin, probably from a town at the foot of it (D'Herbelot, *Bibl. Orient.*, pp. 404, 676), so named from the number of persons saved in the ark, the word *thamánin* signifying *eighty*, and overlooks the country of Diyár Rabiab, near the cities of Mausál, Furda, and Jazírat Ibn Omar, which last place one affirms to be but four miles from the place of the ark, and says that a Muhammadan temple was built there with the remains of that vessel by the Khalífah Omar Ibn Abdulazíz, whom he by mistake calls Omar Ibn al Khattáb.

"The tradition which affirms the ark to have rested on these mountains must have been very ancient, since it is the tradition of the Chaldeans themselves (Berosus, apud *Joseph. Antiq.*, l. xiv. p. 135); the Chaldee paraphrasts consent to their opinion (*Onkelos et Jonathan* in Gen. viii. 4), which obtained very much formerly, especially among the Eastern Christians. To confirm it, we are told that the remainders of the ark were to be seen on the Gordyæan moun-

|| (45) And *Noah* called upon his LORD, and said, O LORD, RUBA.
 verily my son is of my family, and thy promise is true, for thou art the most just of those who exercise judgment. (46) *God* answered, O Noah, verily he is not of thy family; this *intercession of thine for him* is not a righteous work. Ask not of me therefore that wherein thou hast no knowledge; I admonish thee that thou become not *one* of the ignorant. (47) *Noah* said, O LORD, I have recourse unto thee *for the assistance of thy grace*, that I ask not of thee that wherein I have no knowledge; and unless thou for-

tains. Berosus and Abydenus both declare there was such a report in their time, the first observing that several of the inhabitants thereabouts scraped the pitch off the planks as a rarity, and carried it about them for an amulet; and the latter saying that they used the wood of the vessel against many diseases with wonderful success. The relics of the ark were also to be seen here in the time of Epiphanius, if we may believe him (Epiph., *Hæres.*, 18); and we are told the Emperor Heraclius went from the town of Thamánin up to the mountain al Júdí, and saw the place of the ark (Elmacin, l. i. c. 1). There was also formerly a famous monastery, called *the Monastery of the Ark*, upon some of these mountains, where the Nestorians used to celebrate a feast-day on the spot where they supposed the ark rested; but in the year of Christ 776 that monastery was destroyed by lightning, with the church and a numerous congregation in it. Since which time it seems the credit of this tradition hath declined, and given place to another, which obtains at present, and according to which the ark rested on Mount Masis in Armenia, called by the Turks Aghir-dagh, or *the heavy or great mountain*, and situate about twelve leagues south-east of Erivan."—Sale.

(45) *Thy promise is true.* "Noah here challenges God's promise that he would save his family."—Sale.

(46) *He is not of thy family.* "Being cut off on account of his infidelity."—Sale.

The *Tafsir-i-Raufi* expresses the opinion of some that Noah did not know his son was an infidel, and that had he known it, he would not have interceded for him.

This is quite in accordance with the intercession claimed for the prophets; *they may intercede for their true followers only.* Their intercession is of no avail to save the unbelieving, as illustrated by the case mentioned in the text.

This whole story is contrary to the teaching of the Bible.

A righteous work. "According to a different reading, this passage may be rendered, *for he hath acted unrighteously.*"—Sale. The reading of the text is certainly correct, as is evident from the succeeding context.

give me and be merciful unto me, I shall be *one* of those who perish. (48) It was said *unto him*, O Noah, come down from the *ark*, with peace from us, and blessings upon thee, and upon a part of those who are with thee; but as for a part of *them*, we will suffer them to enjoy *the provision of this world*, and afterwards shall a grievous punishment from us be inflicted on them *in the life to come*. (49) This is a secret history which we reveal unto thee; thou didst not know it, neither did thy people before this. Wherefore persevere with patience, for the *prosperous* issue shall attend the pious.

R $\frac{5}{5}$.

¶ (50) And unto *the tribe of Ád* we sent their brother Húd. He said, O my people, worship GOD; ye have no GOD besides him; ye only imagine falsehood *in setting up idols and intercessors of your own making*. (51) O my people, I ask not of you for this *my preaching* any recompense; my recompense *do I expect* from him only who hath created me. Will ye not therefore understand? (52) O my people, ask pardon of your LORD, and be turned unto him;

(47) *Unless thou forgive me*. This is another passage proving that the prophets are not sinless, as is claimed by Muslims.

(48) *Come down from the ark*. "The Muhammadans say that Noah went into the ark on the tenth of Rajab, and came out of it the tenth of al Muharram, which therefore became a fast. So that the whole time of Noah's being in the ark according to them was six months."—Sale, Baidháwi.

A part . . . with thee, i.e., those who continued in the faith of Noah.

A part of them. "That is, such of his posterity as should depart from the true faith and fall into idolatry."—Sale. This is hardly satisfactory. Those *with* Noah are here divided into two parts—one of which is to receive a blessing, the other a curse. The allusion is no doubt to Canaan. See Gen. ix. 20-25.

(49) *A secret history*. Of this passage Arnold (*Islám and Christianity*, p. 331) says: "The Koran, in describing the Flood, professes to reveal an unheard-of secret." But the purport of the passage is that this secret has been revealed to Muhammad and his people, the Arabs. As yet Muhammad regards himself as the Apostle of God to the Arabs, as Moses had been to the Egyptians. The idea of a universal Islám had not yet been conceived.

(50) See notes on chap. vii. 66.

he will send the heaven to pour forth rain plentifully upon you, and he will increase your strength by *giving* unto you *further* strength ; therefore turn not aside to commit evil. (53) They answered, O Húd, thou hast brought us no proof of *what thou sayest* ; therefore we will not leave our gods for thy saying, neither do we believe thee. (54) We say no other than that some of our gods have afflicted thee with evil. He replied, Verily I call GOD to witness, and do ye also bear witness that I am clear of that which ye associate *with God* besides him. (55) Do ye all therefore *join* to devise a plot against me, and tarry not ; (56) for I put my confidence in GOD, my LORD and your LORD. There is no beast but he holdeth *it* by its forelock ; verily my LORD *proceedeth* in the right way. (57) But if ye turn back, I have already declared unto you that with which I was sent unto you ; and my LORD shall substitute another nation in your stead, and ye shall not hurt him at all, for my LORD *is* guardian over all things. (58) And when our sentence came *to be put in execution*, we delivered Húd and those who had believed with him through our mercy ; and we delivered them from a grievous punishment. (59)

(52) *He will send the heaven, &c.* "For the Ádites were grievously distressed by a drouth for three years."—Sale. See chap. vii. 71, and note there.

(53) The Ádites present the same objections to their prophet that the Quraish offered to Muhammad, and the answers of Húd are verbatim the answers of Muhammad. This remark applies to the whole catalogue of prophets and peoples given in the Qurán. It is hard to believe that Muhammad was unconscious of manipulation here.

(54) *With evil.* "Or madness having deprived thee of thy reason, for the indignities thou hast offered them."—Sale.

(55) *Do ye . . . devise a plot.* Taking this language with that in ver. 57, *My Lord shall substitute another nation in your stead*, as expressive of Muhammad's own saying to the Quraish (see note on ver. 53), it would be a fair inference to fix the date of this revelation at the period when Muhammad began to court the favour of the inhabitants of Madína, *i.e.*, about one year previous to the Hijra.

(56) *By its forelock.* "That is, he exerciseth an absolute power over it, a creature held in this manner being supposed to be reduced to the lowest subjection."—Sale.

(58) *Those who believed.* Baidhâwi says, "they were in number four thousand."—Sale.

And this *tribe* of Ád wittingly rejected the signs of their LORD, and were disobedient unto his messengers, and they followed the command of every rebellious perverse person. (60) Wherefore they were followed in this world by a curse, and they *shall be followed by the same* on the day of resurrection. Did not Ád disbelieve in their LORD? Was it not *said*, Away with Ád, the people of Húd?

R 6. || (61) And unto *the tribe* of Thamúd we sent their brother Sálîh. He said *unto them*, O my people, worship GOD; ye have no GOD besides him. It is he who hath produced you out of the earth, and hath given you an habitation therein. Ask pardon of him, therefore, and be turned unto him; for my LORD is near *and* ready to answer. (62) They answered, O Sálîh, thou wast *a person* on whom we placed our hopes before this. Dost thou forbid us to worship that which our fathers worshipped? But we are certainly in doubt concerning *the religion* to which thou dost invite us, *as* justly to be suspected. (63) Sálîh said, O my people, tell me; if I have received an evident declaration from my LORD, and he hath bestowed on me mercy from himself; who will protect me from *the vengeance of GOD* if I be disobedient unto him? For ye shall not add unto me other than loss. (64) And *he said*, O my people, this she-camel of GOD *is* a sign unto you; therefore dismiss her freely, that she may feed in GOD's earth, and do her no harm, lest a swift punishment seize you. (65) Yet they killed her; and Sálîh said, Enjoy *yourselves* in your dwellings for three days, *after which ye shall be destroyed*. This is an infallible prediction. (66) And when our decree came *to be executed*, we delivered Sálîh and those who believed with him, through our

(61) *Thamúd*. See note on chap. vii. 14.

(62) *On whom we placed our hopes*. "Designing to have made thee our prince, because of the singular prudence and other good qualities which we observed in thee; but thy dissenting from us in point of religious worship has frustrated those hopes."—Sale, *Baidhâwî*.

(65) *Three days*, viz., "Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday."—Sale, see also note on chap. vii. 79.

mercy, from the disgrace of that day; for thy LORD is the strong, the mighty *God*. (67) But a terrible noise *from heaven* assailed those who had acted unjustly; and in the morning they were found in their houses lying *dead and* prostrate, (68) as though they had never dwelt therein. Did not Thamúd disbelieve in their LORD? Was not Thamúd *cast* far away?

|| (69) Our messengers also came formerly unto Abraham R 7. with good tidings: they said, Peace *be upon thee*. And he answered, *And on you be peace!* And he tarried not, but brought a roasted calf. (70) And when he saw that their hands did not touch the *meat*, he disliked them, and entertained a fear of them. *But* they said, Fear not; for we are sent unto the people of Lot. (71) And his wife *Sarah* was standing by, and she laughed; and we promised her Isaac, and after Isaac, Jacob. (72) She said, Alas!

(69) *Our messengers*. "These were the angels who were sent to acquaint Abraham with the promise of Isaac, and to destroy Sodom and Gomorrah. Some of the commentators pretend they were twelve, or nine, or ten in number; but others, agreeable to Scripture, say they were but three, viz., Gabriel, Michael, and Israfil."—*Sale, Jaláluddín*. See Gen. xviii.

(70) *When he saw that their hands, &c.* Their refusal to eat was regarded by Abraham as a declaration of want of friendship, custom requiring guests to eat in token of friendship.—*Tafsir-i-Raufi*.

Entertained a fear, &c. "Apprehending that they had some ill design against him because they would not eat with him."—*Sale*.

Fear not. "Being angels, whose nature needs not the support of food." This passage is a direct contradiction of Gen. xviii. 8. The Rabbins say the angels pretended to eat. See *Rodwell in loco*.

(71) *And she laughed*. "The commentators are so little acquainted with Scripture, that, not knowing the true occasion of Sarah's laughter, they strain their inventions to give some reason for it. One says that she laughed at the angels discovering themselves, and ridding Abraham and herself of their apprehensions; and another, that it was at the approaching destruction of the Sodomites (a very probable motive in one of her sex). Some, however, interpret the original word differently, and will have it that she did not *laugh*, but that *her courses*, which had stopped for several years, *came upon her* at this time, as a previous sign of her future conception."—*Sale, Baidhávi, Jaláluddín, &c.*

Isaac and Jacob. The references to this promised child are frequently connected with Jacob in such a way as to leave the impression that in Muhammad's mind Isaac and Jacob were brothers,

shall I bear a son, who am old ; this my husband also being advanced in years ? Verily this *would be* a wonderful thing. (73) *The angels* answered, Dost thou wonder at the *effect of the* command of GOD ? The mercy of God and his blessings be upon you, the family of the house : for he *is* praiseworthy, *and* to be glorified. (74) And when his apprehension had departed from Abraham, and the good tidings of *Isaac's birth* had come unto him, he disputed with us concerning the people of Lot ; for Abraham was a pitiful, compassionate, and devout *person*. (75) *The angels said unto him*, O Abraham, abstain from this ; for now is the command of thy LORD come to *put their sentence in execution*, and an inevitable punishment is ready to fall upon them. (76) And when our messengers came unto Lot, he was troubled for them, and his arm was straightened concerning them ; and he said, This is a grievous day. (77) And his people came unto him, rush-

born of Sarah. See chaps. xix. 50, and xxi. 72. *Ishmael is nowhere mentioned as the child of promise*. Every reference to him in the Qurán speaks of him as simply *a prophet*. The explanation doubtless is that these references, occurring in Makkan or very early Madína Suras, the spirit of inspiration derived its knowledge mostly from Jewish tradition. The Jews had not yet been rejected. The Arabs were not yet regarded as the chosen people of God.

(72) *Advanced in years*. "Al Baidháwí writes that Sarah was then ninety or ninety-nine years old, and Abraham a hundred and twenty."—Sale.

(73) *The house*. "Or the stock whence all the prophets were to proceed for the future. Or the expression may perhaps refer to Abraham and Ishmael's building the Kaabah, which is often called by way of excellence *the house*."—Sale.

(74) *He disputed with us*. "That is, he interceded with us for them. Jaláluddín, instead of the numbers mentioned by Moses, says that Abraham first asked whether God would destroy those cities if three hundred righteous persons were found therein, and so fell successively to two hundred, forty, fourteen, and at last came to one ; but there was not one righteous person to be found among them, except only Lot and his family."—Sale.

Cf. Gen. xviii. 23-33.

(76) *He was troubled for them*. "Because they appeared in the shape of beautiful young men, which must needs tempt those of Sodom to abuse them. He knew himself unable to protect them against the insults of his townsmen."—Sale, Jaláluddín, Baidháwí.

ing upon him, and they had formerly been guilty of wickedness. *Lot* said *unto them*, O my people, these my daughters are more lawful for you: therefore fear God, and put me not to shame by *wronging* my guests. Is there not a man of prudence among you? (78) They answered, Thou knowest that we have no need of thy daughters; and thou well knowest what we would have. (79) He said, If I had strength sufficient to *oppose* you, or I could have recourse unto a powerful support, *I would certainly do it*. (80) *The angels* said, O Lot, verily we are the messengers of thy LORD; they shall by no means come in unto thee. Go forth, therefore, with thy family, in some part of the night, and let not any of you turn back; but as for thy wife, that shall happen unto her which shall happen unto them. Verily the prediction of *their punishment* shall be *fulfilled* in the morning: is not the morning near? (81) And when our command came, we turned those *cities* upside down, and we rained upon them

(80) *They shall by no means come in unto thee*. "Al Baidhāwī says that Lot shut his door, and argued the matter with the riotous assembly from behind it; but at length they endeavoured to get over the wall; whereupon Gabriel, seeing his distress, struck them on the face with one of his wings and blinded them, so that they moved off crying out for help, and saying that Lot had magicians in his house."—Sale.

As for thy wife. "This seems to be the true sense of the passage; but according to a different reading of the vowel, some interpret it, *Except thy wife*; the meaning being that Lot is here commanded to take his family with him *except his wife*. Wherefore the commentators cannot agree whether Lot's wife went forth with him or not; some denying it, and pretending that she was left behind and perished in the common destruction; and others affirming it, and saying that when she heard the noise of the storm and overthrow of the cities, she turned back lamenting their fate, and was immediately struck down and killed by one of the stones mentioned a little lower. A punishment she justly merited for her infidelity and disobedience to her husband."—Sale.

For the name of Lot's wife, see note on lxvi. 10. See also note on chap. vii. 84.

(81) *We turned those cities upside down*. "For they tell us that Gabriel thrust his wing under them, and lifted them up so high, that the inhabitants of the lower heaven heard the barking of the dogs and the crowing of the cocks; and then, inverting them, threw them down to the earth."—Sale, *Jalāluddīn*, *Baidhāwī*.

stones of baked clay, one following another, (82) and being marked from thy LORD; and they *are* not far distant from those who act unjustly.

NISF.

R 8.

|| (83) And unto Madian *we sent* their brother Shuaib: he said, O my people, worship GOD: ye have no GOD but him: and diminish not measure and weight. Verily I see you *to be* in a happy condition; but I fear for you the punishment of the day which will encompass *the ungodly*. (84) O my people, give full measure and just weight; and diminish not unto men *ought* of their matters; neither commit injustice in the earth, acting corruptly. (85) The residue *which shall remain unto you as the gift* of GOD, *after ye shall have done justice to others*, will be better for you *than wealth gotten by fraud*, if ye be true believers. (86) I am no guardian over you. (87) They answered, O Shuaib, do thy prayers enjoin thee that we should leave the *gods* which our fathers worshipped, or that we should not do what we please with our substance? Thou *only*, it

Stones of baked clay. Some commentators say these bricks were burned in hell.—*Sale*.

(82) *Being marked.* "That is, as some suppose, streaked with white and red, or having some other peculiar mark to distinguish them from ordinary stones. But the common opinion is that each stone had the name of the person who was to be killed by it written thereon. The army of Abraha al Ashram was also destroyed by the same kind of stones."—*Sale, Jaláluddín, Baidháwi*.

Who act unjustly. "This is a kind of threat to other wicked persons, and particularly to the infidels of Makkah, who deserved and might justly apprehend the same punishment."—*Sale*.

The story of the destruction of Sodom as here given is another instance in which the Qurán contradicts the Bible while professing to attest its truth.

(83) *Madian.* See note on chap. vii. 86.

A happy condition. "That is, enjoying plenty of all things, and therefore having the less occasion to defraud one another, and being the more strongly bound to be thankful and obedient unto God."—*Sale*.

(86) These are the very words used by Muhammad to the Quraish. See chap. x. 108.

(87) *That we should not do what we please, &c.* "For this liberty, they imagined, was taken from them by his prohibition of false weights and measures, or to diminish or adulterate their coin."—*Sale, Baidháwi*.

seems, art the wise *person*, and fit to direct. (88) He said, O my people, tell me: if I have received an evident declaration from my LORD, and he hath bestowed on me an excellent provision, and I will not consent unto you in that which I forbid you; do I seek *any other* than *your* reformation, to the utmost of my power? My support is from GOD alone: on him do I trust, and unto him do I turn me. (89) O my people, let not *your* opposing of me draw on you *a vengeance* like unto that which fell on the people of Noah, or the people of Húd, or the people of Sálîh: neither *was* the people of Lot far distant from you. (90) Ask pardon, therefore, of your LORD; and be turned unto him: for my LORD is merciful *and* loving. (91) They answered, O Shuaib, we understand not much of what thou sayest, and we see thee to be a *man* of no power among us: if it had not been *for the sake of* thy family, we had surely stoned thee, neither couldst thou have prevailed against us. (92) *Shuaib* said, O my people, is my family more worthy in your opinion than GOD? and do ye cast him behind you with neglect? Verily my LORD comprehendeth that which ye do. (93) O my people, do ye work according to your condition; I will

(89) *Far distant from you.* "For Sodom and Gomorrah were situate not a great way from you, and their destruction happened not many ages ago; neither did they deserve it on account of their obstinacy and wickedness much more than yourselves."—*Sale*.

(91) *A man of no power.* "The Arabic word *dhaîf*, weak, signifying also, in the Himyaritic dialect, *blind*, some suppose that Shuaib was so, and that the Midianites objected that to him, as a defect which disqualified him for the prophetic office."—*Sale*.

Thy family, i.e., "For the respect we bear to thy family and relations, whom we honour as being of our religion, and not for any apprehension we have of their power to assist you against us. The original word, here translated *family*, signifies any number from three to seven or ten, but not more."—*Sale, Baidhâwî, Jalâluddîn*.

Muhammad here again puts the words of the Quraish into the mouths of the Midianites. He was under the protection of the Hâshimites, or of the household of Abu Tálib. The revelation must have been announced before the ban against the Hâshimites.

(93) Compare with chap. vi. 135, to see how Muhammad's replies to the Quraish are put into the mouths of other prophets. See note on ver. 53 above.

surely work *according to my duty*. And ye shall certainly know on whom will be inflicted a punishment which shall cover him with shame, and who is a liar. (94) Wait, therefore, *the event*; for I also will wait *it* with you. (95) Wherefore, when our decree came *to be executed*, we delivered Shuaib and those who believed with him, through our mercy; and a terrible noise *from heaven* assailed those who had acted unjustly; and in the morning they were found in their houses lying *dead and prostrate*, (96) as though they had never dwelt therein. Was not Madian removed *from off the earth*, as Thamúd had been removed?

R 2.

|| (97) And we formerly sent Moses with our signs and manifest power unto Pharaoh and his princes; (98) but they followed the command of Pharaoh, although the command of Pharaoh did not direct *them* aright. (99) *Pharaoh* shall precede his on the day of resurrection, and he shall lead them into *hell-fire*; an unhappy way *shall it be* which *they* shall be led. (100) They were followed in this *life* by a curse, and on the day of resurrection miserable *shall be* the gift which shall be given *them*. (101) This is *a part* of the histories of the cities, which we rehearse unto thee. Of them there are *some* standing, and *others which are* utterly demolished. (102) And we treated them not unjustly, but they dealt unjustly with their own souls; and their gods which they invoked, besides God, were of no advantage unto them at all when the decree of thy LORD came *to be executed on them*, neither were they any other than a detriment unto them. (103) And thus *was* the punishment of my LORD *inflicted*, when he punished the cities which were unjust; for his punishment is grievous and severe. (104) Verily herein is a sign unto him who feareth the punishment of the last

(97) *Pharaoh and his princes*. See notes on chap. vii. 104-136.

(99) Compare with chap. x. 90.

(101) *Utterly demolished*. "Literally, *mown down*; the sentence presenting the different images of corn standing and cut down, which is also often used by the sacred writers."—Sale.

day: that shall be a day, whereon all men shall be assembled, and that shall be a day whereon witness shall be borne; (105) we defer it not, but to a determined time. (106) When *that day* shall come, no soul shall speak to excuse itself or to intercede for another but by the permission of God. Of them, one shall be miserable and another shall be happy. (107) And they who shall be miserable shall be thrown into hell-fire; (108) there shall they wail and bemoan themselves: they shall remain therein so long as the heavens and the earth shall endure, except what thy LORD shall please to remit of their sentence; for thy LORD effecteth that which he pleaseth. (109) But they who shall be happy shall be admitted into Paradise; they shall remain therein so long as the heavens and the earth endure: besides what thy LORD shall please to add unto their bliss; a bounty which shall not be interrupted. (110) Be not therefore in doubt concerning that which these men worship: they worship no other than what their fathers worshipped before them; and we will surely give them their full portion, not in the least diminished.

|| (111) We formerly gave unto Moses the book of the law, and disputes arose among his people concerning it: and unless a previous decree had proceeded from thy

R $\frac{10}{10}$.

(108) *Wail and bemoan.* "The two words in the original signify, properly, the vehement drawing in and expiration of one's breath, which is usual to persons in great pain and anguish; and particularly the reciprocation of the voice of an ass when he brays."—Sale.

So long as the heavens and the earth shall endure. "This is not to be strictly understood, as if either the punishment of the damned should have an end or the heavens and the earth should endure for ever, the expression being only used by way of image or comparison, which needs not agree in every point with the thing signified. Some, however, think the future heavens and earth, into which the present shall be changed, are here meant."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*.

Except what thy Lord shall please to remit. See Prelim. Disc., pp. 149, 150.

(110) *We will surely give them their full portion.* The logical inference from all that is taught in this chapter, and especially in the examples given, is that the Quraish would reject Muhammad, and be ignominiously destroyed. This verse sets the seal to this threat. Muslims are, however, obliged to admit that, with a few exceptions, the "people of Muhammad" are reckoned true believers.

LORD to bear with them during this life, the matter had been surely decided between them. And thy people are also jealous and in doubt concerning the *Qurán*. (112) But unto every one of them will thy LORD render the reward of their works; for he well knoweth that which they do. (113) Be thou steadfast, therefore, as thou hast been commanded; and let him also be steadfast who shall be converted with thee; and transgress not, for he seeth that which ye do. (114) And incline not unto those who act unjustly, lest the fire of hell touch you: for ye have no protectors except GOD; neither shall ye be assisted against him. (115) Pray regularly morning and evening; and in the former part of the night, for good works drive away evil. This is an admonition unto those who consider: (116) wherefore persevere with patience; for GOD suffereth not the reward of the righteous to perish. (117) Were such of the generations before you endued with understanding and virtue who forbade the acting corruptly in the earth, any more than a few only of those whom we delivered; but they who were unjust followed the delights which they enjoyed in this world, and were

(111) *Thy people are . . . in doubt, &c.* This verse "disproves the miracle of the *Qurán*. A miracle requires to be so convincing that none who see it can doubt that it is a miracle. Christ did miracles; the fact of them was not doubted by those who saw them done, though the unbelievers and jealous said Satan was the doer of them. If the doubts here referred to are regarding the meaning of the *Koran*, then it is not an easy, light-giving book, as it is said to be."—*Brinckman's "Notes on Islám."*

(115) *Morning and evening.* "Literally in the extremities of the day."—*Sale.*

The former part of the night. "That is, after sunset and before supper, when the Muhammadans say their fourth prayer, called by them *Salát al maghrab*, or the evening prayer."—*Sale, Baidháwi.*

(117) *Which they enjoyed.* "Making it their sole business to please their luxurious desires and appetites, and placing their whole felicity therein."—*Sale.*

Were wicked doers. "Al Baidháwi says that this passage gives the reason why the nations were destroyed of old, viz., for their violence and injustice, their following their own lusts, and for their idolatry and unbelief."—*Sale.*

wicked doers: (118) and thy LORD was not of *such a disposition* as to destroy the cities unjustly, while their inhabitants behaved themselves uprightly. (119) And if thy LORD pleased, he would have made *all* men of one religion; but they shall not cease to differ among themselves, unless those on whom thy LORD shall have mercy: and unto this hath he created them; for the word of thy LORD shall be fulfilled *when he said*, Verily I will fill hell altogether with genii and men. (120) The whole *which we have related* of the histories of *our* apostles do we relate unto thee, that we may confirm thy heart thereby; and herein is the truth come unto thee, and an admonition and a warning unto the true believers. (121) Say unto those who believe not, Act ye according to your condition; we surely will act *according to our duty*: (122) and wait *the issue*; for we certainly wait *it also*. (123) Unto GOD *is known* that which is secret in heaven and earth; and unto him shall the whole matter be referred. Therefore worship him and put thy trust in him; for thy LORD is not regardless of that which ye do.

(118) *Unjustly*. "Or, as Baidhāwī explains it, for their idolatry only, when they observed justice in other respects."—*Sale*. The meaning, however, is that God never destroys a people without a good reason—and such a good reason is idolatry, as is evident from all the examples given in this chapter.

(119) *I will fill hell, &c.* See notes on chap. vii. 179-183.

(121) See above on ver. 93.

(123) *Thy Lord is not regardless of that which ye do*. Muhammad attributed his grey hairs to this chapter and its sisters. See Muir's *Life of Mahomet*, vol. iv. p. 255.

CHAPTER XII.

ENTITLED SURAT AL YUSUF (JOSEPH).

Revealed at Makkah.

INTRODUCTION.

THIS chapter purports to give an inspired account of the life of the patriarch Joseph. It differs from every other chapter of the Qurán, in that it deals with only one subject. Baidháwi, says Sale, tells us that it was occasioned in the following manner :—

“The Quraish, thinking to puzzle Muhammad, at the instigation and by the direction of certain Jewish Rabbins, demanded of him how Jacob’s family happened to go down into Egypt, and that he would relate to them the history of Joseph, with all its circumstances;” whereupon he pretended to have received this chapter from heaven.

Jaláluddín-us-Syutí, in his *Itqán*, says this chapter was given by Muhammad to those Madinese converted at Makkah before the Hijra. Weil conjectures that it was especially prepared with reference to the Hijra. This conjecture has, however, but little in its favour. Certain it is that the chapter belongs to Makkah. Much intercourse with the Jews at Madína would have improved the general historical character of the record.

The story related here bears every mark of having been received at second hand from persons themselves ignorant of the history of Joseph, except as recounted from hearsay among ignorant people. Muhammad’s informants had probably learned the story from popular Jewish tradition, which seems to have been garbled and improved upon by the Prophet himself. Certainly no part of the Qurán more clearly reveals the hand of the forger. The whole chapter is a miserable travesty of the Mosaic account of Joseph. In almost every instance the facts of the original story are misrepresented, misplaced, and garbled, while the additions are often wanting

the poor authority of the Rabbins. Nevertheless, this story is not only related as coming from God, but also as attesting the Divine character of the Qurán. It is significant that this chapter was rejected by the Ajáredites and Maimúnians as apocryphal and spurious.

Probable Date of the Revelations.

There are those (as Jaláluddín-us-Sayutí) who would assign vers. 1-3 to Madína, but the generally received opinion, as stated above, is that the whole chapter belongs to Makkah. The spirit shown in vers. 105, 110, towards the unbelieving Quraish, along with the general character of the chapter, based as it is upon information drawn from Jewish sources, point to the years immediately preceding the Hijra as the period to which it belongs. Muir, in his *Chronological List of Suras*, places it just before chap. xi. See *Life of Mahomet*, vol. ii. Appendix.

Principal Subjects.

	VERSES
The Prophet acquainted by inspiration with the history of Joseph	1-3
Joseph tells his father of his vision of the stars	4
Jacob warns Joseph against the jealousy of his brethren	5
Jacob understands the dream to signify Joseph's future prophetic character	6
Joseph's story a sign of God's providence	7
Joseph's brethren are jealous of him and of Benjamin	8
They counsel together to kill or to expatriate him	9
One of them advises their putting him into a well	10
They beg their father to send Joseph with them	11, 12
Jacob hesitates through fear that Joseph may be devoured by a wolf	13
Joseph's brethren, receiving their father's consent, take him with them and put him in a well	14, 15
God sends a revelation to Joseph in the well	15
The brethren bring to Jacob the report that Joseph had been devoured by a wolf	16, 17
Jacob does not believe the story of his sons	18
Certain travellers finding Joseph carry him into bondage	19, 20
An Egyptian purchases Joseph and proposes to adopt him	21
God bestows on him wisdom and knowledge	22
The Egyptian's wife endeavours to seduce Joseph	23
By God's grace he was preserved from her enticements	24
She accuses Joseph of an attempt to dishonour her	25

	VERSES
The rent in his garment testifies Joseph's innocence . . .	26, 27
Potipher believes Joseph and condemns his wife . . .	28, 29
The sin of Potipher's wife becomes known in the city . . .	30
The wives of other noblemen, seeing Joseph's beauty, call him an angel . . .	31
Potipher's wife declares her purpose to imprison Joseph unless he yield to her solicitations . . .	32
Joseph seeks protection from God . . .	33
God hears his prayer and turns aside their snares . . .	34
Joseph imprisoned notwithstanding his innocence . . .	35
He undertakes to interpret the dreams of two of the king's servants who were also imprisoned with him . . .	36, 37
Joseph preaches the Divine unity to his fellow-prisoners . . .	38, 40
He interprets the dreams of the two servants . . .	41
Joseph asks to be remembered to the king, but is forgotten . . .	42
The dreams of the king of Egypt . . .	43
The king's interpreters fail to interpret the king's dream . . .	44
Joseph remembers and interprets the king's dream . . .	45-49
The king calls Joseph out of prison . . .	50
The women of the palace acknowledge their sin in endeavouring to entice Joseph to unlawful love . . .	51
Joseph vindicated, yet professes his proneness to sin . . .	52, 53
The king restores Joseph . . .	54
Joseph made king's treasurer at his own request . . .	55-57
His brethren come to him, but do not recognise him . . .	58
Joseph requires his brethren to bring to him their brother Benjamin . . .	59-61
Their money returned in their sacks to induce their return . . .	62
Jacob reluctantly permits Benjamin to go to Egypt with his brethren . . .	63-66
Jacob counsels their entering the city by several gates . . .	67
This counsel of no avail against God's decree . . .	68
Joseph, receiving Benjamin, makes himself known to him . . .	69
He, by guile, brings his brethren under charge of theft . . .	70-76
He insists on retaining Benjamin instead of a substitute . . .	77, 79
After consultation, Benjamin's brethren all return to Jacob but one . . .	80-82
Jacob refuses to credit their story, yet puts his trust in God . . .	83
Jacob grieves for Joseph, and yet tells of his hope . . .	84-86
Jacob sends his sons to inquire after Joseph . . .	87
Joseph makes himself known to his brethren . . .	88-90
He pardons his brethren and sends his inner garment to his father to restore his sight . . .	91-93
Jacob foretells the finding of Joseph, and receives his sight . . .	94-97

	VERSES
He asks pardon for his wicked sons	98, 99
Joseph receives his parents unto him in Egypt.	100
Jacob and his sons and wife all do obeisance to Joseph	101
Joseph praises God for his mercies and professes the Muslim faith	102
The infidels will not believe the signs of the Qurán	103-107
The Makkan idolaters invited to the true faith.	108
God's apostles in all ages have been but men	109
Unbelievers invariably punished for rejecting the messengers of God	109, 110
The Qurán no forgery, but a confirmation of the writings of former prophets	111

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

|| (1) A. L. R. (2) These are the signs of the perspicuous R $\frac{1}{11}$ book, which we have sent down in the Arabic tongue, that, peradventure, ye might understand. (3) We relate unto thee a most excellent history, by revealing unto thee this Qurán, whereas thou wast before *one* of the negligent.

(1) *A. L. R.* See Prelim. Disc., pp. 100-102.

(2) *Arabic tongue.* The *Tafsir-i-Raufi* informs us that the reason why the Qurán was revealed in Arabic was because the Arabs would not have understood its meaning had it been revealed in any other. This is certainly a very natural reason. One would think that for a similar reason a translation of the Qurán might be used by nations not understanding Arabic, and that Muslims would not object to the translations of the former Scriptures.

(3) *A most excellent history.* "One of the best methods of convincing a Moslem of the inferiority of the Koran to the Bible would be to read the story of Joseph to him out of each book. In the Koran a beautiful and touching tale is mangled and spoiled."—*Brinckman's "Notes on Islam,"* p. 112.

This Qurán. "Or this particular chapter; for the word Qurán, as has been elsewhere observed (Prelim. Disc., p. 96), probably signifying no more than a 'reading' or 'lecture,' is often used to denote, not only the whole volume, but any distinct chapter or section of it."—*Sale.*

It is better to understand the word here to be applied to the whole sum of revelation enunciated by Muhammad. The idea seems to be that Muhammad would not have known this "excellent history" but for the Qurán, which contained it.

Thou wast before . . . negligent, i.e., "so far from being acquainted with the story, that it never so much as entered into thy thoughts :

(4) When Joseph said unto his father, O my father, verily I saw *in my dream* eleven stars, and the sun and the moon; I saw them make obeisance unto me: (5) *Jacob* said, O my child, tell not thy vision to thy brethren, lest they devise some plot against thee; for the devil is a professed enemy unto man; (6) and thus, *according to thy dream*, shall thy LORD choose thee, and teach thee the interpretation of *dark sayings*, and he shall accomplish his favour upon thee and upon the family of Jacob, as he hath formerly accomplished it upon thy fathers Abraham and Isaac; for thy LORD is knowing *and* wise. (7) Surely *in the history of Joseph* and his brethren there are signs of *God's providence* to the inquisitive; (8) when they said to

a certain argument, says al Baidhāwī, that it must have been revealed to him from heaven."—*Sale*.

Arnold says, "The 'Sura of Joseph,' composed by Mohammed in Mecca before his flight, is given as a direct and immediate revelation from heaven, and appealed to as a proof of his divine mission, though it contains incontrovertible proof of having been partially borrowed from the Bible, and still more largely from Rabbinical tradition. Here was no delusion, no Satanic inspiration, which could have been mistaken for Divine revelation, but a wilful fraud and a palpable deception."—*Islām and Christianity*, p. 75.

(4) *His father*, "who was Jacob, the son of Isaac, and the son of Abraham."—*Sale, Baidhāwī*.

Eleven stars. "The commentators give us the names of these stars (which I think it needless to trouble the reader with), as Muhammad repeated them, at the request of a Jew, who thought to entrap him by the question."—*Sale, Baidhāwī, Jalāluddīn, &c.*

(5) *Tell not thy vision*. A contradiction of the Bible. Comp. Gen. xxxvii. 5, 10.

Some plot. "For they say, Jacob, judging that Joseph's dream portended his advancement above the rest of the family, justly apprehended his brethren's envy might tempt them to do him some mischief."—*Sale*.

This also contradicts the Bible story, which nowhere intimates that Jacob suspected any evil design against Joseph.

(6) *Interpretation of dark sayings*. "That is, of dreams; or, as others suppose, of the profound passages of Scripture, and all difficulties respecting either religion or justice."—*Sale, Tafsīr-i-Raufi*.

This is also contrary to the Bible account.

(7) *The inquisitive*. Rodwell translates this "Inquirers," which corresponds with the Urdū translations. The persons referred to were certain Quraish, who, at the suggestion of the Jews, had asked

one another, Joseph and his brother are dearer to our father than we, who are the greater number: our father certainly maketh a wrong judgment. (9) *Wherefore* slay Joseph, or drive him into some *distant or desert part of the earth*, and the face of your father shall be cleared towards you; and ye shall afterwards be people of integrity. (10) One of them spoke and said: Slay not Joseph, but throw him to the bottom of the well; and some travellers will take him up, if ye do *this*. (11) They said *unto Jacob*, O father, why dost thou not intrust Joseph with us, since we are sincere *well-wishers* unto him? (12) Send him with us to-morrow *into the field*, that he may divert himself and sport, and we will be his guardians.

|| (13) *Jacob* answered, It grieveth me that ye take ^{SULS.} him away; and I fear lest the wolf devour him while ^R ₁₂² ye are negligent of him. (14) They said, Surely if the wolf devour him, when there are so many of us, we shall

Muhammad how Jacob's family happened to go into Egypt, and that he would relate to them the story of Joseph, whereupon this chapter was revealed.

(8) *His brother*, Benjamin.

(9) *Cleared towards you*, i.e., "He will settle his love wholly upon you, and ye will have no rival in his favour."—Sale.

(10) *One of them*. "This person, as some say, was Judah, the most prudent and noble-minded of them all; or, according to others, Reuben, whom the Muhammadan writers call Rubli. And both these opinions are supported by the account of Moses, who tells us that Reuben advised them not to kill Joseph, but to throw him into a pit, privately intending to release him; and that afterwards Judah, in Reuben's absence, persuaded them not to let him die in a pit, but to sell him to the Ishmaelites (Gen. xxxvii. 21, 22, 26, 27)."—Sale.

Note that all this is here represented as having taken place *before* Joseph was sent to them in the wilderness.

(12) *And sport*. "Some copies read, in the first person plural, *that we may divert ourselves*, &c."—Sale.

The Bible tells us that Jacob sent Joseph of his own accord, and that he sent him, not *with* his brothers, but to search for them in Shechem, and to bring him news of his sons and the flock. The whole passage, here, presumes Joseph to have been but a mere child.

(13) *I fear lest the wolf devour him*. "The reason why Jacob feared this beast in particular, as the commentators say, was either because the land was full of wolves, or else because Jacob had dreamed he saw Joseph devoured by one of these creatures."—Sale, *Baidhāwi*, *Jalāluddīn*, *Zamakhsharī*.

be weak indeed. (15) And when they had carried him with them, and agreed to set him at the bottom of the well, *they executed their design*: and we sent a revelation unto him, *saying*, Thou shalt *hereafter* declare this their action unto them; and they shall not perceive *thee to be Joseph*. (16) And they came to their father at even, weeping, (17) *and* said, Father, we went and ran races with one another, and we left Joseph with our baggage, and the wolf hath devoured him; but thou wilt not believe us although we speak the truth. (18) And they produced his inner garment *stained* with false blood.

This, with what follows in vers. 14, 15, also contradicts the Bible.

(15) *The well*. "This well, say some, was a certain well near Jerusalem, or not far from the river Jordan; but others call it the well of Egypt or Midian. The commentators tell us that, when the sons of Jacob had gotten Joseph with them in the field, they began to abuse and beat him so unmercifully, that they had killed him had not Judah, on his crying out for help, insisted on the promise they had made not to kill him, but to cast him into the well. Whereupon they let him down a little way; but, as he held by the sides of the well, they bound him, and took off his inner garment, designing to stain it with blood, to deceive their father. Joseph begged hard to have his garment returned him, but to no purpose, his brothers telling him, with a sneer, that the eleven stars and the sun and the moon might clothe him and keep him company. When they had let him down half-way, they let him fall thence to the bottom, and there being water in the well (though the Scripture says the contrary), he was obliged to get upon a stone, on which, as he stood weeping, the Angel Gabriel came to him with the revelation mentioned immediately."—Sale, Baidhāwi, Jalāluddīn, and Zamakhsharī.

The commentators have added many particulars to the account given in the Qurān, which they have learned from Jewish sources.

A revelation to him. "Joseph being then but seventeen years old, al Baidhāwi observes that herein he resembled John the Baptist and Jesus, who were also favoured with the Divine communication very early. The commentators pretend that Gabriel also clothed him in the well with a garment of silk of paradise. For they say that when Abraham was thrown into the fire by Nimrod, he was stripped; and that Gabriel brought this garment and put it on him; and that from Abraham it descended to Jacob, who folded it up and put it into an amulet, which he hung about Joseph's neck, whence Gabriel drew it out."—Sale, Baidhāwi, &c.

(17) *Ran races*. "These races they used by way of exercise; and the commentators generally understand here that kind of race wherein they also showed their dexterity in throwing darts, which is still used in the East."—Sale.

Jacob answered, Nay, but ye yourselves have contrived the thing for your own sakes: however patience is most becoming, and GOD's assistance is to be implored *to enable me to support the misfortune* which ye relate. (19) And certain travellers came, and sent one to draw water for them; and he let down his bucket, and said, Good news! this is a youth. And they concealed him, *that they might sell him* as a piece of merchandise; but GOD knew that which they did. (20) And they sold him for a mean price, for a few pence, and valued him lightly.

(18) *Yourselves have contrived, &c.* "This Jacob had reason to suspect, because, when the garment was brought to him, he observed that, though it was bloody, yet it was not torn."—*Sale, Baidháwi.*

According to the Bible, Jacob said, "Without doubt Joseph is rent in pieces" (Gen. xxxvii. 33).

(19) *Certain travellers, viz.,* "a caravan or company travelling from Midian to Egypt, who rested near the well three days after Joseph had been thrown into it."—*Sale.*

To draw water. The Bible says the well was dry (Gen. xxxvii. 24).

He let down. "The commentators are so exact as to give us the name of this man, who, as they pretend, was Málik Ibn Dhúr, of the tribe of Khudháah."—*Sale, Baidháwi.*

Let down his bucket. "And Joseph, making use of the opportunity, took hold of the cord, and was drawn up by the man."—*Sale.*

Good news! "The original words are *Yá bushrá*, the latter of which some take for the proper name of the water-drawer's companion, whom he called to his assistance; and then they must be translated O Bushra."—*Sale.*

They concealed him. "The expositors are not agreed whether the pronoun 'they' relates to Málik and his companions or to Joseph's brethren. They who espouse the former opinion say that those who came to draw water concealed the manner of their coming by him from the rest of the caravan, that they might keep him to themselves, pretending that some people of the place had given him to them to sell for them in Egypt. And they who prefer the latter opinion tell us that Judah carried victuals to Joseph every day while he was in the well, but not finding him there on the fourth day, he acquainted his brothers with it; whereupon they all went to the caravan and claimed Joseph as their slave, he not daring to discover that he was their brother, lest something worse should befall him; and at length they agreed to sell him to them."—*Sale, Baidháwi.*

The only fair interpretation of this passage is that the travellers hid him and sold him as a slave. The adverse opinion of the commentators is due to their desire to make the account tally with the story of Moses.

(20) *A mean price.* "Namely, twenty or twenty-two *dirhems*, and those not of full weight neither; for having weighed one ounce of silver only, the remainder was paid by tale, which is the most un-

R $\frac{3}{13}$.

|| (21) And the Egyptian who bought him said to his wife, Use him honourably; peradventure he may be serviceable to us, or we may adopt him for our son. Thus did we prepare an establishment for Joseph in the earth, and we taught him the interpretation of *dark* sayings; for God is well able to effect his purpose, but the greater part of men do not understand. (22) And when he had attained his age of strength, we bestowed on him wisdom and knowledge; for thus do we recompense the righteous. (23) And she in whose house he was desired him to lie with her; and she shut the doors and said, Come hither. He answered, God forbid! verily my lord hath made my dwelling *with him* easy; and the ungrateful shall not prosper. (24) But she resolved within herself *to enjoy* him, and he would have resolved *to enjoy* her, had he not

fair way of payment."—*Sale, Baidhāwi*. Compare with Gen. xxxvii. 28–36.

(21) *The Egyptian*. "His name was Kitfir or Itfir (a corruption of Potipher); and he was a man of great consideration, being superintendent of the royal treasury. The commentators say that Joseph came into his service at seventeen, and lived with him thirteen years; and that he was made prime minister in the thirty-third year of his age, and died at one hundred and twenty. They who suppose Joseph was twice sold differ as to the price the Egyptian paid for him, some saying it was twenty dinárs of gold, a pair of shoes, and two white garments; and others, that it was a large quantity of silver or of gold."—*Sale*.

This person is usually called Azíz or Azíz-i-misr by the commentators and Muslim writers in India.

His wife. "Some call her Raíl, but the name she is best known by is that of Zulaikha."—*Sale*.

We may adopt him. "Kitfir having no children. It is said that Joseph gained his master's good opinion so suddenly by his countenance, which Kitfir, who, they pretend, had great skill in physiognomy, judged to indicate his prudence and other good qualities."—*Sale*.

Dark sayings. See note on ver. 6.

(23) *My lord, viz.*, "Kitfir. But others understand it to be spoken of God."—*Sale*.

(24) *He would have resolved, &c.* This contradicts Gen. xxxix. 9; but the story is founded on Jewish tradition, as given in the Babylon Talmud, chap. Nashim, p. 36.

The evident demonstration, &c. "That is, had he not seriously considered the filthiness of whoredom, and the great guilt thereof. Some, however, suppose that the words mean some miraculous voice or apparition, sent by God to divert Joseph from executing the

seen the evident demonstration of his LORD. So we turned away evil and filthiness from him, because he was one of our sincere servants. (25) And they ran to get one before the other to the door, and she rent his inner garment behind. And they met her lord at the door. She said, What shall be the reward of him who seeketh to commit evil in thy family but imprisonment and a painful punishment? (26) And Joseph said, She asked me to lie with her. And a witness of her family bore witness, saying, If his garment be rent before, she speaketh truth, and he is a liar;

|| (27) But if his garment be rent behind, she lieth, and R $\frac{4}{14}$. he is a speaker of truth. (28) And when her husband saw that his garment was torn behind, he said, This is a cunning contrivance of your sex; for surely your cunning is great. (29) O Joseph, take no further notice of this affair: and thou, O woman, ask pardon for thy crime, for

criminal thoughts which began to possess him. For they say that he was so far tempted with his mistress's beauty and enticing behaviour, that he sat in her lap, and even began to undress himself, when a voice called to him, and bid him beware of her; but he taking no notice of this admonition, though it was repeated three times, at length the Angel Gabriel, or, as others will have it, the figure of his master, appeared to him; but the more general opinion is that it was the apparition of his father Jacob, who bit his fingers' ends, or, as some write, struck him on the breast, whereupon his lubricity passed out at the ends of his fingers.

"For this fable, so injurious to the character of Joseph, the Muhammadans are obliged to their old friends the Jews, who imagine that he had a design to lie with his mistress, from these words of Moses: 'And it came to pass . . . that Joseph went into the house to do his business, &c.'—Sale, Baidhāwi, Jalāluddīn, &c.

(25) They ran. "He flying from her, and she running after to detain him."—Sale.

She rent his garment behind. "Gen. xl. 15 reads, 'He left his garment in her hand . . . and got him out.' The whole garment was left, not torn. Her lord did not meet them at the door; ver. 16 (of Gen.) says she laid up the garment by her till her lord came home."—Brinckman's Notes on Islām, p. 114.

(26) A witness of her family, viz., "a cousin of hers, who was then a child in the cradle."—Sale, Baidhāwi, &c.

(28, 29) This is a cunning contrivance, &c. This decidedly contradicts Gen. xxxix. 19 and 20, where it is said that Potipher believed his wife's story, and in great wrath put Joseph in prison.

thou art a guilty person. (30) And certain women said *publicly* in the city, The nobleman's wife asked her servant to lie with her; he hath inflamed her breast with his love; and we perceive her *to be* in manifest error. (31) And when she heard of their subtle behaviour, she sent unto them and prepared a banquet for them, and she gave to each of them a knife; and she said *unto Joseph*, Come forth unto them. And when they saw him they praised him greatly, and they cut their own hands, and said, O God! this is not a mortal; he is no other than an angel,

(30) *Certain women.* "These women, whose tongues were so free with Zulaikha's character on this occasion, were five in number, and the wives of so many of the king's chief officers, viz., his chamberlain, his butler, his baker, his jailer, and his herdsman."—*Sale, Baidhāwi.*

(31) *She sent unto them.* "The number of all the women invited was forty, and among them were the five ladies above mentioned."—*Sale, Bardhāwi.*

Savary says, "The Egyptian women frequently visit and give entertainments to each other. Men are excluded. Only the slaves necessary to wait on the company are admitted. The pleasures of the table are succeeded by music and dancing. They are passionately fond of both. The *Almē*, that is to say, *the learned women*, are the delight of these entertainments. They sing verses in praise of guests, and conclude with love-songs. They afterwards exhibit voluptuous dances, the licentiousness of which is often carried to excess."

They praised him greatly. "The old Latin translators have strangely mistaken the sense of the original word *akbarnāho*, which they render *menstruatæ sunt*; and then rebuke Muhammad for the indecency, crying out demurely in the margin, *O fœdum et obscœnum prophetam!* Erpenius thinks that there is not the least trace of such a meaning in the word; but he is mistaken, for the verb *kabara* in the fourth conjugation, which is here used, has that import, though the sub-joining of the pronoun to it here (which possibly the Latin translators did not observe), absolutely overthrows that interpretation."—*Sale.*

Out their own hands. "Through extreme surprise at the wonderful beauty of Joseph; which surprise Zulaikha foreseeing, put knives into their hands on purpose that this accident might happen. Some writers observed, on occasion of this passage, that it is customary in the East for lovers to testify the violence of their passion by cutting themselves, as a sign that they would spend their blood in the service of the person beloved; which is true enough, but I do not find that any of the commentators suppose these Egyptian ladies had any such design."

The *Tafsīr-i-Raufi* says they were beside themselves, and went on cutting their hands without feeling any pain.

deserving the highest respect. (32) And *his mistress* said, This is he for whose sake ye blamed me; I asked him to lie with me, but he constantly refused. But if he do not perform that which I command him, he shall surely be cast into prison, and he shall be made *one* of the contemptible. (33) *Joseph* said, O LORD, a prison is more eligible unto me than *the crime* to which they invite me; but unless thou turn aside their snares from me, I shall youthfully incline unto them, and I shall become *one* of the foolish. (34) Wherefore his LORD heard him, and turned aside their snare from him, for he *both* heareth *and* knoweth. (35) And it seemed good unto them, *even* after they had seen the signs *of innocency*, to imprison him for a time.

|| (36) And there entered into the prison with him two R $\frac{5}{15}$
of the king's servants. One of them said, It seemed to me *in my dream* that I pressed wine *out of grapes*. And the other said, It seemed unto me *in my dream* that I carried bread on my head, whereof the birds did eat. Declare unto us the interpretation of *our dreams*, for we perceive that thou art a beneficent person. (37) *Joseph* answered, No food wherewith ye may be nourished shall come

(32-34) The spirit of these verses is not only opposed to the history of Joseph as given in the Bible, but is unworthy of a book claiming to be inspired. The conduct attributed to Potiphar is contrary to reason and common sense.

(35) *It seemed good unto them, &c.* "That is to Kitfir and his friends. The occasion of Joseph's imprisonment is said to be, either that they suspected him to be guilty notwithstanding the proofs which had been given of his innocence; or else that Zulaikha desired it, feigning, to deceive her husband, that she wanted to have Joseph removed from her sight till she could conquer her passion by time, though her real design was to force him to compliance."—*Sale, Baidhāwī, &c.*

This is evidently said to account for the imprisonment of Joseph. The excellency of the style and matter of the Qurán are hardly perceptible here.

(36) *Two of the king's servants, viz.,* "his chief butler and baker, who were accused of a design to poison him."—*Sale.*

One of them, viz., the butler.

(37) *No food, &c.* "The meaning of this passage seems to be,

unto you, but I will declare unto you the interpretation thereof before it come unto you. This *knowledge is a part* of that which my LORD hath taught me; for I have left the religion of people who believe not in GOD, and who deny the life to come, (38) and I follow the religion of my fathers, Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob. It is not *lawful* for us to associate anything with GOD. This *knowledge of the divine unity hath been given us* of the bounty of GOD towards us and towards mankind; but the greater part of men are not thankful. (39) O my fellow-prisoners, are sundry lords better or the only true and mighty GOD? (40) Ye worship not, besides him other than the names which ye have named, ye and your fathers, concerning which GOD hath sent down no authoritative proof: yet judgment *belongeth* unto GOD alone, *who* hath commanded that ye worship none besides him. This is the right religion; but the greater part of men know *it* not. (41) O my fellow-prisoners, verily the one of you shall serve wine unto his lord *as formerly*; but the other shall be crucified, and the birds shall eat from off his head. The matter is decreed concerning which ye seek to be informed. (42) And *Joseph* said unto him whom he judged to be the person who should escape of the two, Remember me in the presence of thy lord. But the devil caused him to forget

either that Joseph, to show he used no arts of divination or astrology, promises to interpret their dreams to them immediately, even before they should eat a single meal; or else he here offers to prophesy to them beforehand the quantity of the victuals which should be brought them, as a test of his skill."—*Sale*.

I have left the religion, &c. Muhammad here puts his own thoughts and sayings into the mouth of Joseph.

(38) *I follow the religion.* It is noticeable the Qurán here omits the name of Ishmael, showing how closely Muhammad followed the tradition of the Jews.

(40) *The names.* See note on chap. vii. 72.

(42) *The devil caused him to forget.* "According to the explication of some, who take the pronoun *him* to relate to Joseph, this passage may be rendered, 'But the devil caused him (*i.e.*, Joseph) to forget to make his application unto his Lord; and to beg the good offices

to make mention of *Joseph* unto his lord, wherefore he remained in the prison some years.

|| (43) And the king of *Egypt* said, Verily, I saw in my R $\frac{6}{16}$
dream seven fat kine, which seven lean kine devoured, and seven green ears of *corn*, and other seven withered ears. O nobles, expound my vision unto me, if ye be able to interpret a vision. (44) They answered, *They are* confused dreams, neither are we skilled in the interpretation of *such kind of* dreams. (45) And *Joseph's fellow-prisoner* who had been delivered, said (for he remembered *Joseph* after a certain space of time), I will declare unto you the interpretation thereof; wherefore let me go unto the person who will interpret it unto me. (46) And he went to the prison, and said, O *Joseph*, thou man of veracity, teach us the interpretation of seven fat kine, which seven lean kine devoured; and of seven green ears of *corn*, and other seven withered ears, which the king saw in his dream; that I may return unto the men who have sent me, that peradventure they may understand the same. (47) *Joseph* answered, Ye shall sow seven years as usual; and the corn

of his fellow-prisoner for his deliverance, instead of relying on God alone, as it became a prophet especially to have done."—Sale.

Rodwell shows that the passage is derived from Jewish tradition.

Some years. "The original word signifying any number from three to nine or ten, the common opinion is that *Joseph* remained in prison seven years, though some say he was confined no less than twelve years."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*, *Jalābuddīn*.

The period was two years. See Gen. xli. 1.

(43) *The king of Egypt*. "This prince, as the Oriental writers generally agree, was *Riyān*, the son of al *Walid*, the Amalekite (Prelim. Disc., p. 24), who was converted by *Joseph* to the worship of the true God, and died in the lifetime of that prophet. But some pretend that the Pharaoh of *Joseph* and of *Moses* were one and the same person, and that he lived (or rather reigned) four hundred years."

It can scarcely be disputed that the *Qurān* teaches that the Pharaohs of *Joseph* and of *Moses* are the same.

(47) The account here given of the interpretation of the king's dreams is also contrary to the story of *Moses*. Here it is said the butler asks *Joseph* the interpretation of the dreams, he yet being in prison. The Bible says that *Joseph* explained the dream to Pharaoh himself (Gen. xli. 15-37).

which ye shall reap do ye leave in its ear, except a little whereof ye may eat. (48) Then shall there come after this seven grievous *years of famine*, which shall consume what ye shall have laid up as a provision for the same, except a little which ye shall have kept. (49) Then shall there come after this a year wherein men shall have plenty of rain, and wherein they shall press *wine and oil*.

R $\frac{7}{1}$ || (50) And *when the chief butler had reported this*, the king said, Bring him unto me. And when the messenger came unto *Joseph*, he said, Return unto thy lord, and ask of him what was the intent of the women who cut their hands; for my LORD well knoweth the snare which they laid for me. (51) And *when the women were assembled before the king*, he said unto them, What was your design

Leave in its ear. Baidhawī says in order "to preserve it from the weevil."—Sale.

(49) *Plenty of rain.* "Notwithstanding what some ancient authors write to the contrary (Plato in *Timæo*, *Pomp. Mela.*), it often rains in winter in the Lower Egypt, and even snow has been observed to fall at Alexandria, contrary to the express assertion of Seneca (*Nat. Quæst.*, l. 4). In the Upper Egypt, indeed, towards the cataracts of the Nile, it rains very seldom (Greave's *Descrip. of the Pyramids*, p. 74, &c.) Some, however, suppose that the rains here mentioned are intended of those which should fall in Ethiopia and occasion the swelling of the Nile, the great cause of the fertility of Egypt; or else of those which should fall in the neighbouring countries, which were also afflicted with famine during the same time."—Sale.

The statement of the text is certainly a mistake, testifying to the fallibility of the Prophet.

(50) *Return unto thy lord, &c.* This passage seems to say that Potipher, the lord of Joseph, was identical with the king of Egypt. Rodwell's translation gives this meaning. See Rodwell, v. 51.

The women who cut their hands. "Joseph, it seems, cared not to get out of prison till his innocence was publicly known and declared. It is observed by the commentators that Joseph does not bid the messenger move the king to inform himself of the truth of the affair, but bids him directly to ask the king, to incite him to make the proper inquiry with the greater earnestness. They also observe that Joseph takes care not to mention his mistress, out of respect and gratitude for the favours he had received while in her house."

(51) *What was your design.* Note that the five women who came to Zulaikha's feast are here charged with the same crime as she. Sacred writ knows nothing of this.

when ye solicited Joseph to unlawful love? They answered, GOD be praised! we know not any ill of him. The nobleman's wife said, Now is the truth become manifest: I solicited him to lie with me; and he is *one* of those who speak truth. (52) *And when Joseph was acquainted therewith he said, This discovery hath been made that my lord might know that I was not unfaithful unto him in his absence, and that GOD directeth not the plot of the deceivers.*

|| (53) Neither do I *absolutely* justify myself: since every soul is prone unto evil, except those on whom my LORD shall show mercy; for my LORD is gracious and merciful. (54) And the king said, Bring him unto me: I will take him into my own peculiar service. And when *Joseph was brought unto the king, and he had discoursed with him, he said, Thou art this day firmly established*

THIRTEENTH
SIPARA.

Now is the truth become manifest. There seems to be here a clear contradiction of ver. 28 and onward. There Zulaikha's guilt was manifested not only to her husband, whom I believe to be the king or prince mentioned here, but was spread abroad throughout the whole city. Here, however, she is made to confess the crime for the *first time*, and Joseph is made to express satisfaction at a confession which at last sets him in a right light before his lord.

(52) *That my lord might know, &c.* This verse also confirms the view expressed above, ver. 50, that Joseph's *lord* and the *king* are the same.

(53) *Neither do I justify myself.* "According to a tradition of Ibn Abbās, Joseph had no sooner spoken the foregoing words asserting his innocency, than Gabriel said to him, 'What! not when thou wast deliberating to lie with her?' Upon which Joseph confessed his frailty."—Sale, *Baidhāwi*.

See also note on ver. 24.

(54) *Bring him unto me, &c.* Joseph is here said to have been released from prison *after* the interpretation of the dreams. Gen. xli. 14 says he was released *before*.

Thou art this day, &c. "The commentators say that Joseph being taken out of prison, after he had washed and changed his clothes, was introduced to the king, whom he saluted in the Hebrew tongue, and on the king's asking what language that was, he answered that it was the language of his fathers. This prince, they say, understood no less than seventy languages, in every one of which he discoursed with Joseph, who answered him in the same; at which the king, greatly marvelling, desired him to relate his dream, which he did, describing the most minute circumstances: whereupon the king placed Joseph by him on his throne, and made him his Wazir or

with us, *and shalt be intrusted with our affairs.* (55) *Joseph* answered, Set me over the storehouses of the land; for *I will be a skilful keeper thereof.* (56) Thus did we establish *Joseph* in the land, that he might provide himself a dwelling therein where he pleased. We bestow our mercy on whom we please, and we suffer not the reward of the righteous to perish; (57) and certainly the reward of the next life is better for those who believe and fear *God.*

R $\frac{8}{2}$. || (58) Moreover, *Joseph's brethren* came, and went in unto him; and he knew them, but they knew not him.

chief minister. Some say that his master *Kitfir* dying about this time, he not only succeeded him in his place, but, by the king's command, married the widow, his late mistress, whom he found to be a virgin, and who bare him *Ephraim* and *Manasses*. So that, according to this tradition, she was the same woman who is called *Asenath* by *Moses*. This supposed marriage, which authorised their amours, probably encouraged the *Muhammadan* divines to make use of the loves of *Joseph* and *Zulaikha* as an allegorical emblem of the spiritual love between the Creator and the creature, God and the soul, just as the Christians apply the Song of *Solomon* to the same mystical purpose." *Vide D'Herbelot, Bibl. Orient., art. Jousouf.—Sale, Baidhāwi.*

This is the popular *Muhammadan* view, crystallised in the celebrated poem "*Yusuf and Zulaikha*." The mystical use of the story alluded to by *Sale* is only prevalent among the *Súfí* sect of Muslims, who, being Pantheists, apply it very differently from the way Christians interpret and apply the Song of *Solomon*.

(55) *Joseph's reputation* for modesty suffers sadly at the hands of the *Qurán*. His character stands out in a very different light in *Genesis*.

(58) *Joseph's brethren came.* "*Joseph*, being made *Wazír*, governed with great wisdom; for he not only caused justice to be impartially administered, and encouraged the people to industry and the improvement of agriculture during the seven years of plenty, but began and perfected several works of great benefit; the natives at this day ascribing to the patriarch *Joseph* almost all the ancient works of public utility throughout the kingdom, as particularly the rendering the province of *al Faiyúm* from a standing pool or marsh the most fertile and best-cultivated land in all *Egypt*. When the years of famine came, the effects of which were felt not only in *Egypt*, but in *Syria* and the neighbouring countries, the inhabitants were obliged to apply to *Joseph* for corn, which he sold to them first for their money, jewels, and ornaments, then for their cattle and lands, and at length for their persons; so that all the *Egyptians* in general be-

(59) And when he had furnished them with their provisions, he said, Bring unto me your brother, *the son* of your father; do ye not see that I give full measure, and that I am the most hospitable receiver of guests? (60) But if ye bring him not unto me, there shall be no *corn* measured unto you from me, neither shall ye approach *my presence*. (61) They answered, We will endeavour to obtain him of his father, and we will certainly perform *what thou requiarest*. And (62) *Joseph* said to his servants, Put their money *which they have paid for their corn* into their sacks, that they may perceive it when they shall be returned to

came slaves to the king, though Joseph, by his consent, soon released them, and returned them their substance. The dearth being felt in the land of Canaan, Jacob sent all his sons, except only Benjamin, into Egypt for corn. On their arrival, Joseph (who well knew them) asked them who they were, saying he suspected them to be spies; but they told him they came only to buy provisions, and that they were all the sons of an ancient man, named Jacob, who was also a prophet. Joseph then asked how many brothers there were of them; they answered, Twelve; but that one of them had been lost in a desert. Upon which he inquired for the eleventh brother, there being no more than ten of them present. They said he was a lad, and with their father, whose fondness for him would not suffer him to accompany them in their journey. At length Joseph asked them who they had to vouch for their veracity; but they told him they knew no man who could vouch for them in Egypt. Then, replied he, one of you shall stay behind with me as a pledge, and the others may return home with their provisions; and when ye come again, ye shall bring your younger brother with you, that I may know ye have told me the truth. Whereupon, it being in vain to dispute the matter, they cast lots who should stay behind, and the lot fell upon Simeon. When they departed, Joseph gave each of them a camel, and another for their brother."—*Sale, Baidhāwi*.

This comment shows how the commentators have supplemented the Qurán by reference to the Old Testament Scriptures. A strong argument against the Qurán may be drawn from this very use of the Old Testament Scriptures by Muslim commentators, thus attesting the credibility of the book, which is contradicted by the very Qurán they would illustrate by reference to it.

(62) *Their money*. "The original word signifying not only money, but also goods bartered or given in exchange for other merchandise, some commentators tell us that they paid for their corn, not in money, but in shoes and dressed skins."—*Sale, Baidhāwi*.

There can be no doubt about the word meaning *money* here, for how could shoes and skins be put into the grain bags so as not to be discovered until their return?

their family, peradventure they will come back *unto us*. (63) And when they were returned unto their father they said, O father, it is forbidden to measure out *corn* unto us *any more unless we carry our brother Benjamin with us*: wherefore send our brother with us and we shall have *corn* measured unto us; and we will certainly guard him *from any mischance*. (64) *Jacob* answered, Shall I trust him with you *with any better success* than I trusted your brother *Joseph* with you heretofore? But GOD is the best guardian, and he is the most merciful of those that show mercy. (65) And when they opened their provision, they found their money had been returned unto them; and they said, O father, what do we desire *further*? this our money hath been returned unto us; we will therefore *return, and* provide corn for our family; we will take care of our brother; and we shall receive a camel's burden more *than we did the last time*. This is a small quantity. (66) *Jacob* said, I will by no means send him with you, until ye give me a solemn promise, *and swear* by GOD that ye will certainly bring him back unto me, unless ye be encompassed *by some inevitable impediment*. And when they had given him their solemn promise, he said, GOD is witness of what we say. (67) And he said, My sons, enter not *into the city* by one *and the same* gate,

(65) *O father, &c.* Gen. xlii. 25-35 represents this matter very differently. 1. The discovery of a portion of the returned money occurred on the journey. 2. A similar discovery as to the rest of the purchase-money occurred on the opening of the sacks at Jacob's dwelling. 3. Instead of joy, *all* were filled with fear.

This is a small quantity. "The meaning may be, either that the corn they now brought was not sufficient for the support of their families, so that it was necessary for them to take another journey, or else that a camel's load more or less was but a trifle to the king of Egypt. Some suppose these to be the words of Jacob, declaring it was too mean a consideration to induce him to part with his son." —Sale.

(66) This also contradicts Gen. xlii. 36-xliii. 14.

(67) *Enter not by one gate.* This, says the *Tafsir-i-Raufi*, was to prevent their appearing in such number and grandeur as to excite the suspicion of the Egyptians. There seems to be a hint here to

but enter by different gates. But *this precaution* will be of no advantage unto you against *the decree of God*; for judgment belongeth unto God alone: in him do I put my trust, and in him let those confide who *seek in whom to put their trust*. (68) And when they entered *the city*, as their father had commanded them, it was of no advantage unto them against *the decree of God, and the same served only to satisfy* the desire of Jacob's soul, which he had charged *them to perform*: for he was endued with knowledge of that which we had taught him; but the greater part of men do not understand.

|| (69) And when they entered into the presence of R $\frac{2}{3}$. Joseph, he received his brother *Benjamin* as his guest, and said, Verily I am thy brother, be not therefore afflicted for that which they have committed *against us*. (70) And when he had furnished them with their provisions, he put *his cup* in his brother *Benjamin's sack*. Then a crier cried *after them, saying*, O company of travellers, ye are surely thieves. (71) They said (and turned back unto them), What *is it* that ye miss? (72) They answered, We miss

Joseph's charge against them that they were *spies* in the land. The text is found verbatim in Midr. Rabba on Genesis, par. 91.

(69) *I am thy brother*. "It is related that Joseph, having invited his brethren to an entertainment, ordered them to be placéd two and two together, by which means Benjamin, the eleventh, was obliged to sit alone, and bursting into tears, said, 'If my brother Joseph were alive, he would have sat with me.' Whereupon Joseph ordered him to be seated at the same table with himself, and when the entertainment was over, dismissed the rest, ordering that they should be lodged two and two in a house, but kept Benjamin in his own apartment, where he passed the night. The next day Joseph asked him whether he would accept of himself for his brother in the room of him whom he had lost, to which Benjamin replied, 'Who can find a brother comparable unto thee? yet thou art not the son of Jacob and Rachel.' And upon this Joseph discovered himself to him."—*Sale, Bairdháwi*.

This contradiction of Gen. xlv. 1 is also drawn from Rabbinical sources. See reference in Rodwell.

(70) *His cup*. "Some imagine this to be a measure holding a saá (or about a gallon), wherein they used to measure corn or give water to the beasts. But others take it to be a drinking-cup of silver or gold."—*Sale*.

the prince's cup; and unto him who shall produce it *shall be given* a camel's load of corn, and I *will be* surety for the same. (73) *Joseph's brethren* replied, By GOD, ye do well know that we come not to act corruptly in the land, neither are we thieves. (74) *The Egyptians* said, What shall be the reward of him *who shall appear to have stolen the cup*, if ye be found liars? (75) *Joseph's brethren* answered, As to the reward of him in whose sack it shall be found, let him become a *bondman* in satisfaction of the same: thus do we reward the unjust *who are guilty of theft*. (76) Then he began by their sacks, before he searched the sack of his brother; and he drew out *the cup* from his brother's sack. Thus did we furnish Joseph with a stratagem. It was not *lawful* for him to take his brother *for a bondman* by the law of the king of Egypt, had not GOD pleased *to allow it, according to the offer of his brethren*. We exalt to degrees of knowledge and honour whom we please; and *there is one who is* knowing above all those who are endued with knowledge. (77) *His brethren* said, If *Benjamin* be guilty of theft, his brother *Joseph* hath been also guilty of theft heretofore. But Joseph

(73) *Ye do well know, &c.* "Both by our behaviour among you, and our bringing again our money, which was returned to us without our knowledge."—Sale.

(75) *Thus do we reward the unjust.* "This was the method of punishing theft used by Jacob and his family; for among the Egyptians it was punished in another manner."—Sale.

(76) *Then he began, &c.* "Some suppose this search was made by the person whom Jacob sent after them; others, by Joseph himself when they were brought back to the city."—Sale.

It was not lawful, &c. "For there the thief was not reduced to servitude, but was scourged, and obliged to restore the double of what he had stolen."—Sale, Baidhāwī, Jalāluddīn.

(77) *His brother Joseph hath been also guilty, &c.* "The occasion of this suspicion, it is said, was, that Joseph having been brought up by his father's sister, she became so fond of him, that when he grew up, and Jacob designed to take him from her, she contrived the following stratagem to keep him. Having a girdle which had once belonged to Abraham, she girt it about the child, and then pretending she had lost it, caused strict search to be made for it; and it being at length found on Joseph, he was adjudged, according to the above-mentioned law of the family, to be delivered to her as her

concealed these things in his mind, and did not discover them unto them: *and* he said *within himself*, Ye are in a worse condition *than us two*; and GOD best knoweth what ye discourse about. (78) They said *unto Joseph*, Noble lord, verily this *lad* hath an aged father; wherefore take one of us in his stead; for we perceive that thou art a beneficent person. (79) *Joseph* answered, GOD forbid that we should take *any other* than him with whom we found our goods; for then should we certainly *be* unjust.

|| (80) And when they despaired of *obtaining Benjamin*, R $\frac{10}{4}$. they retired to confer privately together. *And* the elder of them said, Do ye not know that your father hath received a solemn promise from you, in the name of GOD, and how perfidiously ye behaved heretofore towards Joseph? Wherefore I will by no means depart the land of *Egypt* until my father give me leave to *return unto him*, or GOD maketh known his will to me; for he is the best judge. (81) Return ye to your father and say, O father, verily thy son hath committed theft; we bear witness of no more than what we know, and we could not guard against what we did not foresee: (82) and do thou

property. Some, however, say that Joseph actually stole an idol of gold, which belonged to his mother's father, and destroyed it; a story probably taken from Rachel's stealing the images of Laban: and others tell us that he once stole a goat or a hen to give to a poor man."—*Sale, Baidhāwī, Jalāluddīn*.

Rodwell thinks this portion of the chapter is founded upon some such tradition as Midr. Rabba, par. 92. See Rodwell *in loco*.

God best knoweth what ye discourse. According to the *Tafsīr-i-Raufi*, some authorities say that one of Joseph's brethren became quite violent, whereupon Joseph descended from the throne and threw him down, saying, "O ye Canaanites, ye boast yourselves and think none can conquer you." Thus they account for the humble tone of their address in ver. 78.

(80) *The elder*, viz., "Reuben. But some think Simeon or Judah to be here meant; and instead of *the elder*, interpret it *the most prudent of them*."—*Sale*.

These various explanations of the word *kabīra* would never have been heard of but for the desire to reconcile the passage with Gen. xlv. 16–18. See above on ver. 58.

(81) *Return ye to your father.* There is here probably a confused reference to the imprisonment of Simeon (Gen. xlii. 24).

inquire in the city where we have been, and of the company of merchants with whom we are arrived, and *thou wilt find* that we speak the truth. (83) *And when they were returned, and had spoken thus to their father*, he said, Nay, but rather ye yourselves have contrived the thing for your own sakes, but patience is most proper for me; peradventure GOD will restore them all unto me; for he is knowing and wise. (84) And he turned from them and said, Oh how I am grieved for Joseph! And his eyes become white with mourning, he being oppressed with deep sorrow. (85) *His sons* said, By GOD, thou wilt not cease to remember Joseph until thou be brought to death's door, or thou be actually destroyed by excessive affliction. (86) He answered, I only represent my grief, which I am not able to contain, and my sorrow unto GOD; but I know by revelation from GOD that which ye know not. (87) O my sons, go and make inquiry after Joseph and his brother; and despair not of the mercy of GOD; for none despaireth of GOD's mercy except the unbelieving people. (88) *Wherefore Joseph's brethren returned into Egypt*; and when they came into

(83) *Ye yourselves have contrived the thing.* See the same words in ver. 18 above.

God will restore them all unto me, i.e., Joseph, Benjamin, and "the elder" brother, who, according to the commentators, should be Judah. See *Tafsîr-i-Ravfi*.

(84) *His eyes became white.* "That is, the pupils lost their deep blackness and became of a pearl colour (as happens in suffusions), by his continual weeping; which very much weakened his sight, or, as some pretend, made him quite blind."—*Sale, Baidhâwi*.

(85) This passage is probably based on Gen. xliii. 2-9.

(86) *But I know, &c.*, viz., "that Joseph is yet alive; of which some tell us he was assured by the angel of death in a dream, though others suppose he depended on the completion of Joseph's dream, which must have been frustrated had he died before his brethren had bowed down before him."—*Sale, Baidhâwi*.

It is difficult to reconcile this interpretation with that of ver. 84, though, in consideration of what follows (ver. 97), we must regard it as correct.

(87) *Joseph and his brethren.* This passage contradicts the whole spirit of the Bible story of Joseph.

his presence they said, Noble *lord*, the famine is felt by us and our family, and we are come with a small sum of money; yet give unto us full measure, and bestow *corn* upon us *as* alms, for GOD rewardeth the almsgivers. (89) *Joseph* said *unto them*, Do ye know what ye did unto *Joseph* and his brother, when ye were ignorant of the consequences thereof? (90) They answered, Art thou really *Joseph*? He replied, I am *Joseph*, and this is my brother. Now hath GOD been gracious unto us. For whoso feareth *God* and persevereth with patience shall at length find relief, since GOD will not suffer the reward of the righteous to perish. (91) They said, By GOD, now hath GOD chosen thee above us, and we have surely been sinners. (92) *Joseph* answered, Let there be no reproach cast on you this day. God forgiveth you, for he is the most merciful of those who show mercy. (93) Depart ye with this my inner garment, and throw it on my father's face, and he

(88) *With a small sum.* "Their money being clipped and adulterated. Some, however, imagine they did not bring money, but goods to barter, such as wool and butter, or other commodities of small value."—*Sale, Baidhāwi.*

(89) *Do ye know, &c.* "The injury they did Benjamin was the separating him from his brother; after which they kept him in so great subjection that he durst not speak to them but with the utmost submission. Some say that these words were occasioned by a letter which *Joseph's* brethren delivered to him from their father, requesting the releasement of Benjamin, and by the representing his extreme affliction at the loss of him and his brother. The commentators observe that *Joseph*, to excuse his brethren's behaviour towards him, attributes it to their ignorance and the heat of youth."—*Sale, Baidhāwi.*

(90) *Art thou really Joseph?* "They say that this question was not the effect of a bare suspicion that he was *Joseph*, but that they actually knew him, either by his face and behaviour, or by his fore-teeth, which he showed in smiling, or else by putting off his tiara, and discovering a whitish mole on his forehead."—*Sale, Baidhāwi.*

It is quite in accordance with this whole chapter that this passage should contradict *Moses*. And yet this is the "Perspicuous Book" (ver. 1), a "confirmation of those Scriptures which have been revealed before it" (ver. III, the last verse).

(93) *My inner garment.* "Which the commentators generally suppose to be the same garment with which *Gabriel* invested him in the well; which having originally come from Paradise, had pre-

shall recover his sight; and *then* come unto me with all your family.

RUBA. R $\frac{11}{5}$. || (94) And when the company of travellers was departed from Egypt on their journey towards Canaan, their father said unto those who were about him, Verily I perceive the smell of Joseph, although ye think that I dote. (95) They answered, By GOD thou art in thy old mistake. (96) But when the messenger of good tidings was come with Joseph's inner garment, he threw it over his face, and he recovered his eyesight. (97) And Jacob said, Did I not tell you that I knew from GOD that which ye knew not? (98) They answered, O father, ask pardon of our sins for us, for we have surely been sinners. (99) He replied, I will surely ask pardon for you of my LORD, for he is gracious and merciful. (100) And when Jacob and his family arrived in Egypt, and were introduced unto Joseph, he received his parents unto him, and said, Enter ye into Egypt, by

served the odour of that place, and was of so great virtue as to cure any distemper in the person who was touched with it."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*.

He shall recover his sight. "This is most likely derived from Gen. xlv. 4, God telling Jacob to go to Egypt, and 'Joseph shall put his hands upon thine eyes.' Jacob's eyes were dim, but not quite blind."—Brinckman's *Notes on Islām*, p. 115.

(94) *The smell of Joseph*. "This was the odour of the garment above mentioned, brought by the wind to Jacob, who smelt it, as is pretended, at the distance of eighty parasangs, or, as others will have, three or eight days' journey off."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*, *Jalāluddīn*.

Compare Gen. xxvii. 27.

(95) *Thy old mistake*. "Being led into this imagination by the excessive love of Joseph."—Sale.

(96) *The messenger*, viz., "Judah, who, as he had formerly grieved his father by bringing him Joseph's coat stained with blood, now rejoiced him as much by being the bearer of this vest and the news of Joseph's prosperity."—Sale, *Jalāluddīn*.

(99) *My Lord*. "Deferring it, as some fancy, till he should see Joseph and have his consent."—Sale.

According to Muslim teaching, God cannot pardon a sin against a man without that man's consent. See note on chap. xiv. 11.

(100) *His parents*, viz., "his father and Leah his mother's sister, whom he looked on as his mother after Rachel's death." (See Gen. xxxvii. 10. "Al Baidhāwī tells us that Joseph sent carriages and provisions for his father and family, and that he and the king

God's favour, in full security. (101) And he raised his parents to the seat of state, and they, *together with his brethren*, fell down and did obeisance unto him. And he said, O my father, this is the interpretation of my vision *which I saw* heretofore; now hath my LORD rendered it true. And he hath surely been gracious unto me, since he took me forth from the prison, and hath brought you hither from the desert, after that the devil had sown discord between me and my brethren; for my LORD is gracious unto whom he pleaseth, and he *is* the knowing, the wise *God*. (102) O LORD, thou hast given me *a part* of the kingdom, and hast taught me the interpretation of *dark* sayings. The Creator of heaven and earth! thou art my protector in this world, and in that which is to come; make me to die a Muslim, and join me with the righteous. (103) This is a secret history which we reveal unto thee,

of Egypt went forth to meet them. He adds that the number of the children of Israel who entered Egypt with him was seventy-two, and that when they were led out thence by Moses they were increased to six hundred thousand five hundred and seventy men and upwards, besides the old people and children."—*Sale, Baidhāwī, Jalāluddīn*.

(101) *He raised his parents, &c.* The basis of this statement may be Gen. xlvii. ii.

This is the interpretation. That Joseph made this statement is contrary to the Bible. The proud, self-satisfied spirit here attributed to Joseph is in entire keeping with the morality of Islām, but a travesty of the Bible account of Joseph.

(102) *Make me to die a Muslim.* "The Muhammadan authors write that Jacob dwelt in Egypt twenty-four years, and at his death ordered his body to be buried in Palestine by his father, which Joseph took care to perform; and then returning into Egypt, died twenty-three years after. They add that such high disputes arose among the Egyptians concerning his burial, that they had like to have come to blows; but at length they agreed to put his body into a marble coffin, and to sink it in the Nile, out of a superstitious imagination that it might help the regular increase of the river, and deliver them from famine for the future; but when Moses led the Israelites out of Egypt, he took up the coffin, and carried Joseph's bones with him into Canaan, where he buried them by his ancestors."—*Sale, Baidhāwī*.

(103) *This is a secret history which we reveal unto thee, &c.* I cannot conceive of Muhammad's making this statement, except as a deli-

O Muhammad, although thou wast not present with the brethren of *Joseph* when they concerted their design and contrived a plot against him. But the greater part of men, although they earnestly desire it, will not believe. (104) Thou shalt not demand of them any reward for *thy publishing the Qurán*; it is no other than an admonition unto all creatures.

R $\frac{12}{6}$.

|| (105) And how many signs soever *there be of the being, unity, and providence of God* in the heavens and the earth, they will pass by them, and will retire afar off from them. (106) And the greater part of them believe not in God, without being also guilty of idolatry. (107) Do they not believe that some overwhelming affliction shall fall on them as a punishment from God, or that the hour of judgment shall overtake them suddenly, when they consider not its approach? (108) Say unto those of *Makkah*, This is my way; I invite you unto God by an evident demonstration, both I and he who followeth me; and praise be unto God, I am not an idolater. (109) We sent not any apostles before thee, except men, unto whom we revealed our will, and whom we chose out of those who dwelt in cities. Will they not go through the earth, and see what

berate assertion of what he knew to be false. See Arnold's view in note on ver. 3 above.

Muir, in his *Life of Mahomet*, vol. ii. p. 189, puts this matter mildly as follows:—"It is possible that the convictions of Mahomet may have become so blended with his grand object and course of action, that the very study of the Coran and effort to compose it were regarded as his best season of devotion. But the stealthy and disingenuous manner in which he now availed himself of Jewish information, producing the result not only as original, but as evidence of inspiration (see Sura xxxviii. 70, xxviii. 45-47, xii. 102, &c.), begins to furnish proof of an active, though it may have been unconscious, course of dissimulation and falsehood, to be palliated only by the miserable apology of a pious end."

(106) *Idolatry*. "For this crime Muhammad charges not only on the idolatrous Makkans, but also on the Jews and Christians, as has been already observed more than once."—Sale.

It is not likely that Christians are referred to here, as there is scarcely any allusion to them in the Makkan Suras. See Muir's *Life of Mahomet*, vol. ii. p. 189.

(109) *Who dwell in cities*. "And not of the inhabitants of the

hath been the end of those who have preceded them? But the dwelling of the next life shall surely be better for those who fear *God*. Will they not therefore understand? (110) *Their predecessors were borne with for a time, until, when our apostles despaired of their conversion, and they thought that they were liars, our help came unto them, and we delivered whom we pleased; but our vengeance was not turned away from the wicked people.* (111) *Verily in the histories of the prophets and their people there is an instructive example unto those who are endued with understanding. The Qurán is not a new invented fiction, but a confirmation of those scriptures which have been revealed before it, and a distinct explication of everything necessary in respect either to faith or practice, and a direction and mercy unto people who believe.*

deserts; because the former are more knowing and compassionate, and the latter more ignorant and hard-hearted."—*Sale, Baidhāwī.*

(111) *The Qurán . . . a confirmation, &c.* This passage certainly attests the former Scriptures then extant as credible, and claims to explain more clearly than there revealed the meaning of them. Surely this one chapter proves not only how untrue this statement is, but how false that other that "the Qurán is not a new invented fiction."

CHAPTER XIII.

ENTITLED SURAT AL RAAD (THUNDER).

Revealed at Makkah.

INTRODUCTION.

THE name of this chapter occurs in ver. 14. All of the best authorities agree that this chapter originated at Makkah. Most of the Muslim commentators make vers. 14, 29-31, to allude to events which occurred at Madína late in the life of the Prophet, and a few writers, says Noeldeke, have thought the whole chapter should be referred to Madína. However, the interpretations given by these commentators are based entirely upon the words of these passages, and, in the absence of better evidence, must be regarded as widely mistaken.

The internal evidence of the chapter is decidedly in favour of referring the origin of the whole to Makkah, excepting perhaps ver. 41.

The contents of the chapter relate entirely to Muhammad's disputes with the infidel Quraish. A remarkable feature of it is its many apologies for Muhammad's failure to perform the miracles demanded by the unbelievers. On this account the author of the Notes on the Roman Urdu Qurán remarks that "this chapter should have been entitled the Chapter of Apologies."

Probable date of the Revelations.

We have already shown that this chapter, excepting ver. 41, must be referred to Makkah. As to the date of composition, the earlier verses of the chapter might be assigned to almost any period in the career of the Makkan preacher; but the latter part of the chapter must be referred to the latter part of his ministry at Makkah. This is evident from the allusion to the "adversity" of the Makkans in ver. 31, the belief of certain Jews in ver. 36, and the obstinate un-

belief and opposition of the Quraish in vers. 30 and 42. If we take the allusion in vers. 36 and 37 to be to the lapse of Muhammad in his temporary compromise with idolatry about six years before the Hijra, and if we refer the statements of ver. 42 to the persecutions which arose on Muhammad's recovery from the lapse, and which culminated in the ban against the Hâshimites, this portion of the chapter may be referred to the period intervening between the years 6 and 4 B.H.

Principal Subjects.

	VERSES
The infidels reject the Qurán	1
God manifests himself to man in his works	2-4
The unbelievers deny the resurrection	5
Their punishment	6
Threatened judgments sure to come to pass	7
Unbelievers demand a sign	8
God is omniscient	9-12
God's purposes are unchangeable	12
Thunder and lightning manifest God as the true object of worship	13, 14
Idolaters invoke their gods in vain	15
All nature worships the Creator	16, 17
The separation of infidels from true believers typified in the flowing stream and the melting metal	18
True believers described	19-22
Their reward	23, 24
The end of the infidels	25
Abundance of wealth no sign of God's favour	26
The infidels demand a sign from heaven	27
God directs true believers	28
Muhammad sent to an unbelieving people	29
Signs unavailing to make infidels true believers	30
God will punish the unbelievers	31, 32
Idolaters are reprobate	33, 34
Paradise described	35
Certain Jews acknowledged Muhammad to be a prophet	36
Muhammad exhorted to make no compromise with idolatry	36, 37
Wives and children no hindrance to the prophetic office	38
God is lord of his own book	39
Muhammad a preacher only	40
God's judgments sure to come to pass	41
The plots of God's enemies not hidden from him	42
God attests the claims of his Prophet	43

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

R 7.

|| (1) A. L. M. R. These are the signs of the book of the *Qurán*; and that which hath been sent down unto thee from thy LORD is the truth; but the greater part of men will not believe. (2) *It is* GOD who hath raised the heavens without visible pillars; *and* then ascended his throne, and compelled the sun and the moon to perform their services: every of the *heavenly bodies* runneth an appointed course. He ordereth *all* things. He showeth *his* signs distinctly, that ye may be assured ye must meet your LORD *at the last day*. (3) *It is* he who hath stretched forth the earth, and placed therein steadfast mountains and rivers; and hath ordained therein of every fruit two *different* kinds. He causeth the night to cover the day. Herein are certain signs upon people who consider. (4) And in the earth are tracts of *land of different natures, though* bordering on each other; and also vineyards, and seeds, and palm-trees springing several from the same root, and singly from distinct roots. They are watered with the same water, yet we render some of them more excellent than others to eat. Herein are surely signs upon people who understand. (5) If thou dost wonder *at the infidels denying the resurrection*, surely wonderful is their saying, After we shall have been *reduced to dust*, shall we *be restored* in a new creature? (6) These are they who believe not in

(1) "The meaning of these letters is unknown. Of several conjectural explications which are given of them, the following is one: 'I am the most wise and knowing God.'"—*Sale*.

The truth. See note on chap. iii. 3.

(2) The popular Arab notions as to astronomy are represented here. The Creator of the heavens, with the luminaries thereof, is the true God. His works testify of his eternal power and godhead.

(3) *To different kinds, e.g., "sweet and sour, black and white, small and large."*—*Sale, Jaláluddín.*

The original word is *zaujain*, meaning *pairs*.

(4) *Tracts of land, &c.* "Some being fruitful and others barren, some plain and other mountainous, &c."—*Sale, Jaláluddín.*

their LORD; these *shall have* collars on their necks, and these *shall be* the inhabitants of *hell-fire*: therein shall they abide for ever. (7) They will ask of thee to hasten evil rather than good: although there have already been examples of the *divine vengeance* before them. Thy LORD is surely endued with indulgence towards men, notwithstanding their iniquity; but thy LORD is also severe in punishing. (8) The infidels say, Unless a sign be sent down unto him from his LORD, *we will not believe*. Thou art *commissioned to be a preacher only, and not a worker of miracles*; and unto every people *hath a director been appointed*.

(6) *Collars*. "The 'collar' here mentioned is an engine something like a pillory, but light enough for the criminal to walk about with. Besides the hole to fix it on the neck, there is another for one of the hands, which is thereby fastened to the neck. And in this manner the Muhammadans suppose the reprobates will appear at the day of judgment. Some understand this passage figuratively, of the infidels being bound in the chains of error and obstinacy."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*.

See also chap. v. 69, and note there.

(7) *To hasten evil*. "Provoking and daring thee to call down the Divine vengeance on them for their impenitency."—Sale. Rather daring Muhammad to bring down the wrath threatened against them for rejecting his prophetic claims.

(8) It is a fair inference from this verse that Muhammad wrought no miracles, not only because they were asked for, but because he here disclaims being a worker of miracles. "Thou art a preacher only."

The explanation of the commentators (see *Tafsīr-i-Hussainī*) that God gave his prophets miracles suited to the age in which they lived, *e.g.*, to Moses it was given to excel in jugglery, to Jesus to excel in the curing art, &c., is very puerile indeed, and predicates excessive ignorance as to the nature of the miracles wrought by these prophets. The author of the Notes on the Roman Urdu Qurān may well ask what the plagues of Egypt had to do with jugglery, or what Christ's walking on the waves, or his raising the dead, or his feeding the five thousand, had to do with the art of medicine; or what evidence is there that the age of Muhammad was marked by anything peculiar in the style or beauty of its literary productions, that the beauty and style of the Qurān should be regarded as a miracle peculiarly suited to that time? The fact is, the passage before us clearly proves that the miracle of the Qurān was never recognised by any of Muhammad's contemporaries outside the pale of Islām.

R $\frac{2}{8}$.

|| (9) GOD knoweth what every female beareth *in her womb*, and what the wombs want or exceed *of their due time or number of young*. With him is everything *regulated* according to a *determined* measure. (10) *He* knoweth that which is hidden and that which is revealed. *He* is the great, the most high. (11) He among you who *concealeth his words*, and he who *proclaimeth them in public*; he also who *seeketh to hide himself in the night*, and he who *goeth forth openly in the day*, is *equal in respect to the knowledge of God*. (12) Each of them hath *angels* mutually succeeding each other, before him and behind him; they watch him by the command of GOD. Verily GOD will not change *his grace* which is in men until they change the *disposition* in their souls *by sin*. When GOD willet evil on a people there shall be none to avert it, neither shall they have any protector beside him. (13) *It is* he who causeth the lightning to appear unto you, to *strike fear*, and to *raise hope*, and who formeth the pregnant clouds. (14) The thunder celebrateth his praise, and the angels *also*, for fear of him. He sendeth his thunder-

(12) *They watch him, &c.* See Prelim. Disc., p. 119.

(13) *And to raise hope.* "Thunder and lightning being the sign of approaching rain, a great blessing in the Eastern countries more especially."—Sale.

(14) *Thunder celebrateth his praise.* "Or causeth those who hear it to praise him. Some commentators tell us that by the word *thunder* in this place is meant the angel who presides over the clouds, and drives them forward with twisted sheets of fire."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*.

While they dispute concerning God. "This passage was revealed on the following occasion. Amar Ibn al Tufail and Arbād Ibn Rābiāh, the brother of Labid, went to Muhammad with an intent to kill him; and Amar began to dispute with him concerning the chief points of his doctrine, while Arbād, taking a compass, went behind him to despatch him with his sword; but the Prophet perceiving his design, implored God's protection; whereupon Arbād was immediately struck dead by thunder, and Amar was struck with a pestilential boil, of which he died in a short time in a miserable condition.

Jalāluddīn, however, tells another story, saying that Muhammad having sent one to invite a certain man to embrace his religion, the person put this question to the missionary, 'Who is this apostle, and

bolts, and striketh therewith whom he pleaseth, while they dispute concerning GOD; for he is mighty in power. (15) *It is he who* ought of right to be invoked; and the *idols* which they invoke besides him, shall not hear them at all, otherwise than as he *is heard* who stretcheth forth his hands to the water that it may ascend to his mouth when it cannot ascend *thither*: the supplication of the unbelievers is utterly erroneous. (16) Whatsoever is in heaven and on earth worshippeth GOD, voluntarily or of force; and their shadows *also*, morning and evening. (17) Say, Who is the LORD of heaven and earth? Answer, GOD. Say, Have ye, therefore, taken *unto yourselves* protectors beside him, who are unable either to help or to *defend* themselves from hurt? Say, Shall the blind and the seeing be esteemed equal? or shall darkness and light be accounted the same? or have they attributed companions unto GOD. who have created as he hath created, so that their creation bear any resemblance unto his? Say, GOD is the creator of all things; he is the one, the victorious *God*. (18) He causeth water to descend from heaven, and the brooks flow according to their *respective* measure, and the floods bear the floating froth: and from *the metals* which they melt in the fire, seeking to *cast* ornaments or vessels *for use*, *there ariseth* a scum like unto it. Thus GOD setteth forth truth and vanity. But the scum is thrown off, and that which is useful to mankind remaineth on the earth. Thus doth

what is God? Is he of gold, or of silver, or of brass?' Upon which a thunderbolt struck off his skull and killed him."—*Sale*.

This story is manifestly a pure fiction, constructed by the commentators out of the materials found in this passage. If true, the passage would have to be assigned to the year A.H. 9 or 10 at Madina, whereas the internal evidence fixes it, beyond all reasonable dispute, at Makkah before the Hijra.

(16) *Voluntarily or of force*. "The infidels and devils themselves being constrained to humble themselves before him, though against their will, when they are delivered up to punishment."—*Sale*.

Morning and evening. When the shadows are longest, and appear prostrate in the posture of adoration.

(17-22) This is one of the best passages of the Qurán, and points to the best days of the preacher of Makkah.

GOD put forth parables. Unto those who obey their LORD *shall be given* the most excellent *reward*; but those who obey him not, although they were possessed of whatever is in the whole earth and as much more, they would give it *all* for their ransom. These will be brought to a terrible account: their abode *shall be* hell; an unhappy couch *shall it be!*

NISF.

R $\frac{3}{9}$.

|| (19) Shall he, therefore, who knoweth that what hath been sent down unto thee from thy LORD is truth be *re-warded* as he who is blind? The prudent only will consider; (20) who fulfil the covenant of GOD, and break not *their* contract; (21) and who join that which GOD hath commanded to be joined, and *who* fear their LORD, and dread an ill account; (22) and who persevere out of a *sincere* desire to please their LORD, and observe the stated times of prayer, and give alms out of what we have bestowed on them, in secret and openly, and who turn away evil with good: the reward of these *shall be* paradise, (23) gardens of eternal abode, which they shall enter, and *also* whoever shall have acted uprightly, of their fathers, and their wives, and their posterity: and the

(21) *Who join, &c.* "By believing in all the prophets without exception, and joining thereto the continual practice of their duty, both towards God and man."—*Sale, Jaláluddín.*

(23) *Their wives.* This is one of five passages in the Qurán distinctly asserting that women as well as men shall enter the joys of the Muslim Paradise. The other passages are chaps. ix. 73, xxxvi. 56, xl. 8, xliii. 70.

"Gibbon characteristically observes that 'Mahomet has not specified the male companions of the female elect, lest he should either alarm the jealousy of their former husbands, or disturb their felicity by the suspicion of an everlasting marriage.' The remark, made in raillery, is pregnant with reason, and aims a fatal blow (if any were needed) at the Paradise of Islám. Faithful women will renew their youth in heaven as well as faithful men; why should not their good works merit an equal and analogous reward? But Mahomet shrunk from this legitimate conclusion."—*Muir's Life of Mahomet*, vol. ii. p. 143.

The expression *gardens of eternal abode* is translated by Rodwell "gardens of Eden." But the commentators do not take the word Eden in the sense which it bears in Hebrew. See note on chap. ix. 73.

angels shall go in unto them by every gate, (24) *saying*, Peace be upon you, because ye have endured with patience: how excellent a reward is paradise! (25) But as for those who violate the covenant of GOD after the establishment thereof, and *who* cut in sunder that which GOD hath commanded to be joined, and act corruptly in the earth, on them shall a curse *fall*, and they shall have a miserable dwelling *in hell*. (26) GOD giveth provision in abundance unto whom he pleaseth, and is sparing *unto whom he pleaseth*. *Those of Makkah* rejoice in the present life, although the present life, in respect of the future, is but a *precarious* provision.

|| (27) The infidels say, Unless a sign be sent down R $\frac{4}{10}$ unto him from his LORD, *we will not believe*. Answer, Verily, GOD will lead into error whom he pleaseth, and will direct unto himself him who repenteth, (28) *and* those who believe, and whose hearts rest securely in the meditation of GOD; shall not *men's* hearts rest securely in the meditation of GOD? They who believe and do that which is right *shall enjoy* blessedness and *partake of* a happy resurrection. (29) Thus have we sent thee to a nation which *other* nations have preceded *unto whom prophets have likewise been sent*, that thou mayest rehearse unto them that which we have revealed unto thee, even while they believe not in the merciful *God*. Say *unto them*, He is my LORD; there is no GOD but he: in him do I trust, and unto him must I return. (30) Though a Qurán *were*

(24) *Cut in sunder, &c., i.e.,* by dislocating the faith of all the prophets.—*Tafsir-i-Raufi*. This is just what Muhammad and his followers have done.

(27) *The infidels say, &c.* See notes on ver. 8 above.

(28) *They who believe, &c., i.e.,* who believe in Islám and perform the duties required by it.

(29) *Say unto them, &c.* This, says the *Tafsir-i-Raufi*, was said in reply to the Quraish at the treaty made at Hadaibiya. Muhammad had directed the treaty to be headed by the words "Bismillah ir Rahmán-ar-Rahím," when the Quraish asked, "Who is Rahmán?" The story is apparently a pure invention to explain the allusion of the text.

revealed by which mountains should be removed, or the earth cleaved in sunder, or the dead be caused to speak, *it would be in vain*. But the matter *belongeth* wholly unto GOD. Do not, therefore, the believers know, that if GOD pleased, he would certainly direct all men? (31) Adversity shall not cease to afflict the unbelievers for that which they have committed, or to sit down near their habitations, until GOD's promise come; for GOD is not contrary to the promise.

R $\frac{5}{11}$. || (32) Apostles before thee have been laughed to scorn; and I permitted the infidels to enjoy a long and happy life; but afterwards I punished them; and how *severe* was the punishment which I *inflicted on them*! (33) Who is it, therefore, that standeth over every soul, *to observe* that

(30) *By which mountains, &c.* "These are miracles which the Quraish required of Muhammad, demanding that he would, by the power of his Qurán, either remove the mountains from about Makkah, that they might have delicious gardens in their room; or that he would oblige the wind to transport them, with their merchandise, to Syria (according to which tradition, the words here translated 'or the earth cleaved in sunder,' should be rendered 'or the earth be travelled over' in an instant); or else raise to life Kusai Ibn Kaláb, and others of their ancestors, to bear witness to him; whereupon this passage was revealed."—Sale. See also chap. viii. 23, and note.

(31) *Their habitations.* "It is supposed by some that these words are spoken to Muhammad, and then they must be translated in the second person, 'Nor shalt thou cease to sit down,' &c. For they say this verse relates to the idolaters of Makkah, who were afflicted with a series of misfortunes for their ill-usage of the Prophet, and were also continually annoyed and harassed by his parties, which frequently plundered their caravans and drove off their cattle, himself sitting down with his whole army near the city in the expedition of al Hudaibiya."—Sale, *Baidhawi*.

Until God's promise come, i.e., "till death and the day of judgment overtake them; or, according to the exposition in the preceding note, until the taking of Makkah."—Sale, *Baidhawi*.

The interpretation making this verse refer to the expedition to Hudaibiya is founded upon the imagination of the commentators. It is certainly better to regard the passage as Makkan, and to make the verse allude to some calamity—perhaps the famine of chap. xi. 11—which had overtaken the people, and which Muhammad used to give point to his threatenings.

which it committeth? They attribute companions unto God. Say, Name them: will ye declare unto him that which he knoweth not in the earth? or *will ye name them* in outward speech only? But the deceitful procedure of the infidels was prepared for them, and they are turned aside from the *right* path; for he whom God shall cause to err shall have no director. (34) They shall suffer a punishment in this life, but the punishment of the next shall be more grievous; and there shall be none to protect them against God. (35) *This is* the description of paradise which is promised to the pious. It is watered by rivers; its food is perpetual, and its shade *also*: this shall be the reward of those who fear *God*. But the reward of the infidels shall be *hell-fire*. (36) Those to whom we have given the scriptures, rejoice at what hath been revealed unto thee. Yet *there are* some of the con-

(33) *Outward speech only*. "That is, calling them the companions of God, without being able to assign any reason, or give any proof why they deserve to be sharers in the honour and worship due from mankind to him."—*Sale, Baidhāwī*.

Whom God shall cause to err, &c. The idea is that God having given them over to final destruction, they have become judicially blind, and are therefore hopelessly lost. This points to the latter years of Muhammad's career as preacher at Makkah.

(36) *Those . . . rejoice, &c.*, viz., "the first proselytes to Muhammadanism from Judaism and Christianity; or the Jews and Christians in general, who were pleased to find the Qurán so consonant to their own Scriptures." See also notes on chaps. iii. 199, and vi. 20.

"The confidence with which Mahomet refers to the testimony of the Jews and of their Scripture is very remarkable. It leaves us no room to doubt that some amongst the Jews, possessed probably of an imperfect and superficial acquaintance with their own books and traditions, encouraged Mahomet in the idea that he might be, or positively affirmed that he was, 'that prophet whom the Lord their God should raise up unto them of their brethren.'"—*Muir's Life of Mahomet*, vol. ii. pp. 183, 184. Compare chaps. xxxiv. 6, x. 93, vi. 20, xxviii. 52, and xvii. 108.

The confederates who deny. "That is, such of them as had entered into a confederacy to oppose Muhammad, as did Káb Ibn al Ashraf, and the Jews who followed him, and Sayad al Najráni, al Akib, and several other Christians, who denied such parts of the Qurán as contradicted their corrupt doctrines and traditions."—*Sale*.

federates who deny part thereof. Say *unto them*, Verily I am commanded to worship GOD alone; and to him give no companion: upon him do I call, and unto him shall I return. (37) To this purpose have we sent down *the Qurán*, a *rule of judgment*, in the Arabic language. And verily, if thou follow their desires, after the knowledge which hath been given thee, there shall be none to defend or protect thee against GOD.

R 1⁶/₂. || (38) We have formerly sent apostles before thee, and bestowed on them wives and children; and no apostle had *the power* to come with a sign, unless by the permission of GOD. Every age hath its *book of revelation*. (39) GOD shall abolish and shall confirm *what he pleaseth*. With him is the original of the book. (40) Moreover, whether we cause thee to see any part of that *punishment* wherewith we have threatened them, or whether we cause thee to die *before it be inflicted on them*, verily unto thee *belongeth preaching only*, but unto us inquisition. (41) Do they not see that we come into *their land*, and straiten

(37) *If thou follow their desires, &c.* This probably refers to Muhammad's temporary lapse in making a compromise with idolatry. For an account of it see Muir's *Life of Mahomet*, vol. ii. chap. v.

(38) *Wives and children.* "As we have on thee. This passage was revealed in answer to the reproaches which were cast on Muhammad on account of the great number of his wives. For the Jews said that if he was a true prophet his care and attention would be employed about something else than women and the getting of children. It may be observed that it is a maxim of the Jews that nothing is more repugnant to prophecy than carnality" (Maimon., *More Nev.*, part ii. c. 36, &c.—Sale, *Jaláluddín, Yahya*).

Every age hath its book. See chap. ii. 4, note.

(39) *Abolish, &c.* See notes on chap. ii. 105.

The original book. "Literally, *the mother of the book*, by which is meant *the Preserved Table*, from which all the written revelations which have been from time to time published to mankind, according to the several dispensations, are transcripts."—Sale.

(40) *Unto thee belongeth preaching only.* See above on ver. 8.

(41) *We came into their land, &c.* This passage is of Madína origin, and refers to the encroachments of the Muslims on their idolatrous neighbours. It is probably an addition, made either by Muhammad himself or by the compilers after his death.

~~the~~ borders thereof *by the conquests of the true believers?* When GOD judgeth, there is none to reverse his judgment; and he *will be* swift in taking an account. (42) Their predecessors formerly devised subtle plots *against their prophets*, but GOD is master of every subtle device. He knoweth that which every soul deserveth; and the infidels shall surely know whose will be the reward of Paradise. (43) The unbelievers will say, Thou art not sent of GOD. Answer, GOD is a sufficient witness between me and you, and he who understandeth the scriptures.

(43) *Thou art not sent.* "The persons intended in this passage, it is said, were the Jewish doctors."—Sale, *Baidhāwi*.

He who understandeth the Scriptures. See notes on chap. vi. 20 and above on ver. 36.

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A COMPREHENSIVE COMMENTARY 0

ON

THE QURÁN:

COMPRISING SALE'S TRANSLATION

AND

PRELIMINARY DISCOURSE,

WITH ADDITIONAL NOTES AND EMENDATIONS.

TOGETHER WITH

A Complete Index to the Text, Preliminary Discourse,
and Notes,

BY THE REV. E. M. WHERRY, M.A.

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CONTENTS.

CHAP.	PAGE
XIV.—ENTITLED SURAT AL IBRAHÍM (ABRAHAM)	1
XV.—ENTITLED SURAT AL HAJR	13
XVI.—ENTITLED SURAT AL NAHL (THE BEE)	24
XVII.—ENTITLED SURAT AL BANI ISRAÍL (THE CHILDREN OF ISRAEL)	52
XVIII.—ENTITLED SURAT AL KAHAF (THE CAVE)	76
XIX.—ENTITLED SURAT AL MARYAM (MARY)	99
XX.—ENTITLED SURAT THÁ HÁ (T. H.)	115
XXI.—ENTITLED SURAT UL AMBAYA (THE PROPHETS)	135
XXII.—ENTITLED SURAT AL HAJJ (THE PILGRIMAGE)	154
XXIII.—ENTITLED SURAT UL MUMINÚN (THE TRUE BELIEVERS)	173
XXIV.—ENTITLED SURAT-UN-NÚR (THE LIGHT)	187
XXV.—ENTITLED SURAT AL FURQÁN (THE ILLUMINATION)	207
XXVI.—ENTITLED SURAT AL SHU'ARÁ (THE POETS)	219
XXVII.—ENTITLED SURAT-UN-NAMAL (THE ANT)	236
XXVIII.—ENTITLED SURAT AL QASAS (THE STORY)	251
XXIX.—ENTITLED SURAT AL ANQUBÚT (THE SPIDER)	269

CHAP.	PAGE
XXX.—ENTITLED SURAT UR RÚM (THE GREEKS) . . .	281
XXXI.—ENTITLED SURAT LUQMÁN (LOKMAN) . . .	293
XXXII.—ENTITLED SURAT US SIJDA (ADORATION) . . .	301
XXXIII.—ENTITLED SURAT UL AHZÁB (THE CONFEDERATES).	307
XXXIV.—ENTITLED SURAT US SABÁ (SABA)	329
XXXV.—ENTITLED SURAT UL FÁTIR (THE CREATOR) . .	341
XXXVI.—ENTITLED SURAT UL YÁ SÍN (Y. S.) . . .	349
XXXVII.—ENTITLED SURAT US SÁFÁT (THE RANKS) . .	361
XXXVIII.—ENTITLED SURAT AL SWÁD (S.)	375
XXXIX.—ENTITLED SURAT AL ZAMR (THE TROOPS) . .	387
XL.—ENTITLED SURAT AL MUMIN (THE TRUE BELIEVER)	401

THE QURÁN.

CHAPTER XIV.

ENTITLED SURAT AL IBRAHÍM (ABRAHAM).

Revealed at Makkah.

INTRODUCTION.

ACCORDING to the commentators, the title of this chapter is due to the mention of the Patriarch Abraham in ver. 38. Like most of the Makkan chapters, this one relates entirely to the controversy between Muhammad and the unbelieving Quraish. In it the infidels are warned by the example of those who rejected the former prophets, and they are threatened with the direst punishment of hell, where they shall be ever dying without being permitted to die.

The purpose of Muhammad in relating the stories of the former prophets and of the destruction of their enemies is to impress the Quraish with the dreadful consequences of their rejection of him.

Probable Date of the Revelations.

All authorities agree that this chapter belongs to Makkah. The commentators, however, would make vers. 33 and 34 refer to the Quraish, who were disgraced at Badr, and thus relegate this passage to Madína. There is, however, no good reason for such an interpretation of this passage. See notes there.

Aside from the general spirit of the revelations in this chapter, we have as data for fixing their date the statements of vers. 16 and

47, which allude to the purpose of the Quraish to expel Muhammad and his followers from Makkah.

This would fix the date of the chapter very near the Hijra ; with which the spirit of the Prophet's teaching here very well agrees.

Principal Subjects.

	VERSES
The Qurán given to guide men out of darkness into light	I
A grievous punishment awaits the infidels	2, 3
Apostles always use the language of their people	4
Moses sent to Pharaoh and his people	5
His message to the children of Israel	6-8
Former prophets were rejected in spite of their miracles	9-13
Miracles only possible by the will of God	13, 14
The prophets suffer persecution with resignation	15
The unbelievers determine to expel their prophets out of the land	16
God reveals to them the overthrow of the wicked	17
Infidels fail of success through the prayers of the apostles	18
The doom of the unbelievers	19-21
God able to destroy the infidels and to create others in their stead	22, 23
Idolatrous leaders will confess themselves unable to assist their deluded followers in the day of judgment	24, 25
Even Satan will desert idolaters in hell	26, 27
The reward of the righteous in Paradise	28
Parables of the good and evil tree	29-32
The idolaters threatened with hell-fire	33-35
True believers exhorted to steadfastness and prayer	35, 36
Manifold favours of God to mankind	37
Abraham prays for himself and children that they may be kept from idolatry	38-41
He asks pardon for himself and his parents	42
God is not regardless of what infidels do, and will certainly punish them	43-46
The subtle plotting of the unbelievers will be brought to confusion	47, 48
The earth and heavens to be changed at the resurrection	49
The dreadful doom of the wicked	50, 51
Warning intended to lead men to the true God	52

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

|| (1) A. L. R. *This* book have we sent down unto thee, that thou mayest lead men forth from darkness into light, by the permission of their LORD, into the glorious and laudable way. (2) GOD *is he* unto whom *belongeth* whatsoever is in heaven and on earth: and woe be to the infidels, because a grievous punishment *waiteth them*; (3) who love the present life above that which is to come, and turn *men* aside from the way of GOD, and seek to render it crooked: these are in an error far distant *from the truth*. (4) We have sent no apostle but with the language of his people, that he might declare *their duty* plainly unto them; for GOD causeth to err whom he pleaseth, and directeth whom he pleaseth; and he is the mighty, the wise. (5) We formerly sent Moses with our signs, *and commanded him, saying*, Lead forth thy people from darkness into light, and remind them of the favours of GOD: verily therein *are* signs unto every patient and grateful person. (6) *And call to mind* when Moses said unto his people, Remember the favour of GOD towards you,

(1) A. L. R. See Prelim. Disc., pp. 100-102.

The glorious and laudable way. Rodwell's translation, "Into the path of the mighty, the glorious—of God," is better than that of the text.

(4) *The language of his people.* "That so they might not only perfectly and readily understand those revelations themselves, but might also be able to translate and interpret them unto others."—Sale, Baidhāwī.

The logical inference from statements like this is that Muhammad regarded himself as merely the prophet of the Arabs. This verse also justifies the translation of the Qurān from the Arabic.

God causeth to err. God is here certainly made the author of sin. The *Tafsīr-i-Raūfī* says, "Causing to err and directing aright are the load of his wisdom;" hence the clause, "and he is mighty and wise."

(5) *Moses.* See note in chap. vii. 104.

The favours of God. "Literally, 'the days of God;' which may also be translated, *the battles of God* (the Arabs using the word *day* to signify a remarkable engagement, as the Italians do *giornata*, and the French *journée*), or his wonderful acts manifested in the various success of former nations in their wars."—Sale, Baidhāwī.

when he delivered you from the people of Pharaoh: they grievously oppressed you; and they slew your male children, but let your females live: therein was a great trial from your LORD.

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|| (7) And when your LORD declared *by the mouth of Moses, saying*, If ye be thankful, I will surely increase *my favours towards* you; but if ye be ungrateful, verily my punishment *shall be* severe. (8) And Moses said, If ye be ungrateful, and all who are in the earth *likewise*; verily GOD needeth not *your thanks, though* he deserveth the highest praise. (9) Hath not the history of *the nations* your predecessors reached you, *namely*, of the people of Noah, and of Ád, and of Thamúd, (10) and of those who succeeded them; whose *number* none knoweth except GOD? Their apostles came unto them with evident *miracles*; but they clapped their hands to their mouths *out of indignation*, and said, We do not believe *the message* with which ye *pretend to be* sent; and we are in a doubt concerning the religion to which ye invite us, *as justly to be* suspected. (11) Their apostles answered, Is there any doubt concerning GOD, the creator of heaven and earth? He inviteth you to *the true faith*, that he may forgive you *part* of your sins, and may respite *your punishment by granting*

(6) *Your females*. See note on chap. vii. 128.

(7) In this and the following verses Moses is made to figure in Egypt as did Muhammad in Arabia. See notes on chaps. xi. 32, 36, and xii. 102.

(9) *Noah, Ád, and Thamúd*. See notes on chap. vii. 60, 66, and 74.

(10) *Whose number*. The whole number of prophets, according to Muslim tradition, is 144,000; some say 244,000. They only know the names of half a hundred!

Evident miracles. This is what the Quraish and Jews demanded of Muhammad; but, saving the "signs of the Qurán," none were ever given them. Note that all the prophets are declared to have been rejected for the same reason that Muhammad was.

We are in a doubt, &c. See note on chap. xi. 62.

(11) *Part of your sins*. "That is, such of them as were committed directly against God, which are immediately cancelled by faith or embracing Islám, but not the crimes of injustice and oppression, which were committed against man; for to obtain remission of these

you space to repent, until an appointed time. (12) They answered, Ye are but men, like unto us : ye seek to turn us aside from *the gods* which our fathers worshipped : wherefore bring us an evident demonstration *by some miracle that ye speak truth*. (13) Their apostles replied unto them, We are no other than men like unto you ; but GOD is bountiful unto such of his servants as he pleaseth : and it is not in our *power* to give you a miraculous demonstration *of our mission*, (14) unless by the permission of GOD ; in GOD therefore let the faithful trust. (15) And what *excuse* have we *to allege*, that we should not put our trust in GOD, since he hath directed us our paths ? Wherefore we will certainly suffer with patience the *persecutions* wherewith ye shall afflict us : in GOD therefore let those put their confidence who *seek in whom to put their trust*.

|| (16) And those who believed not said unto their R ³/₁₅ apostles, We will surely expel you out of our land ; or ye shall return unto our religion. And their LORD spake unto them by revelation, *saying*, We will surely destroy the wicked doers ; (17) and we will cause you to dwell in the earth after them. This *shall be granted* unto him who shall dread *the appearance at my tribunal*, and shall fear my threatening. (18) And they asked assistance of

last, besides faith, repentance and restitution, according to a man's ability, are also necessary."—Sale, *Baidhāwi*.

(13) *It is not in our power, &c.* Three things are noteworthy here : (1) Muhammad's picturing the former prophets in the colours in which he figured himself (see above on ver. 7) ; and (2) his inability to point to any miracle actually wrought by himself. The language here ascribed to other prophets was undoubtedly his own, but see on chap. xiii. 8 ; (3) the facts of Scripture are contradicted.

(16) *We will surely expel, &c.* This passage points to the persecution of Muhammad and his followers on the eve of the Hijra. This, however, was the experience of all other apostles.

(18) *They asked assistance.* "The commentators are uncertain whether these were the prophets who begged assistance against their enemies, or the infidels who called for God's decision between themselves and them, or both. And some suppose this verse has no connection with the preceding, but is spoken of the people of Makkah, who begged rain in a great drought with which they were afflicted at the prayer of their Prophet, but could not obtain it."—Sale, *Baidhāwi*.

God, and every rebellious perverse person failed of success. (19) Hell *lieth unseen* before him, and he shall have filthy water given him to drink: (20) he shall sup it up by little and little, and he shall not easily let it pass his throat *because of its nauseousness*; death also shall come upon him from every quarter, yet he shall not die; and before him *shall there stand prepared* a grievous torment. (21) *This is* the likeness of those who believe not in their LORD. Their works are as ashes, which the wind violently scattereth in a stormy day: they shall not be able to *obtain any solid advantage* from that which they have wrought. This is an error most distant *from truth*. (22) Dost thou not see that GOD hath created the heavens and the earth in wisdom? If he please he can destroy you, and produce a new creature *in your stead*: (23) neither will this be difficult with GOD. (24) And they shall all come forth into *the presence of GOD at the last day*: and the weak among them shall say unto those who behaved themselves arrogantly, Verily we were your followers *on earth*; will ye not therefore avert from us *some part* of the divine vengeance? (25) They *shall answer*, If GOD had directed us *aright, we had certainly directed you*. It is

(19) *Filthy water*. "Which will issue from the bodies of the damned, mixed with purulent matter and blood."—Sale.

(20) *He shall not die*. *Tafsir-i-Raufi*, on the authority of the *Ain-ul-Maani*, says the souls of the damned will stick in their throats; they will neither come out, that they may die, nor will they return into their bodies, that they may live.

It would seem that the ordinary opinion among Muslims is that suffering must be corporeal. The soul can only suffer *in the body*, hence the suffering of the grave and changing of the skins of the damned in hell in order to perpetuate their torment. See chap. iv. 54. As with the sufferings of the lost, so with the joys of the saved: they are all carnal. See note on chap. iii. 15.

(24) *The weak . . . shall say, &c., i.e.,* "the more simple and inferior people shall say to their teachers and princes, who seduced them to idolatry and confirmed them in their obstinate infidelity."—Sale.

(25) *If God had directed, &c.* "That is, we made the same choice for you as we did for ourselves; and had not God permitted us to fall into error, we had not seduced you."—Sale.

See above on ver. 4.

equal unto us whether we bear *our torments* impatiently, or whether we endure *them* with patience: *for* we have no way to escape.

|| (26) And Satan shall say after judgment shall have R 16⁴
 been given, Verily God promised you a promise of truth: and I *also* made you a promise; but I deceived you. Yet I had not any power over you *to compel you*; (27) but I called you only, and ye answered me: wherefore accuse not me, but accuse yourselves. I cannot assist you; neither can ye assist me. Verily I do *now* renounce your having associated me *with God* heretofore. A grievous punishment is *prepared* for the unjust. (28) But they who shall have believed and wrought righteousness shall be introduced into gardens, wherein rivers flow; they shall remain therein *for ever* by the permission of their LORD; and their salutation therein *shall be*, Peace! (29) Dost thou not see how God putteth forth a parable; *representing* a good word as a good tree, whose root is firmly fixed *in the earth*, and whose branches *reach* unto heaven;

(26) *I had not any power, &c.* Here the sin of unbelievers is ascribed to their own free-will, which hardly agrees with vers. 4 and 25 above.

(27) *Accuse me not, &c.* "Lay not the blame on my temptations, but blame your own folly in obeying and trusting to me, who had openly professed myself your irreconcilable enemy."—Sale.

Having associated me with God. "Or I do now declare myself clear of your having obeyed me preferably to God, and worshipped idols at my instigation. Or the words may be translated, *I believed not heretofore in that Being with whom ye did associate me*; intimating his first disobedience in refusing to worship Adam at God's command."—Sale, Baidhāwī.

(28) *Peace.* See note on chap. x. 10.

(29) *A parable.* The parables of Muhammad are in very striking contrast with those of our Lord. Nothing points more decidedly to the human authorship of the Qurán than the imperfection and commonplace of its parables.

A good word. "What is particularly intended in this passage by the *good word* and the *evil word*, the expositors differ about. But the first seems to mean the profession of God's unity, the inviting others to the true religion, or the Qurán itself; and the latter, the acknowledging a plurality of gods, the seducing of others to idolatry, or the obstinate opposition to God's prophets."—Sale, Baidhāwī, Jaláluddín.

(30) which bringeth forth its fruit in all seasons, by the will of its LORD ? GOD propoundeth parables unto men that they may be instructed. (31) And the likeness of an evil word is as an evil tree, which is torn up from the face of the earth, and hath no stability. (32) GOD shall confirm them who believe, by the steadfast word of *faith*, both in this life and in that which is to come : but GOD shall lead the wicked into error ; for GOD doth that which he pleaseth.

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(33) Hast thou not considered those who have changed the grace of GOD to infidelity, and cause their people to descend into the house of perdition, *namely, into hell* ? (34) They shall be thrown to burn therein ; and an unhappy dwelling *shall it be*. (35) They also set up idols as copartners with GOD, that they might cause *men* to

(31) *An evil word.* See on ver. 29.

(32) *That which is to come.* "Jaláluddín supposes the sepulchre to be here understood ; in which place, when the true believers come to be examined by the two angels concerning their faith, they will answer properly and without hesitation ; which the infidels will not be able to do."—Sale.

See also Prelim. Disc., p. 127.

(33) *Those who have changed, &c.* "That is, who requite his favours with disobedience and incredulity ; or whose ingratitude obliged God to deprive them of the blessings he had bestowed on them, as he did the Makkans, who, though God had placed them in the sacred territory, and given them the custody of the Kaabah, and abundant provision of all necessities and conveniences of life, and had also honoured them by the mission of Muhammad, yet in return for all this, became obstinate unbelievers and persecuted his apostles ; for which they were not only punished by a famine of seven years, but also by the loss and disgrace they sustained at Badr ; so that they who had before been celebrated for their prosperity were now stripped of that, and become conspicuous only for their infidelity. If this be the drift of the passage, it could not have been revealed at Makkah, as the rest of the chapter is agreed to be ; wherefore some suppose this verse and the next to have been revealed at Madina.—Sale.

This interpretation, however, is merely an *application* of the verse to the people of Makkah by the commentators, and therefore predicates nothing as to its Madina origin. The persons intended in the text were the followers of former prophets, and the passage contains a threat of judgment against the Quraish. Comp. vers. 7 and 8 above.

stray from his path. Say *unto them*, Enjoy the pleasures of this life for a time ; but your departure hence shall be into hell-fire. Speak unto my servants who have believed, that they may be assiduous at prayer, and give alms out of that which we have bestowed on them, *both* privately and in public ; (36) before the day cometh, wherein there shall be no buying nor selling, neither any friendship. (37) It is GOD who hath created the heavens and the earth ; and causeth water to descend from heaven, and by means thereof produceth fruits for your sustenance : and by his command he obligeth the ships to sail in the sea for your service ; and he also forceth the rivers to supply your uses : he likewise compelleth the sun and the moon, which diligently perform their courses, to serve you ; and hath subjected the day and the night to your service. He giveth you of everything which ye ask him ; and if ye *attempt to* reckon up the favours of GOD, ye shall not be able to compute the same. Surely man is unjust and ungrateful.

|| (38) Remember when Abraham said, O LORD, make R $\frac{6}{18}$
this land *a place* of security ; and grant that I and my children may avoid the worship of idols ; (39) for they, O LORD, have seduced a great number of men. Whoever therefore shall follow me, he *shall be* of me ; and whosoever shall disobey me, verily thou *wilt be* gracious and

(37) *Obligeth*. "The word used here and in the following passages is *sakhkhara*, which signifies *forcibly to press into any service*."—Sale.

See note on chap. ii. 165.

(38) *This land*, viz., Makkah and its territory. See Prelim. Disc., p. 42:

Grant that I and my children, &c. "This prayer, it seems, was not heard as to all his posterity, particularly as to the descendants of Ismael ; though some pretend that these latter did not worship images, but only paid a superstitious veneration to certain stones, which they set up and compassed, as representations of the Kaabah."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*.

See also Prelim. Disc., p. 43.

(39) *Thou wilt be gracious*. "That is, by disposing him to repentance. But Jalāluddīn supposes these words were spoken by Abraham before he knew that God would not pardon idolatry."

merciful. (40) O LORD, I have caused *some* of my offspring to settle in an unfruitful valley, near thy holy house, O LORD, that they may be constant at prayer. Grant, therefore, that the hearts of some men may be affected with kindness toward them; and do thou bestow on them *all sorts* of fruits, that they may give thanks. (41) O LORD, thou knowest whatsoever we conceal, and whatsoever we publish; for nothing is hidden from God, either on earth or in heaven. Praise be unto God, who hath given me in my old age Ismaël and Isaac; for my LORD is the hearer of supplication. (42) O LORD, grant that I may be an observer of prayer, and *a part* of my posterity *also*, O LORD, and receive my supplication. O

The *Tafsir-i-Raufi* excepts idolatry as a sin which would not be pardoned, paraphrasing thus:—"Whosoever shall disobey me, *excepting in the matter of idolatry*, verily thou," &c. To such straits are the commentators carried by their idea as to the sin of idolatry. The sin alluded to here is idolatry, or that in particular if others be alluded to.

(40) *Some of my offspring, i.e.*, "Ismaël and his posterity. The Muhammadans say that Hagar, his mother, belonged to Sarah, who gave her to Abraham; and that, on her bearing him this son, Sarah became so jealous of her that she prevailed on her husband to turn them both out of doors; whereupon he sent them to the territory of Makkah, where God caused the fountain of Zamzam to spring forth for their relief, in consideration of which the Jorhamites, who were the masters of the country, permitted them to settle among them."—*Sale, Jalâluddîn, &c.*

The hearts of some. "Had he said the hearts of men absolutely, the Persians and the Romans would also have treated them as friends, and both the Jews and Christians would have made their pilgrimages to Makkah."—*Sale, Baidhâwi, Jalâluddîn.*

All sorts of fruits. "This part of the prayer was granted; Makkah being so plentifully supplied, that the fruits of spring, summer, and autumn are to be found there at one and the same time."—*Sale, Baidhâwi, &c.*

(41) *Ismaël and Isaac.* I have taken the liberty to correct the text of Sale here, which had "Israel and Isaac," the error having evidently crept in through the printers. Muhammad does not seem to have known of the sons of Keturah.

(42) *My posterity.* The italics inserted in the text here, in accordance with Muslim interpretation, are certainly not wanted, as is evident by comparing ver. 38.

LORD, forgive me, and my parents, and the faithful, on the day whereon an account shall be taken.

|| (43) Think not, *O Prophet*, that GOD is regardless of R 179. what the ungodly do. He only deferreth their *punishment* unto the day whereon *men's* eyes shall be fixed: (44) they shall hasten forward, *at the voice of the angel calling to judgment*, and shall lift up their heads; they shall not be able to turn their sight *from the object whereon it shall be fixed*, and their hearts shall be void of sense through *excessive terror*. Wherefore do thou threaten men with the day *whereon their punishment shall be inflicted* on them, (45) and *whereon* those who have acted unjustly shall say, O LORD, give us respite unto a term near at hand, (46) *and* we will obey thy call, and we will follow thy apostles? *But it shall be answered unto them*, Did you not swear heretofore that no reverse should befall you? (47) yet ye dwelt in the dwellings of those who had treated their own souls unjustly; and it appeared plainly unto you how we had dealt with them; and we propounded *their destruction as examples* unto you. They employ their utmost subtlety *to oppose the truth*; but their subtlety

Forgive me. This passage proves that Abraham was a sinner as well as his parents, and furnishes an argument from the Qurán itself against the claim of Muslims that all the prophets were sinless.

And my parents. "Abraham put up this petition to God before he knew that his parents were the enemies of God. Some suppose his mother was a true believer, and therefore read it in the singular, *and my father*. Others fancy that by his *parents* the Patriarch here means Adam and Eve.—Sale, Baidháwi, and Jaláluddín.

See also notes on chap. ix. 114.

(46) *That no reverse, &c.* "That is, that ye should not taste of death, but continue in this world for ever; or that ye should not after death be raised to judgment."—Sale, Jaláluddín, Zamaksharí.

(47) *The dwellings of those, &c., i.e., of Noah, Ad, and Thamúd, &c.* See above, ver. 9.

It appeared plainly, &c. "Not only by the histories of those people revealed in the Qurán, but also by the monuments remaining of them (as the houses of the Thamúdites), and the traditions preserved among you of the terrible judgments which befell them."

They employ . . . subtlety. Rodwell translates, "plotted their plots." The passage probably refers to the plotting of the Quraish

is apparent unto GOD, who is able to frustrate their designs; although their subtlety were so great that the mountains might be moved thereby. (48) Think not, therefore, O prophet, that GOD will be contrary to his promise of assistance made unto his apostles; for GOD is mighty, able to avenge. (49) The day will come when the earth shall be changed into another earth, and the heavens into other heavens; and men shall come forth from their graves to appear before the only, the mighty GOD. (50) And thou shalt see the wicked on that day bound together in fetters: (51) their inner garments shall be of pitch, and fire shall cover their faces; that GOD may reward every soul according to what it shall have deserved; for GOD is swift in taking an account. (52) This is a sufficient admonition unto men, that they may be warned thereby, and that they may know that there is but one GOD; and that those who are endued with understanding may consider.

to expel Muhammad and his followers from Makkah. See note on chap. xiii. 42.

(49) *Another earth, &c.* "This the Muhammadans suppose will come to pass at the last day; the earth becoming white and even, or, as some will have it, of silver, and the heavens of gold."—Sale, *Baidhāwī, Jalāluddīn, &c.*

See also Prelim. Disc., p. 140.

CHAPTER XV.

ENTITLED SURAT AL HAJR.

Revealed at Makkah.

INTRODUCTION.

THIS chapter differs little from the two preceding it. The only passage of peculiar importance is that contained in vers. 94-96, which Sprenger (*Life of Moh.*, p. 177) thinks should be referred to Muhammad's first public preaching at Makkah. This view, however, is quite untenable, as will be seen a little farther on.

As usual, the Quraish are warned against idolatry. The signs of God's power, wisdom, and goodness as seen in Nature are held up before them ; and, finally, they are threatened with the judgments of God which fell upon those who rejected the former prophets. On the other hand, the Prophet is exhorted to proclaim his message boldly and to put his trust in God.

Probable Date of the Revelations.

On the ground of Ibn Hishám's statements, some would assign this chapter to the fourth year of Muhammad's ministry. But this opinion, though adopted by Sprenger, and apparently by Rodwell, is held by Noeldeke to be untenable. His reasons may be briefly stated thus : (1) Ibn Hishám, who in one place attributes vers. 94-96 to Muhammad's early preaching, gives in another place (272) a better explanation of those verses. (2) These verses are closely connected with others treating of the adversaries and persecutions of Muhammad, which circumstance points to a later date ; and (3) The style of this passage differs from that of the earlier chapters, besides certain phrases and expressions, e.g., *فسبح بحمد* and *المشركين*, which never occur in the chapters of the earlier period. It is, therefore, more rational to assign this chapter to the later years of Muhammad's ministry at Makkah.

Principal Subjects.

	VERSES
Unbelievers will one day wish themselves Muslims . . .	1-3
Every nation has its day of grace	4, 5
Muhammad charged with demoniacal possession . . .	6
The unbelievers say a true prophet would have come with a company of angels	7
Angels are not sent to gratify curiosity, but to minister judg- ment	8
God the author and preserver of the Qurán	9
The former prophets were laughed to scorn	10, 11
The scoffing Quraish judicially blinded	12-15
God declares his glory in the heaven and the earth . . .	16-20
He is active in every part of Nature	21, 22
He is the God of life, death, and judgment	23-25
Men created of clay—the genii of fire	26-29
Iblis among the angels refuses to worship Adam	29-33
He is cursed and respite until the judgment	34-38
Satan declares to God his purpose to seduce men	39, 40
The elect are safe from Satan's power	41, 42
The seven gates of hell will receive Satan's followers . .	43, 44
Paradise joys in store for true believers	45-50
The story of Abraham and Lot	51-77
The unbelieving Midianites are destroyed	78, 79
The scoffing inhabitants of Al Hajr reject their prophets though accompanied with miracles	80, 81
Rock-hewn houses fail to save them	82-84
The heaven and earth created in righteousness	85, 86
Command to repeat the seven verses	87
Muhammad not to envy the prosperity of infidels	88-90
The enemies of God will surely be punished	91-93
Muhammad commanded to preach boldly	94-96
He is exhorted to praise and serve God until death . . .	97-99

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

R 1.

|| (1) A. L. R. These are the signs of the book, and of the perspicuous Qurán.

(1) A. L. R. See Prelim. Disc., pp. 100-102.

The signs. This expression, so often recurring in the Qurán, seems to be used particularly of the various portions or verses of the Qurán. Observe, however, that the words *book* and *Qurán* are used to designate a complete volume.

|| (2) The time may come when the unbelievers shall wish that they had been Muslims. (3) Suffer them to eat, and to enjoy themselves *in this world*; and let hope entertain them, but they shall hereafter know *their folly*. (4) We have not destroyed any city, but a fixed term of *repentance* was appointed them. (5) No nation shall be *punished* before their time shall be come; neither shall they be respite*d after*. (6) *The Makkans* say, O thou to whom the admonition hath been sent down, thou art certainly possessed with a devil: (7) wouldest thou not have come unto us with *an attendance of angels* if thou hadst spoken truth? (8) *Answer*, We send not down the angels unless on a just occasion; nor should they be then respite*d any longer*. (9) We have surely sent down the Qurán, and we will certainly preserve the same *from corruption*. (10) We have heretofore sent *apostles* before thee among

FOURTEENTH
SIPARA.

(2) *The time may come, &c., i.e.,* "when they shall see the success and prosperity of the true believers, or when they shall come to die, or at the resurrection."—Sale.

Rodwell's translation agrees with the Urdu, which makes the passage read, "Many a time will the infidels wish," &c.

(4) *A fixed term.* See notes on chap. x. 50.

(6) *The admonition, i.e.,* "the revelations which compose the Qurán."—Sale.

Possessed with a devil. Literally, a *jinn*, or genius. This opinion was no doubt based upon the epileptic fits to which Muhammad was subject.

(8) *Unless on a just occasion.* "When the divine wisdom shall judge it proper to use their ministry, as in bearing his revelations to the prophets, and the executing his sentence on wicked people; but not to humour you with their appearance in visible shapes, which, should your demand be complied with, would only increase your confusion, and bring God's vengeance on you the sooner."—Sale.

The latter part of the verse carries with it the idea that angels are only sent when judgment is determined upon the unbelievers.

(9) *We will certainly preserve the same.* The word translated *Qurán* in the text is *Dhikr*, and is translated in the Urdu *instruction*, by Rodwell *warning*, and by Palgrave *reminder*. The Persian translator and Abdul Qádir agree with Sale in translating it *Qurán*, which is certainly intended. The commentators understand the passage to teach that God will not permit his Qurán to be corrupted or changed. But this seems to me to be very far fetched. A better meaning,

the ancient sects: (11) and there came no apostle unto them, but they laughed him to scorn. (12) In the same manner will we put it into the hearts of the wicked *Makkans* to scoff at their prophet: (13) they shall not believe on him; and the sentence of the nations of old hath been executed heretofore. (14) If we should open a gate in the heaven above them, and they should ascend thereto all the day long, (15) they should rather say, Our eyes are only dazzled; or rather, we are a people deluded by enchantments.

R $\frac{2}{2}$

|| (16) We have placed *the twelve* signs in the heaven, and have set them out *in various figures*, for the observation of spectators: (17) and we guard them from every devil driven away with stones, (18) except him who listeneth by stealth, at whom a visible flame is darted. (19) We

guaranteed by what follows, is that God will preserve the warning and threatening of this book from failure to come to pass.

Considering the doctrine of abrogation taught in chaps. ii. 105 and xvi. 103, and the various readings of the earliest manuscripts requiring the recension of Othmān, not to mention the variations in the various copies now used among Muslims, the commentators could hardly prove their interpretation by reference to the facts. See also notes on chaps. vi. 115 and xi. 2, and Prelim. Disc., pp. 122-124.

(12) *In the same manner.* Here again Muhammad first represents the former prophets as being in the same circumstances and suffering the same kind of opposition and persecution as himself, and, secondly, he puts into the mouth of God a prophecy concerning himself which represented the exact treatment he was at the time enduring.

(13) *They shall not believe on him.* Most of them, however, did believe on him. The passage marks the period when Muhammad despaired of the people of Makkah.

(14) *They should ascend, i.e.,* "the incredulous Makkans themselves; or, as others rather think, the angels in visible forms."—Sale.

(17) *We guard them from every devil.* "For the Muhammadans imagine that the devils endeavour to ascend to the constellations, to pry into the actions and overhear the discourse of the inhabitants of heaven, and to tempt them. They also pretend that these evil spirits had the liberty of entering any of the heavens till the birth of Jesus, when they were excluded three of them; but that on the birth of Muhammad they were forbidden the other four."—Sale.

Driven away with stones. See note on chap. iii. 36.

(18) *A visible flame is darted.* "For when a star seems to fall or shoot, the Muhammadans suppose the angels, who keep guard in

have also spread forth the earth, and thrown thereon stable *mountains*, and we have caused every kind of *vegetable* to spring forth in the same, according to a determinate weight : (20) and we have provided therein necessities of life for you, and for him whom ye do not sustain. (21) There is no one thing but the storehouses thereof are in our hands ; and we distribute not the same *otherwise* than in a determinate measure. (22) We also send the winds driving the pregnant clouds, and we send down from heaven water, whereof we give you to drink, and which ye keep not in store. (23) Verily we give life, and we put to death : and we are the heirs of *all things*. (24) We know those among you who go before ; and we know those who stay behind. (25) And thy LORD shall gather

the constellations, dart them at the devils who approach too near.” —*Sale*.

The Qurán is responsible for this superstition, and Muslims must believe it so long as they believe the Qurán to be the word of God.

(19) *Thrown thereon stable mountains*. It must not be imagined that the Qurán may be vindicated from the charge of astronomical and geological error on the ground that the sacred writer uses the language of men, which is necessarily imperfect. For the words of the Qurán claim to be the very words of God. God is the speaker, and the language he uses is the language of the Preserved Table, and therefore a perfect language. The earth is represented as a vast plain, and the mountains have been placed on it to balance it. See chap. xvi. 15.

(20) *Him whom ye do not sustain*, viz., “your family, servants, and slaves, whom ye wrongly imagine that ye feed yourselves : though it is God who provides for them as well as you : or, as some rather think, the animals, of whom men take no care.”—*Sale*, *Baidhāwī*, *Jalāluddīn*.

(23) See Rodwell’s note here.

The heirs, i.e., “alone surviving when all creatures shall be dead and annihilated.”—*Sale*. Muslims believe that every living thing, angels included, shall die. The last to die will be the angel of death, and the first to rise will be Israfil, who will sound the resurrection trumpet.

(24) “What these words particularly drive at is uncertain. Some think them spoken of the different times of men’s several entrance into this world, and their departure out of it ; others of the respective forwardness and backwardness of Muhammad’s men in battle ; and a third says the passage was occasioned by the different behaviour of Muhammad’s followers on seeing a very beautiful woman at prayers behind the Prophet, some of them going out of the mosque

them together *at the last day*: for he *is* knowing and wise.

R $\frac{3}{2}$.

|| (26) We created man of dried clay, of black mud, formed into shape: (27) and we had before created the devil of subtle fire. (28) And *remember* when thy LORD said unto the angels, Verily I am about to create man of dried clay, of black mud, wrought into shape; (29) when, therefore, I shall have completely formed him, and shall have breathed of my spirit into him, do ye fall down and worship him. (30) And all the angels worshipped *Adam* together, (31) except *Iblis*, who refused to be with those who worshipped *him*. (32) And *God* said unto *him*, O *Iblis*, what *hindered* thee from being with those who worshipped *Adam*? (33) He answered, It is not fit that I should worship man, whom thou hast created of dried clay, of black mud, wrought into shape. (34) *God* said, Get thee therefore hence: for thou shalt be driven away with stones: (35) and a curse *shall be* on thee, until the day of judgment. (36) *The devil* said, O LORD, Give me respite until the day of resurrection. (37) *God* answered, Verily thou shalt be *one* of those who are respited (38) until the day of the appointed time. (39) *The devil* replied, O LORD, because thou hast seduced me, I will surely tempt them to *disobedience* in the earth; (40) and I will seduce *such* of them as *shall be* thy chosen servants. (41) *God* said, This is the right way with me. (42) Verily as to my servants, thou shalt have no power over them; but *over* those only who shall be seduced, and who shall

before her, to avoid looking on her more nearly, and others staying behind on purpose to view her."—*Sale*, *Baidhawī*.

In addition to these conjectures, the *Tafsīr-i-Raufi* gives another, which is more probable than the rest: "Those who have died, or gone before to judgment, and those who live, or remain behind."

(26) See note on chap. ii. 30.

(28-40) On this passage see notes on chap. ii. 30-34, and vii.

11-19.

(41) *This is the right way*, viz., "the saving of the elect, and the utter reprobation of the wicked, according to my eternal decree."—*Sale*.

follow thee. (43) And hell is surely denounced unto them all: (44) it hath seven gates; unto every gate a distinct company of them *shall be assigned*.

|| (45) But those who fear *God shall dwell* in gardens, R $\frac{4}{4}$ amidst fountains. (46) *The angels shall say unto them*, Enter ye therein in peace and security, (47) and we will remove all grudges from their breasts; *they shall be as brethren*, sitting over against one another on couches; (48) weariness shall not affect them therein, neither shall they be cast out thence *for ever*. (49) Declare unto my servants that I am the gracious, the merciful *God*; (50) and that my punishment is a grievous punishment. (51) And relate unto them *the history* of Abraham's guests. (52) When they went in unto him, and said, *Peace be unto thee*, he answered, Verily we are afraid of you: (53) *and* they replied, Fear not; we bring thee the promise of a wise son. (54) He said, Do you bring me the promise of a son now old age hath overtaken me? what is it therefore that ye tell me? (55) They said, We have told thee the truth; be not therefore one of those who despair. (56) He answered, And who despaireth of the mercy of GOD, except those who err? (57) And he said, What is your errand, therefore, O messengers of *God*? (58) They answered, Verily we are sent to *destroy* a wicked people; (59) but *as for* the family of Lot, we will save them all, (60) ex-

(44) *Seven gates*. See Prelim. Disc., p. 148.

(47) *Remove all grudges*. "That is, all hatred and ill-will which they bore each other in their lifetime; or, as some choose to expound it, all envy or heart-burning on account of the different degrees of honour and happiness to which the blessed will be promoted according to their respective merits."—Sale.

Sitting over against, &c. "Never turning their backs to one another, which might be construed a sign of contempt."—Sale, *Jaláluddín*.

This represents the attitude of people at a feast, which is evidently intended. In other places the faithful are represented as drinking wine and eating luscious fruits, being waited on by beautiful boys. See chap. xxxvii. 44-45, &c.

(51-77) See chap. xi. 69-82, and notes.

cept his wife ; we have decreed that she shall be *one* of those who remain behind *to be destroyed with the infidels*. (61) And when the messengers came to the family of Lot, (62) he said *unto them*, Verily ye are a people *who are unknown to me*.

R $\frac{5}{5}$.

|| (63) They answered, But we are come unto thee to *execute that sentence*, concerning which *your fellow-citizens* doubted : (64) we tell thee *a certain truth* ; and we are *messengers of veracity*. (65) Therefore lead forth thy family, in some time of the night ; and do thou follow behind them, and let none of you turn back ; but go whither ye are commanded. (66) And we gave him this command ; because the utmost remnant of those *people* was to be cut off in the morning. (67) And the inhabitants of the city came *unto Lot*, rejoicing at the news of the *arrival of some strangers*. (68) And he said *unto them*, Verily these are my guests : wherefore do not disgrace me *by abusing them* ; (69) but fear God, and put me not to shame. (70) They answered, Have we not forbidden thee from *entertaining or protecting* any man ? (71) Lot replied, These *are* my daughters : *therefore rather make use of them*, if ye be resolved to do *what ye purpose*. (72) As thou livest, they wander in their folly. (73) Wherefore a terrible storm from heaven assailed them at sunrise, (74) and we turned *the city* upside down : and we rained on them stones of baked clay. (75) Verily herein are signs unto *men* of sagacity : (76) and those *cities were punished*, to *point out* a right way for *men to walk in*. (77) Verily herein is a sign unto the true believers. (78) The inhabitants of the wood *near Madian* were also ungodly.

(60) *We have decreed, &c.* The destruction of Lot's wife is here distinctly attributed to the purpose of God.

(65) *Go whither ye are commanded, i.e., "to Syria or into Egypt."*—Sale.

(67) *The news*, which, says tradition, was given them by Lot's wife.

(72) "Some will have these words spoken by the angels to Lot ; others, by God to Muhammad."—Sale.

(78) *The inhabitants of the wood.* See notes on chap. vii. 86.

(79) Wherefore we took vengeance on them. And both of them were *destroyed*, to serve as a manifest rule for men to direct their actions by.

|| (80) And the inhabitants of Al Hajr likewise heretofore accused the messengers of God of imposture; (81) and we produced our signs unto them, but they retired afar off from the same. (82) And they hewed houses out of the mountains to secure themselves. (83) But a terrible noise from heaven assailed them in the morning; (84) neither was what they had wrought of any advantage unto them. (85) We have not created the heavens and the earth, and whatever is contained between them, otherwise than in justice: and the hour of judgment shall surely come. Wherefore, O Muhammad, forgive thy people with a gracious forgiveness. (86) Verily thy LORD is the creator of thee and of them, and knoweth what is most expedient. R 6.

|| (87) We have already brought unto thee seven verses which are frequently to be repeated, and the glorious Qurán. RUBA.

"To whom Shuaib was also sent, as well as to the inhabitants of Madian. Abulfeda says these people dwelt near Tabúq, and that they were not of the same tribe with Shuaib."—Sale.

Noëldeke shows conclusively that "the inhabitants of the wood," or rather "the inhabitants of Al Aika," and the "Midianites" are one and the same people, and not two different tribes, as the commentators say. The reasons for this opinion are: (1.) the prophet is the same—Shuaib; every people has its own prophet; (2.) the sin attributed by the Qurán to both peoples is the same—using false weights and measures (see chap. vii. 86, xi. 83, xxvi. 181); and (3.) after the name Madian has once been introduced (chap. xi. 83), the name Al Aika never again occurs. The name Madian therefore reached Muhammad from Jewish sources.

(79) *We took vengeance on them.* "Destroying them for their incredulity and disobedience by a hot suffocating wind."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*, &c.

(80) *Al Hajr.* Whose inhabitants were the tribe of Thamúd. See chap. vii. 74–84, and notes. Also Prelim. Disc., p. 23.

(85) *Wherefore . . . forgive*, &c. This verse is said to be abrogated by that of the Sword, chap. ix. 5.

(87) *Seven verses.* "That is, the first chapter of the Qurán, which consists of so many verses, though some suppose the seven long chapters are here intended."—Sale.

See introduction to chap. ix. and Rodwell's note *in loco*.

(88) Cast not thine eyes on the *good things* which we have bestowed on several of the *unbelievers*, so as to covet the same: neither be thou grieved on their account. Behave thyself with meekness towards the true believers; (89) and say I am a public preacher. (90) *If they believe not, we will inflict a like punishment on them* as we have inflicted on the dividers, (91) who distinguished the Qurán into *different* parts, (92) for by thy LORD we will demand an account from them all (93) of that which they have wrought. (94) Wherefore publish that which thou hast been commanded, and withdraw from the idolaters. (95) We will surely take thy part against the scoffers, (96)

(88) *Cast not thine eyes, &c.* "That is, do not envy or covet their worldly prosperity, since thou hast received, in the Qurán, a blessing, in comparison whereof all that we have bestowed on them ought to be contemned as of no value. Al Baidháwi mentions a tradition, that Muhammad meeting at Adhriat (a town of Syria) seven caravans, very richly laden, belonging to some Jews of the tribes of Quraidha and al Nadhír, his men had a great mind to plunder them, saying, that those riches would be of great service for the propagation of God's true religion. But the Prophet represented to them, by this passage, that they had no reason to repine, God having given them the *seven verses*, which were infinitely more valuable than those seven caravans."—Sale, *Baidháwi*, *Jaláluddín*.

Neither Muhammad nor his followers have obeyed the injunction of this verse.

(90) *The dividers.* "Some interpret the original word the *obstructors*, who hindered men from entering Makkah to visit the temple lest they should be persuaded to embrace Islám; and this, it is said, was done by ten men, who were all slain at Badr. Others translate the word, *who bound themselves by oath*, and suppose certain Thamúdites, who swore to kill Sáliih by night, are here meant. But the sentence more probably relates to the Jews and Christians, who (say the Muhammadans) receive some part of the Scriptures and reject others, and also approved of some passages of the Qurán and disapproved of others, according to their prejudices; or else to the unbelieving Makkans, some of whom called the Qurán a piece of witchcraft, others flights of divination, others old stories, and others a poetical composition."—Sale, *Baidháwi*, *Jaláluddín*.

(94) *Wherefore publish, &c.* This is said to refer to Muhammad's venturing publicly to preach Islám in the streets of Makkah. The opinion rests upon the statements of Hishám, which, says Noëldeke, are conflicting. Even granting that Muhammad did at some early period declare he had received such an admonition, it does not follow that he never again made such a declaration.

(95) *The scoffers.* "This passage, it is said, was revealed on ac-

who associate with GOD another god; they shall surely know *their folly*. (97) And now we well know that thou art deeply concerned on account of that which they say; (98) but do thou celebrate the praise of thy LORD; and be *one* of those who worship; (99) and serve thy LORD until death shall overtake thee.

count of five noble Quraish, whose names were Al Walíd Ibn al Mughaira, Aas Ibn Wáíl, Oda Ibn Qais, al Aswad Ibn Abd Yaghúth, and al Aswad Ibn al Mutallib. These were inveterate enemies of Muhammad, continually persecuting him, and turning him into ridicule; wherefore at length Gabriel came and told him that he was commanded to take his part against them; and on the angel's making a sign towards them one after another, al Walíd, passing by some arrows, one of them hitched in his garment, and he, out of pride, not stooping to take it off, but walking forward, the head of it cut a vein in his heel, and he bled to death. Al Aas was killed with a thorn, which stuck into the sole of his foot, and caused his leg to swell to a monstrous size. Oda died with violent and perpetual sneezing. Al Aswad Ibn Abd Yaghúth ran his head against a thorny tree and killed himself, and al Aswad Ibn al Mutallib was struck blind."—*Sale, Baidháwi*.

(99) *Death*, literally, *that which is certain*.

CHAPTER XVI.

ENTITLED SURAT AL NAHL (THE BEE).

Revealed at Makkah.

INTRODUCTION.

THIS chapter owes its name to the mention of the bee as having received a divine revelation in ver. 70. The contents differ little from those of other Makkan chapters of the later Makkan period which admonish the unbelieving Quraish, by instruction as to the character of the true God, by reproach for ingratitude and folly, by warning and threatening. God's claim to worship and obedience is constantly supported by reference to his works in creation and providence. At the same time the ingratitude and wicked apostasy of the idolaters is exposed by reference to their acknowledgment of God in distress and trouble, and their turning away from him to the service of idols in prosperity. He points to their own disappointment and shame when daughters were born to them as a proof of their wickedness in attributing daughters to God.

This chapter throws some light upon the source from which Muhammad received his so-called inspiration. In ver. 105 he is charged with receiving assistance in writing the Qurán from some one. In his very lame reply he admits having intercourse with a foreigner, but avers that he could not have written the Qurán, which is in "the perspicuous Arabic." The commentators, on the authority of tradition, give us the names of a number of Jewish and Christian converts as being here alluded to. We may therefore agree with Muhammad that this foreigner did not *write* the Qurán, while at the same time believing that the Quraish were correct in charging him with receiving help from such a person. See notes on ver. 105.

Probable Date of the Revelations.

Though some have thought the latter portion of this chapter, beginning with ver. 43, or even the whole chapter, belongs to Madína, yet all the evidence, internal as well as external, obliges us to place

it among the later Makkan Suras. Vers. 43, 111, 119, 120, and 125, however, must, according to Noëldeke, be assigned to Madīna. Though Sale, guided by the commentators, assigns the last three verses of the chapter to Madīna, I think Noëldeke and Weil have shown clearly that they belong to Makkah. The *application* of the passage to the case of Muhammad's oath to avenge Hamza's death is all that is required to account for the tradition that the passage was revealed after Hamza's death.

The allusion to the *famine* in vers. 113 and 114 shows that the revelations here belong to the latter part of Muhammad's mission at Makkah, while the exhortation of ver. 126 points to a time when Muhammad was not despairing of the conversion of the Quraish. The accusation of ver. 105 also points to a period some time preceding the Hijra.

Principal Subjects.

	VERSES
God's judgment sure to be visited on the infidels	1
Revelation is from God by the ministry of angels	2
God the Creator, as his works testify	3-8
God the true instructor of man	9
His works in heaven, earth, and sea described	10-14
The earth made firm by the mountains	15
The stars appointed to guide man	16
God not to be compared to idols	17
God merciful and omniscient	18, 19
The character of the idols declared	20-22
Infidels reject the one true God	23
The Omniscient hates the proud	24, 25
Muhammad charged with forgery	26
The unbelievers shall be destroyed	27, 28
Idolaters will be disappointed in the resurrection	29-31
The reward of the righteous	32-34
Infidels can only look for judgment	35, 36
They lay their crimes to God's charge	37
Every nation has its own prophet	38
The dreadful end of infidelity	38, 39
The infidels deny the resurrection	40
They shall be taught their error	41
God creates by a word	42
Promises to the Muhājirīn	43
The patient believer will be rewarded	44
The custodians of the Scriptures to be inquired of	45
The Qurān sent to be proclaimed to the people	46
The Prophet's enemies will be punished	47-49

	VERSES
All God's creatures worship him	50-52
The true God to be worshipped and obeyed	53-55
Idolaters are ungrateful	56-58
Hating daughters, the Quraish attribute daughters to God .	59-61
The human race dependent on God's mercy	62, 63
Idolatry unreasonable	64
Satan the patron of the ungodly	65
Why the Qurán was sent	66
God's witness to himself in nature	67-69
The bee taught of God	70, 71
All man is and all he has is of God	72-74
Yet man worships idols	75
God not to be likened to anything	76
The parable of a slave and his master	77
The parable of the blind man and one having sight . . .	78
The affairs of the judgment-day shall be accomplished in a moment	79
God to be obeyed because he is Creator and Preserver . .	80-83
Muhammad only a public preacher	84
Idolaters recognise God's mercy and yet deny him . . .	85
Every nation has a witness against it	86, 87
Idolaters shall be deserted by their idols	88, 89
Infidel leaders to be severely punished	90
Muhammad is God's witness against the Arabians . . .	91
Exhortation to loyalty to God	92-99
Muhammad to have recourse to God in reading the Qurán .	100
Satan has no power over believers	101, 102
The doctrine of abrogation announced	103
The Qurán sent down by the "holy spirit"	104
Muhammad charged with writing the Qurán with foreign help	105
The unbelievers shall be punished	106, 107
Forced apostasy no offence against God	108
Wilful apostates condemned	108-110
The Muhájirín blessed	111
The rewards of the judgment-day will be just	112
Makkah punished by famine for unbelief	113, 114
Lawful and unlawful food	115-119
Sins of ignorance may be pardoned	120
Muhammad exhorted to adopt the religion of Abraham .	121-124
Friday to be observed instead of the Sabbath	125
Infidels not to be treated harshly	126
Patient forbearance better than vengeance	127
God is with the righteous	128

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

|| (1) The sentence of God will surely come *to be executed*, wherefore do not hasten it. Praise be unto him! and far be that from him which they associate *with him!* (2) He shall cause the angels to descend with a revelation by his command, unto such of his servants as he pleaseth, *saying*, Preach that there is no God, except myself; therefore fear me. (3) He hath created the heavens and the earth, to *manifest his justice*: far be that from him which they associate *with him!* (4) He hath created man of seed, and yet behold he is a professed disputer *against the resurrection*. (5) He hath likewise created the cattle for you; from them ye have wherewith to keep yourselves warm, and *other* advantages; and of them do ye *also* eat. (6) And they are likewise a credit unto you, when ye drive them home *in the evening*, and when ye lead them forth to feed *in the morning*; (7) and they carry your burdens to a *distant* country, at which ye could not *otherwise* arrive, unless with *great* difficulty to yourselves; for your LORD is compassionate and merciful. (8) And *he hath also created* horses, and mules, and asses, that ye may ride thereon, and for an ornament *unto you*; and *he like-*

(1) *The sentence of God.* The allusion is to the punishment threatened against the unbelieving people of Makkah, and which they constantly urged him to hasten.—*Tafsir-i-Raufi*.

(2) *With a revelation.* Rodwell translates literally, "with the Spirit." The *Tafsir-i-Raufi* says the angels when sent down to earth are always accompanied by a spirit. The idea is that as Muhammad pretended to be accompanied by Gabriel, "the holy spirit" (chap. iv. 169), so every angel had a similar spirit to communicate to him the divine will.

(4) *A professed disputer.* "The person particularly intended in this place was Ubbai Ibn Khalaf, who came to Muhammad with a rotten bone and asked him whether it was possible for God to restore it to life."—*Sale, Baidhawi*.

(5) *Wherewith, &c., i.e.,* "their skins, wool, and hair, which serve you for clothing."—*Sale*.

(6) *A credit unto you.* "Being a grace to your courtyards and a credit to you in the eyes of your neighbours."—*Sale*.

R 2.

wise created *other things* which ye know not. (9) *It appertaineth* unto GOD to instruct *men* in the *right* way, and *there is* who turneth aside from the same; but if he had pleased he would certainly have directed you all.

|| (10) It is he who sendeth down from heaven *rain* water, whereof ye have to drink, and from which plants, whereon ye feed *your cattle*, receive *their nourishment*. (11) *And* by means thereof he causeth corn, and olives, and palm-trees, and grapes, and all *kinds* of fruits to spring forth for you. Surely herein is a sign of *the divine power and wisdom* unto people who consider. (12) *And* he hath subjected the night and the day to your service, and the sun, and the moon, and the stars, which are compelled to serve by his command. Verily herein are signs unto people of understanding. (13) *And he hath also given you dominion over* whatever he hath created for you in the earth, distinguished by its different colour. Surely herein is a sign unto people who reflect. (14) It is he who hath subjected the sea *unto you*, that ye might eat fish thereout, and take from thence ornaments for you to wear; and thou seest the ships ploughing *the waves* thereof, that ye may seek to *enrich yourselves* of his abundance *by commerce*; and that ye might give thanks. (15) *And he hath thrown upon the earth mountains* firmly

(9) *If he had pleased, &c.* Here again the reprobation of the wicked is made to depend upon God's will. The saved escape "because God pleaseth," and the wicked are lost "because God pleaseth." These are not *directed*, and so cannot be saved. The doctrine here is decidedly fatalistic.

(12) *Verily herein are signs.* These are all signs of God's power, wisdom, kindness, and love, but not signs of Muhammad's apostleship.—*Notes on Roman Urdu Qurān.*

(13) *Different colour, i.e.,* "of every kind; the various colour of things being one of their chief distinctions."—*Sale, Baidhāwi.*

(14) *Fish.* "Literally, *fresh flesh*; by which fish is meant, as being naturally more fresh, and sooner liable to corruption, than the flesh of birds and beasts. The expression is thought to have been made use of here the rather because the production of such fresh food from salt water is an instance of God's power."—*Sale, Baidhāwi.*

Ornaments, as pearl and coral.

rooted, lest it should move with you, and *also* rivers, and paths, that ye might be directed: (16) and *he hath likewise ordained marks whereby men may know their way*; and they are directed by the stars. (17) *Shall God* therefore, who createth, *be* as he who createth not? Do ye not therefore consider? (18) If ye *attempt* to reckon up the favours of GOD, ye shall not *be able* to compute their number; GOD *is* surely gracious and merciful; (19) and GOD knoweth that which ye conceal, and that which ye publish. (20) But the *idols* which ye invoke, besides GOD, create nothing, but are themselves created. (21) *They are* dead, and not living; neither do they understand (22) when they shall be raised.

|| (23) Your GOD *is* one GOD. As to those who believe R $\frac{3}{9}$. not in the life to come, their hearts deny *the plainest evidence*, and they proudly reject *the truth*. (24) There is no doubt but GOD knoweth that which they conceal and that which they discover. (25) Verily he loveth not the proud. (26) And when it is said unto them, What hath your LORD sent down *unto Muhammad*? they answer, Fables of ancient times. (27) *Thus are they given up to error*, that they may bear their own burdens without diminution on the day of resurrection, and *also a part* of the burdens of those whom they caused to err, without knowledge. *Will it not be an evil burden* which they shall bear?

(15) *Lest it should move with you*. "The Muhammadans suppose that the earth, when first created, was smooth and equal, and thereby liable to a circular motion as well as the celestial orbs; and that the angels asking who could be able to stand on so tottering a frame, God fixed it the next morning by throwing the mountains on it."
—Sale.

See notes on chaps. xv. 19, xxxi. 9, and lxxviii. 7.

(16) *The stars*. "Which are their guides, not only at sea, but also on land, when they travel by night through the deserts. The stars which they observe for this purpose are either the *Pleiades* or some of those near the pole."—Sale.

(18) See chap. xiv. 37.

(22) *I.e.*, "At what time they or their worshippers shall be raised to receive judgment."—Sale.

(26) *Fables*. See notes on chap. vi. 24.

R $\frac{4}{10}$

|| (28) Their predecessors devised plots heretofore: but God came into their building, *to overthrow it* from the foundations; and the roof fell on them from above, and a punishment came upon them, from whence they did not expect. (29) Also on the day of resurrection he will cover them with shame; and will say, Where are my companions, concerning whom ye disputed? Those unto whom knowledge shall have been given shall answer, This day *shall* shame and misery *fall* upon the unbelievers. (30) They whom the angels shall cause to die, having dealt unjustly with their own souls, shall offer to make their peace *in the article of death, saying*, We have done no evil. *But the angels shall reply*, Yea; verily God well knoweth that which ye have wrought: (31) wherefore enter the gates of hell, therein to remain *for ever*; and miserable shall be the abode of the proud. (32) And it shall be said unto those who shall fear God, What hath your LORD sent down? They shall answer, Good; unto those who do right *shall be given* an excellent reward in this world; but the dwelling of the next life *shall be* better; and happy *shall be* the dwelling of the pious! (33) *namely*, gardens of eternal abode, into which they shall enter; rivers shall flow beneath the same; therein *shall* they

(28) "Some understand this passage figuratively, of God's dis-appointing their wicked designs; but others suppose the words literally relate to the tower which Nimrod (whom the Muhammadans will have to be the son of Canaan, the son of Ham, and so the nephew of Cush, and not his son) built in Babel, and carried to an immense height (five thousand cubits, say some), foolishly purposing thereby to ascend to heaven, and wage war with the inhabitants of that place; but God frustrated his attempt, utterly overthrowing the tower by a violent wind and earthquake."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*, *Jalāluddīn*, *D'Herbelot*, *Bibl. Orient.*, Article NIMROD. The allusion may be to Judges xvi.

(29) *Those unto whom knowledge, &c.* "The prophets, and the teachers and professors of God's unity, or the angels."—Sale.

(30) *Shall offer to make their peace.* "Making their submission, and humbly excusing their evil actions, as proceeding from ignorance, and not from obstinacy or malice."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*, *Jalāluddīn*.

(33) *Gardens of eternal abode.* See note on chap. ix. 73.

enjoy whatever they wish. Thus will GOD recompense the pious. (34) Unto the righteous, whom the angels shall cause to die, they shall say, Peace be upon you; enter ye into paradise, *as a reward* for that which ye have wrought. (35) Do *the unbelievers* expect *any other* than that the angels come unto them *to part their souls from their bodies*, or that the sentence of thy LORD come *to be executed on them*? So did they act who were before them; and GOD was not unjust towards them *in that he destroyed them*; but they dealt unjustly with their own souls; (36) the evils of that which they committed reached them; and the *divine judgment* which they scoffed at fell upon them.

|| (37) The idolaters say, If GOD had pleased, we had not worshipped anything besides him, neither *had* our fathers: neither had we forbidden anything, without him. So did they who were before them. But is the duty of the apostles *any other* than public preaching? (38) We have heretofore raised up in every nation an apostle *to admonish them, saying*, Worship GOD, and avoid Taghút.

R $\frac{5}{11}$

(34) *For that which ye have wrought.* The way of salvation is still by works. The idea of salvation by grace, in a Christian sense, or by atonement, is nowhere to be found in the Qurán. But the Qurán everywhere professes to confirm the doctrines of the former scriptures, and to purify the one true religion from the errors of idolatry. The fact, therefore, that the Qurán, instead of confirming the teachings of the former scriptures, actually contradicts them and endeavours to preach another gospel, stamps it as false and deceptive.

(37) *Neither had we forbidden, &c.* "This they spoke in a scoffing manner, justifying their idolatry and superstitious abstaining from certain cattle, by pretending, that had these things been disagreeable to God, he would not have suffered them to be practised."—Sale.

See notes on vi. 142-148.

The duty of the apostles. The duty of the apostles is not to work miracles such as the unbelievers demanded, but to preach publicly the message of God. Passages of this kind plainly show that Muhammad did not work miracles. The "signs" he pointed to were all the works of God. See notes on chap. vi. 47. It is noteworthy that Muhammad's ideas of the duty of apostles underwent a wonderful change on his arrival in Madína. See chap. viii. 68 and ix. 5.

(38) *Taghút.* The word here means idols or idolatry. See note on chap. ii. 256.

And of them *there were* some whom GOD directed, and *there were* others of them who were decreed to go astray. Wherefore go through the earth, *O tribe of Quraish*, and see what hath been the end of those who accused *their apostles* of imposture. (39) If thou, *O Prophet*, doest earnestly wish for their direction, verily GOD will not direct him whom he *hath resolved* to lead into error; neither shall they have any helpers. (40) And they swear most solemnly by GOD, *saying*, GOD will not raise the dead. Yea; the promise thereof is true: but the greater part of men know it not. (41) *He will raise them* that he may clearly show them the *truth* concerning which they *now* disagree, and that the unbelievers may know that they are liars.

Nisf.

R $\frac{6}{12}$

|| (42) Verily our speech unto anything, when we will the same, *is*, that we only say unto it, Be; and it is. (43) *As for* those who have fled their country for the sake of GOD, after they had been unjustly persecuted; we will surely provide them an excellent habitation in

Decreed to go astray. The Quraish seem to have been right in their judgment as given in verse 37, where see note.

(39) God, having given over the sinner to hardness of heart, thereby punishes the sin of charging the Prophet with imposture. Yet most of these hardened Quraish became Muslims. Observe that Muhammad's position here excludes the office of intercessor, in a Christian sense. God hardens those whom he has decreed to be lost, and for such intercession is of no avail. Others being decreed unto life, the office of the Prophet is not to intercede, but to bring into the *right way*, which secures the chosen ones a place in Paradise.

(40) *They swear, &c.* The commentators have a story to illustrate everything. A believer, urging the payment of a sum due him from an infidel, remarked that he expected the profit of his loan after death. "Do you believe in life after death?" said the infidel. "Yes," replied the Muslim. Whereupon the infidel swore a solemn oath, by all his gods, that there was no life after death.

(42) *Be; and it is.* These words express to the Muslim God's power as Creator and Sovereign. They agree with the declaration of Jewish and Christian Scriptures, that God "spake and it was done; he commanded, and it stood fast" (Ps. xxxiii. 9).

(43) *Those who fled.* "Some suppose the Prophet and the companions of his flight in general are here intended; others suppose

this world, but the reward of the next life shall be greater; if they knew *it*. (44) They who persevere patiently, and put their trust in the LORD, *shall not jail of happiness in this life and in that which is to come*. (45) We have not sent *any* before thee, *as our apostles*, other than men, unto whom we spake by revelation. Inquire therefore of those who have the custody of the Scriptures, if ye know not *this to be truth*. (46) *We sent them* with evident *miracles* and written revelations; and we have sent down unto thee this Qurán, that thou mayest declare unto mankind that which hath been sent down unto them, and that they may consider. (47) Are they

that those are particularly meant in this place who, after Muhammad's departure, were imprisoned at Makkah on account of their having embraced his religion, and suffered great persecution from the Quraish; as Bilál, Suhaib, Khabbáb, Ammár, Abbis, Abul, Jandal, and Suhail."—Sale, *Baidháwi*.

They might be applied to those who fled to Ethiopia, and thus the verse be assigned to Makkah, except for the fact that it is more natural to refer the passage to Madína, where the term *muhájirín* (refugees) possessed the technical signification it has here.

If they knew it. "It is uncertain whether the pronoun *they* relates to the infidels or to the true believers. If to the former, the consequence would be that they would be desirous of attaining to the happiness of the Muhájirín, by professing the same faith; if to the latter, the knowledge of this is urged as a motive to patience and perseverance."—Sale, *Baidháwi*.

(45) *Other than men*, *i.e.*, we have not sent angels, which statement is made in reply to the taunt of the Quraish that Muhammad was only a man. This verse contains a distinct claim of inspiration, the object being to show that Muhammad did not differ in any way from other prophets.

Those who have the custody of the Scriptures. Here we have a clear statement, showing as plainly as language can express anything that the Scriptures of the Jews and Christians, extant in the time of Muhammad, were regarded by him as the word of God. That they were extant is evident from the exhortation to *inquire*, and also from the words, "*who have the custody*." Muslims are therefore bound to accept the current Bible as inspired, or, if changed and corrupted since Muhammad's time, they are not only obliged to show when, where, and how they became corrupt, but also how *they failed to preserve* the sacredly attested volumes from corruption. See also notes on chap. ii. 121 and 136, iii. 93, v. 70, vi. 90, &c.

(46) *This Qurán*, literally, *This admonition*.

That which hath been sent down to them, *i.e.*, what was sent down

who have plotted evil against *their Prophet* secure that GOD will not cause the earth to cleave under them, or that a punishment will not come upon them, from whence they do not expect; (48) or that he will not chastise them while they are busied *in travelling from one place to another, and in traffic?* (for they shall not be able to elude *the power of God,*) (49) or that he will not chastise them by a gradual destruction? But your LORD is truly gracious and merciful *in granting you respite.* (50) Do they do not consider the things which GOD hath created; whose shadows are cast on the right hand and on the left, worshipping GOD, and become contracted? (51) Whatever moveth both in heaven and on earth worshippeth GOD, and the angels *also*; and they are not elated with pride, *so as to disdain his service:* (52) they fear their LORD, *who is exalted* above them, and perform that which they are commanded.

R $\frac{7}{13}$.

|| (53) GOD said, Take not *unto yourselves* two gods; for there is but one GOD: and revere me. (54) Unto him *belongeth* whatsoever is in heaven and on earth; and unto him is obedience eternally *due.* Will ye therefore fear *any* besides GOD? (55) Whatever favours ye have received are certainly from GOD; and when evil afflicteth you, unto him do ye make your supplication; (56) yet when he taketh the evil from off you, behold, a part of you give a companion unto their LORD, (57) to show their ingratitude for *the favours* we have bestowed on them. Delight yourselves *in the enjoyments of this life:* but hereafter shall ye know *that ye cannot escape the divine ven-*

to the former prophets, as well as what has been sent down to thee in the Qurán.

(47) *Are they . . . secure, &c.?* Some suppose allusion is here made to the swallowing up of Korah and his company (Num. xvi.)

(50) *Whose shadows, &c.* See chap. xiii. 16, and notes there.

(53) *Not two gods, &c.* The meaning seems to be that a *plurality* of gods shall not be worshipped.

geance. (58) And they set apart unto *idols* which have no knowledge a part of the food which we have provided for them. By GOD, ye shall surely be called to account for that which ye have falsely devised. (59) They attribute daughters unto GOD (far be it from him !), but unto themselves *children of the sex* which they desire. (60) And when any of them is told the news of *the birth* of a female, his face becometh black, and he *is* deeply afflicted: (61) he hideth himself from the people, because of the ill tidings which have been told him; *considering within himself* whether he shall keep it with disgrace, or whether he shall bury it in the dust. Do they not make an ill judgment? (62) Unto those who believe not in the next life, the similitude of evil *ought to be applied*, and unto GOD the most sublime similitude: for he *is* mighty *and* wise.

(58) *They set apart, &c., i.e.,* the making sacred of certain animals, which otherwise might have served for food. The same was done with some of the fruits of the land (see chap. v. 102, and vi. 138, &c.)

Which have no knowledge. "Or, *which they know not*; foolishly imagining that they have power to help them, or interest with God to intercede for them."—Sale.

By God. One would naturally suppose this was the language of Muhammad. Muslims, however, understand such expressions to be introduced by the word *say* (see the introduction to chap. i.)

(59) *Daughters.* "Baidhawi says that the tribes of Khudhâah and Kinâna, in particular, used to call the angels the daughters of God."—Sale. See notes on chap. iv. 116, and Prelim. Disc., pp. 38 and 70.

Which they desire, viz., "sons; for the birth of a daughter was looked on as a kind of misfortune among the Arabs; and they often used to put them to death by burying them alive."—Sale. See on chap. lxxxi. 8.

(60) *His face becometh black.* "Clouded with confusion and sorrow."—Sale.

(61) *Bury it in the dust.* The allusion is to the cruel habit of burying female children alive, which obtained among the Quraish before they embraced Islâm. A touching story is told of the Khalifah Othmán, who, it is said, never wept except on the occasion when his little daughter, whom he buried alive, wiped from his bearded face the dust of the grave.

(62) *Sublime similitude.* "This passage condemns the Makkans' injudicious and blasphemous application of such circumstances to God as were unworthy of him, and not only derogatory to the perfections of the Deity, but even disgraceful to man; while they arrogantly applied the more honourable circumstances to themselves."—Sale.

R $\frac{8}{14}$. || (63) If GOD should punish men for their iniquity, he would not leave on the *earth* any moving thing: but he giveth them respite unto an appointed time; and when their time shall come, they shall not be respited an hour, neither shall *their punishment* be anticipated. (64) They attribute unto GOD that which they dislike themselves, and their tongues utter a lie, *namely*, that the reward of *paradise* is for them. There is no doubt but that the fire of *hell* is prepared for them, and that they shall be sent thither before *the rest of the wicked*. (65) By GOD, we have heretofore sent *messengers* unto the nations before thee: but Satan prepared their works for them; he *was* their patron in this world, and *in that which is to come* they shall suffer a grievous torment. (66) We have not sent down the book of the *Qurán* unto thee for any other purpose than that thou shouldest declare unto them that *truth* concerning which they disagree, and for a direction and mercy unto people who believe. (67) GOD sendeth down water from heaven, and causeth the earth to revive after it hath been dead. Verily herein is a sign of the *resurrection* unto people who hearken. (68) Ye have also in cattle an example of instruction: we give you to drink of that which is in their bellies; a *liquor* between digested dregs and blood, *namely*, pure milk, which is swallowed

(63) *He would not leave, &c.* It follows from this that Muhammad was a sinner.

(64) *That which they dislike, &c.* "By giving him daughters and associates in power and honour, by disregarding his messengers, and by setting apart the better share of the presents and offerings for their idols and the worse for him."—Sale, Baidhāwī.

(65) *He was their patron, &c.* "Or, he is the patron of them (viz., of the Quraish) this day, &c."—Sale.

(66) *That concerning which they disagree, i.e., the divine unity and the resurrection.*—Tafsīr-i-Raufī.

(68) *Digested dregs and blood, &c.* "The milk consisting of certain particles of the blood, supplied from the finer parts of the aliment. Ibn Abbās says that the grosser parts of the food subside into excrement, and that the finer parts are converted into milk, and the finest of all into blood."—Sale.

Pure milk. "Having neither the colour of blood nor the smell of the excrements."—Sale, Baidhāwī.

with pleasure by those who drink *it*. (69) And of the fruits of palm-trees, and of grapes, ye obtain an inebriating liquor, and also good nourishment. Verily herein is a sign unto people who understand.

|| (70) Thy LORD spake by inspiration unto the bee, R ⁹/₁₅ saying, Provide *thee* houses in the mountains and in the trees, and of *those materials* wherewith *men* build *hives* for *thee*: (71) then eat of every *kind of* fruit, and walk in the beaten paths of thy LORD. There proceedeth from their bellies a liquor of various colour, wherein *is* a medicine for men. Verily herein *is* a sign unto people who

(69) *An inebriating liquor.* "Not only wine, which is forbidden, but also lawful food, as dates, raisins, a kind of honey flowing from the dates, and vinegar.

"Some have supposed that these words allow the moderate use of wine; but the contrary is the received opinion."—Sale.

This passage was abrogated by chap. ii. 218 and v. 92.

(70) *The Lord spake by inspiration unto the bee.* Rodwell translates "taught the bee," but Sale's translation is literal, the word *wahi* being constantly used in the sense of *inspiration*, including the idea of revelation from God.

Provide thee houses. "So the apartments which the bee builds are here called, because of their beautiful workmanship and admirable contrivance, which no geometrician can excel."—Sale, *Baidhāwi*.

Burton (*Pilgr.*, iii. 110) tells us that Makkah affords eight or nine varieties of honey.

(71) *The beaten paths of thy Lord, i.e.*, "the ways through which, by God's power, the bitter flowers passing the bee's stomach become honey; or, the methods of making honey, which he has taught her by instinct; or else the ready way home from the distant places to which that insect flies."—Sale, *Baidhāwi*.

A liquor of various colours, viz., "honey, the colour of which is very different, occasioned by the different plants on which the bees feed, some being white, some yellow, some red, and some black."—Sale, *Baidhāwi*.

Burton mentions green, white, red, and brown as among the colours of the honey of Makkah (*Pilgr.*, iii. 110).

A medicine. "The same being not only good food, but a useful remedy in several distempers, particularly those occasioned by phlegm. There is a story that a man came once to Muhammad, and told him that his brother was afflicted with a violent pain in his belly; upon which the Prophet bade him give him some honey. The fellow took his advice; but soon after coming again, told him that the medicine had done his brother no manner of service. Muhammad answered, 'Go and give him more honey, for God speaks

consider. (72) GOD hath created you, and he will hereafter cause you to die: and some of you shall have his life prolonged to a decrepit age, so that he shall forget whatever he knew; for GOD is wise *and* powerful. (73) GOD causeth some of you to excel others in worldly possessions: yet they who are caused to excel do not give their wealth unto *the slaves* whom their right hands possess, that they *may become* equal *sharers* therein. Do they therefore deny the beneficence of GOD?

R $\frac{10}{16}$.

|| (74) GOD hath ordained you wives from among yourselves, and of your wives hath granted you children and grandchildren; and hath bestowed on you good things for food. Will they therefore believe in that which is vain, and ungratefully deny the goodness of GOD? (75) They worship, besides GOD, *idols* which possess nothing wherewith to sustain them, either in heaven or on earth; and have no power. (76) Wherefore liken not *anything* unto GOD: for GOD knoweth, but ye know not. (77) GOD propoundeth as a parable a possessed slave, who hath power over nothing, and him on whom we have bestowed a good provision from us, and who giveth alms

truth, and thy brother's belly lies.' And the dose being repeated, the man, by God's mercy, was immediately cured."—*Sale, Baidhāwi*.

(73) "These words reprove the idolatrous Makkans, who could admit created beings to a share of the divine honour, though they suffered not their slaves to share with themselves in what God had bestowed on them."—*Sale, Baidhāwi*.

(74) *Wives from among yourselves*. "That is, of your own nations and tribes. Some think the formation of Eve from Adam is here intended."—*Sale*.

(76) *Liken not anything unto God*. "Or propound no similitudes or comparisons between him and his creatures. One argument the Makkans employed in defence of their idolatry, it seems, was, that the worship of inferior deities did honour to God; in the same manner as the respect showed to the servants of a prince does honour to the prince himself."—*Sale, Baidhāwi*.

There seems to be a reference to the requirement of the second commandment of the Decalogue.

(77) "The idols are here likened to a slave, who is so far from having anything of his own, that he is himself in the possession of another; whereas God is as a rich free man, who provideth for his

thereout *both* secretly and openly: shall these *two* be esteemed equal? God forbid! But the greater part of men know *it* not. (78) GOD also propoundeth as a parable two men, one of them born dumb, who is unable to *do or understand* anything, but is a burden unto his master; whithersoever he shall send him, he shall not return with any good *success*: shall *this man*, and he *who hath his speech and understanding*, and who commandeth that which is just, and followeth the right way, be esteemed equal?

|| (79) Unto GOD *alone* is the secret of heaven and earth R $\frac{11}{17}$.
known. And the business of the *last* hour shall be only as the twinkling of an eye, or even more quick: for GOD is almighty. (80) GOD hath brought you forth from the wombs of your mothers; ye knew nothing, and he gave you *the senses of hearing and seeing*, and understandings, that ye might give thanks. (81) Do they not behold the fowls which are enabled to fly in the open firmament of heaven? none supporteth them except GOD. Verily herein *are* signs unto people who believe. (82) GOD hath also provided you houses for habitations for you; and hath *also* provided you tents of the skins of cattle, which ye find light *to be removed* on the day of your departure *to new quarters*, and *easy to be pitched* on the

family abundantly, and also assisteth others who have need, both in public and in private.”—*Sale, Jaláluddín*.

Secretly or openly. See note in chap. ii. 271.

(78) *A parable of two men*. “The idol is here again represented under the image of one who, by a defect in his senses, is a useless burthen to the man who maintains him; and God, under that of a person completely qualified either to direct or to execute any useful undertaking. Some suppose the comparison is intended of a true believer and an infidel.”—*Sale, Baidháwi*.

The “incomparable style” of the Qurán never appears in a worse light than in its parables. See notes on chap. xiv. 29-32.

(79) *The last hour*. The resurrection and judgment. Some would have it amount to 50,000 years. See Prelim. Disc., p. 141. See also chap. lxx. 4.

(82) The customs of the nomad tribes are here specially referred to.

day of your sitting down *therein*: and of their wool, and their fur, and their hair, *hath he supplied you with furniture and household stuff for a season.* (83) And God hath provided for you, of that which he hath created, conveniences to shade you *from the sun*, and he hath *also* provided you places of retreat in the mountains, and he hath given you garments to defend you from the heat, and coats of *mail* to defend you in your wars. Thus doth he accomplish his favour towards you, that ye may resign yourselves *unto him.* (84) But if they turn back, verily thy duty is public preaching *only.* (85) They acknowledge the goodness of God, and afterwards they deny the same, but the greater part of them are unbelievers.

|| (86) On a *certain* day we will raise a witness out of every nation: then they who shall have been unbelievers shall not be suffered *to excuse themselves*, neither shall they be received into favour. (87) And when they who shall have acted unjustly shall see the torment *prepared for them*; (it shall not be mitigated unto them, neither shall they be respited :) (88) and when those who shall have been guilty of idolatry shall see their false gods, they shall say, O LORD, these are our idols which we invoked,

(83) *Conveniences to shade.* "As trees, houses, tents, mountains, &c."—Sale.

Places of retreat, as "caves and grottoes, both natural and artificial."—Sale.

Heat. "Al Baidhāwī says, that one extreme, and that the most insupportable in Arabia, is here put for both; but Jalāluddīn supposes that by *heat* we are in this place to understand *cold.*"—Sale.

Clothes are a protection against the heat, especially the turban, so commonly worn in the East.

(85) *They deny the same.* "Confessing God to be the author of all the blessings they enjoy, and yet directing their worship and thanks to their idols, by whose intercession they imagine blessings are obtained."—Sale.

(86) *A witness out of every nation.* See note on chap. iv. 40. This verse seems to necessitate the belief of some one true prophet having existed in India, China, Japan, &c. The commentators understand by *witness* a *prophet.* See *Tafsīr-i-Husaini, in loco.*

(88) *Their idols, literally their companions.*

besides thee. But they shall return an answer unto them, *saying*, Verily ye are liars. (89) And on that day shall *the wicked* offer submission unto God; and the *false deities* which they imagined shall abandon them. (90) *As for* those who shall have been infidels, and shall have turned aside *others* from the way of God, we will add unto them punishment upon punishment because they have corrupted *others*. (91) On a *certain* day we will raise up in every nation a witness against them, from among themselves; and we will bring thee, *O Muhammad*, as a witness against these *Arabians*. We have sent down unto thee the book of the *Qurán*, for an explication of everything *necessary both as to faith and practice*, and a direction, and mercy, and good tidings unto the Muslims.

|| (92) Verily God commanded justice, and the doing of SULS. good, and the giving unto kindred *what shall be necessary*; and he forbiddeth wickedness, and iniquity, and oppres- R $\frac{13}{19}$.

Verily ye are liars. "For that we are not the companions of God, as ye imagined; neither did ye really serve us, but your own corrupt affections and lusts; nor yet were ye led into idolatry by us, but ye fell into it of your own accord."—*Šale, Baidhāwi.*

(91) *A witness.* See above on ver. 86.

These Arabians. This verse shows that Muhammad had not yet conceived of himself as a prophet to all nations.

An explication, &c. This verse was quoted by the *Ímám* Abu Hanifah to prove that all law was provided for in the *Qurán* by anticipation. According to this view, Muhammad becomes a universal witness, for, seeing that Islám is the only true religion, it was the subject of all prophecy and the teaching of all prophets. Any nation, therefore, differing in religion from Islám, was *ipso facto* in rebellion against God's witness raised up "from among themselves." See this subject discussed in *The Faith of Islám*, p. 19.

Nothing could be further from the plain import of this passage. Brinckman well says, "If the Koran explains everything and is a guidance, what need is there for the *Sonna*?"—*Notes on Islám*, p. 125.

(92) "This verse, which was the occasion of the conversion of Othmán Ibn Matún, the commentators say, containeth the whole which it is a man's duty either to perform or to avoid; and is alone a sufficient demonstration of what is said in the foregoing verse. Under the three things here commanded, they understand the belief

sion: he admonisheth you that ye may remember. (93) Perform *your* covenant with GOD, when ye enter into covenant *with him*; and violate not *your* oaths, after the ratification thereof; since ye have made GOD a witness over you. Verily GOD knoweth that which ye do. (94) And be not like unto her who undoeth that which she hath spun, untwisting it after she hath twisted it strongly; taking your oaths between you deceitfully, because one party is more numerous than *another* party. Verily GOD only tempteth you therein; and he will make that manifest unto you, on the day of resurrection, concerning which ye now disagree. (95) If GOD had pleased, he would surely have made you one people: but he will lead into error whom he pleaseth, and he will direct whom he

of God's unity, without inclining to atheism, on the one hand, or polytheism, on the other; obedience to the commands of God; and charity towards those in distress. And under the three things forbidden they comprehend all corrupt and carnal affections, all false doctrines and heretical opinions, and all injustice towards man."—*Salé, Baidhāwī.*

Compare this summary of man's duty with Christ's teaching in Matt. xxii. 37-39.

(93) *Perform your covenant with God.* "By persevering in his true religion. Some think that the oath of fidelity taken to Muhammad by his followers is chiefly intended here."—*Salé.*

This verse is either abrogated by lxvi. 2, or it is contradicted by it. If abrogated, it militates against the moral character of the God of Islām, who can at one time command the observance of a moral obligation, and at another time permit its non-observance. To our mind, God could permit idol-worship with the same propriety that he could allow the non-observance of a solemn oath or "covenant with God."

(94) *Be not like unto her, &c.* "Some suppose that a particular woman is meant in this passage, who used (like Penelope) to undo at night the work that she had done in the day. Her name, they say, was Raita Bint Saad Ibn Taim, of the tribe of Quraish."—*Salé, Baidhāwī.*

Taking your oaths . . . deceitfully. "Of this insincerity in their alliances the Quraish are accused; it being usual with them, when they saw the enemies of their confederates to be superior in force, to renounce their league with their old friends, and strike up one with the others."—*Salé, Baidhāwī.*

(95) *One people, or one religion.* This passage contradicts the spirit of the former Scriptures; 2 Peter iii. 9, Ezek. xxxiii. 11, and Matt. xviii. 14.

pleaseth ; and ye shall surely give an account of that which ye have done. (96) Therefore take not your oaths between you deceitfully lest *your* foot slip, after it hath been steadfastly fixed, and ye taste evil *in this life*, for that ye have turned aside from the way of GOD : and ye *suffer* a grievous punishment *in the life to come*. (97) And sell not the covenant of GOD for a small price ; for with GOD is a better *recompense prepared* for you, if ye be *men* of understanding. (98) That which *is* with you will fail ; but that which *is* with GOD is permanent : and we will surely reward those who persevere, according to the utmost *merit* of their actions. (99) Whoso worketh righteousness, whether he be male or female, and is a true believer, we will surely raise him to a happy life ; and we will give them their reward, according to the utmost *merit* of their actions. (100) When thou readest the Qurán, have recourse unto GOD, *that he may preserve thee* from Satan

(97) *Sell not, &c.* "That is, Be not prevailed on to renounce your religion, or your engagements with your Prophet, by any promises or gifts of the infidels. For, it seems, the Quraish, to tempt the poorer Muslims to apostatise, made them offers, not very considerable indeed, but such as they imagined might be worth their acceptance."—*Sale, Baidhāwi.*

Modern Muslims follow this practice of their Prophet's tribe with strange fidelity, often contributing large sums to secure the apostasy of Christian converts from Islám. Of course, these cases only occur where Muslims are subjected to Christian rule ; under Muslim rulers all such apostates from Islám would be condemned to death.

(99) *A female.* Another passage showing that women equally with men are promised the reward of a pious life. See note on chap. xiii. 23.

(100) *Have recourse unto God.* "Muhammad one day reading in the Qurán, uttered a horrid blasphemy, to the great scandal of those who were present, as will be observed in another place (chap. xxii. 53, 54), to excuse which he assured them that those words were put into his mouth by the devil, and to prevent any such accidents for the future, he is here taught to beg God's protection before he entered on that duty. Hence the Muhammadans, before they begin to read any part of this book, repeat these words, 'I have recourse unto God for assistance against Satan driven away with stones.'—*Sale, Baidhāwi, Jaláluddín, and Yahya.*

This passage, with reference in chap. xxii., is fatal to the claim of Muslims that their Prophet was absolutely sinless, or that he invariably spoke under the influence of his inspiration.

driven away with stones; (101) he hath no power over those who believe, and who put confidence in their LORD; (102) but his power is over those only who take him for their patron, and who give companions unto God.

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|| (103) When we substitute *in the Qurán* an *abrogating* verse in lieu of a verse *abrogated* (and God best knoweth *the fitness of* that which he revealeth), the *infidels* say, Thou art only a forger of *these verses*: but the greater part of them know not *truth from falsehood*. (104) Say, The holy spirit hath brought the same down from thy LORD with truth; that he may confirm those who believe, and for a direction and good tidings unto the Muslims. (105) We also know that they say, Verily, a *certain man*

(103) *When we substitute.* See note on chap. ii. 105.

Only a forger. Scarcely anything more clearly establishes this charge than the facility with which Muhammad applies this doctrine of abrogation.

(104) *The holy spirit.* Muslims interpret this language to mean the Angel Gabriel. See notes on chap. ii. 86 and iii. 39.

(105) *A certain man teacheth him.* The following is Sale's note on this passage. We give his authorities in a footnote below:—

“This was a great objection made by the Makkans to the authority of the Qurán; for when Muhammad insisted, as a proof of its divine original, that it was impossible a man so utterly unacquainted with learning as himself could compose such a book, they replied that he had one or more assistants in the forgery; but as to the particular person or persons suspected of this confederacy, the traditions differ. One says it was Jabr, a Greek servant to Aunar Ibn Hadhramí, who could read and write well;¹ another, that they were Jabr and Yasár, two slaves who followed the trade of sword-cutlers at Makkah, and used to read the Pentateuch and Gospel, and had often Muhammad for their auditor when he passed that way.² Another tells us that it was one Áish or Yáish, a domestic of al Huaitib Ibn Abd al Uzza, who was a man of some learning, and had embraced Muhammadism.³ Another supposes it was one Qais, a Christian, whose house Muhammad frequented;⁴ another, that it was Addás, a servant of Otha Ibn Rábia,⁵ and another, that it was Salmán the Persian.⁶

“According to some Christian writers,⁷ Abdullah Ibn Salám, the Jew who was so intimate with Muhammad (named by one, according

¹ Zamakhshari, Baidháwi, Yahya.

⁶ Zamakhshari, Baidháwi.

² Zamakhshari, Baidháwi. See Prideaux, Life of Mohammed, p. 32.

⁷ Ricardi, Confut. Legis Sarracenicæ, c. 13; Joh. Andreas, de Confus. Sectæ Mahometanæ, c. 2; see Prideaux, Life of Mohammed, pp. 33, 34.

³ Ibidem.

⁴ Jaláluddín.

⁵ Zamakhshari, Yahya.

teacheth him to compose the *Qurán*. The tongue of the person unto whom they incline is a foreign tongue; but this, wherein the *Qurán* is written, is the perspicuous Arabic tongue. (106) Moreover as for those who believe not the

to the Hebrew dialect, Abdias Ben Salou, and by another, Abdala Celen), was assisting him in the compiling his pretended revelations. This Jew Dr. Prideaux confounds with Salmán the Persian, who was a very different man, as a late author¹ has observed before me; wherefore, and for that we may have occasion to speak of Salmán hereafter, it may be proper to add a brief extract of his story as told by himself. He was of a good family of Ispahan, and in his younger years left the religion of his country to embrace Christianity, and travelling into Syria, was advised by a certain monk of Amuria to go into Arabia, where a prophet was expected to arise about that time, who should establish the religion of Abraham, and whom he should know, among other things, by the seal of prophecy between his shoulders. Salmán performed the journey, and meeting with Muhammad at Kuba, where he rested in his flight to Madína, soon found him to be the person he sought, and professed Islám.²

"The general opinion of the Christians, however, is that the chief help Muhammad had in the contriving his *Qurán* was from a Nestorian monk named Sergius, supposed to be the same person with the monk Buhaira, with whom Muhammad in his younger years had some conference at Bosra, a city of Syria Damascena, where that monk resided,³ to confirm which supposition a passage has been produced from an Arab writer,⁴ who says that Buhaira's name in the books of the Christians is Sergius, but this is only a conjecture; and another⁵ tells us that his true name was Saïd or Felix, and his surname Buhaira. But be that as it will, if Buhaira and Sergius were the same man, I find not the least intimation in the Muhammadan writers that he ever quitted his monastery to go into Arabia (as is supposed by the Christians), and his acquaintance with Muhammad at Bosra was too early to favour the surmise of his assisting him in the *Qurán*, which was composed long after, though Muhammad might from his discourse gain some knowledge of Christianity and of the Scriptures, which might be of use to him therein.

"From the answer given in this passage of the *Qurán* to the objection of the infidels, viz., that the person suspected by them to have a hand in the *Qurán* spoke a foreign language, and therefore could not, with any face of probability, be supposed to assist in a composition written in the Arabic tongue, and with so great elegance, it is plain this person was no Arabian. The word *Ajami*, which is here used, signifies any foreign or barbarous language in general, but the Arabs applying it more particularly to the Persian, it has been thence concluded by some that Salmán was the person. However,

¹ Gagnier, note in Abulf., Vit. &c.; Gagnier, *ubi sup.*, pp. 10, 11; Moh., p. 74: Marrac. de Alcor., p. 37.

² Ex Ibn Ishâq; vide Gagnier, *ibid.*

⁴ Al Mas'udi.

³ See Prideaux, *ubi sup.*, p. 35,

⁵ Abu'l Hasan al Baqri in *Qurán*.

signs of GOD, GOD will not direct them, and they shall suffer a painful torment: (107) verily they imagine a falsehood who believe not in the signs of GOD, and they are *really* the liars. (108) Whoever denieth GOD, after he

if it be true that he came not to Muhammad till after the Hijra, either he could not be the man here intended, or else this verse must have been revealed at Madina, contrary to the common opinion."

On this subject Muir writes as follows:—"Shortly after Mahomet began to occupy the house of Arcam, several slaves allied themselves to him. Of these, Yasár and Jabr are mentioned by the commentators of the Coran as the parties accused by the Coreish of instructing the Prophet. The latter was the Christian servant of a family from Hadhramaut, and the Prophet is said to have sat much at his cell. The former, better known under the name of Abu Fokeiha, was subjected to great persecution, but probably died some time before the Hegira. His daughter Fokeiha was married to Hattáb, a convert, whom we find, with others of his family, among the subsequent emigrants to Abyssinia.

"A more important convert, styled by Mahomet 'the first-fruits of Greece,' was *Suheib*, son of Sinán. His home was at Mousal or some neighbouring Mesopotamian village. His father, or his uncle, had been the Persian governor of Obolla. A Grecian band made an incursion into Mesopotamia, and carried him off, while yet a boy, to Syria, perhaps to Constantinople. Bought afterwards by a party of the Bani Kalb, he was sold at Mecca to Abdalla Ibn Jodaán, who gave him freedom and took him under his protection. A fair and very ruddy complexion marked his Northern birth, and broken Arabic betrayed a Grecian education. By traffic he acquired considerable wealth at Mecca; but having embraced Islám, and being left by the death of Abdalla without a patron, he suffered much at the hands of the unbelieving Coreish. It is probable that Mahomet gained some knowledge of Christianity from him, and he may be the same to whom the Meccans at a later period referred as the source of his Scriptural information: 'And indeed we know that they say, VERILY A CERTAIN MAN TEACHETH HIM,' &c. . . . Another freed slave, Ammár, used to resort to the house of Arcam, and simultaneously with Suheib embraced Islám."—*Life of Mahomet*, vol. ii. pp. 122-125.

Whatever doubt may remain as to the identity of the person alluded to here, of one thing we are certainly informed—that Muhammad had the means of receiving help from both Jews and Christians some years before he fled to Madina. That he availed himself of this help, the stories related in the later Makkau chapters of the Qurán, drawn as they are from the Jewish Scriptures and traditions, suffice to prove beyond all doubt. The passage before us tells us the charge of receiving help from *foreigners* was made against Muhammad by his neighbours. His reply proves the weakness of his effort to rebut the charge; for, as Arnold well says, "admitting they were foreigners. they might nevertheless supply him with

hath believed, except him who shall be compelled against his will, and whose heart continueth steadfast in the faith, *shall be severely chastised*: but whoever shall voluntarily profess infidelity, on those shall the indignation of God

materials." This is just what they did do, and it is because Muhammad wrought up these materials to suit his prophetic purposes, and then repeated them as the very word of God received by direct revelation from heaven through the ministration of the Angel Gabriel—it is because of this that we do not hesitate to reiterate the old charge of deliberate imposture.

Mr. Bosworth Smith (*Mohammed and Mohammedanism*, p. 134) admits that after the Hijra "a change does seem to come over him. The revelations of the Koran are more and more suited to the particular circumstances and caprices of the moment." But were he to trace this trait of Muhammad's character back from Madīna towards Makkah, he would find it fully manifested long before he left his native city. Circumstances no doubt modified its manifestation, but the trait of character was the same.

(108) *Except him, &c.* "These words were added for the sake of Ammār Ibn Yāsir and some others, who, being taken and tortured by the Quraish, renounced their faith out of fear, though their hearts agreed not with their mouths. It seems Ammār wanted the constancy of his father and mother, Yāsir and Summaya, who underwent the like trial at the same time with their son, and resolutely refusing to recant, were both put to death, the infidels tying Summaya between two camels and striking a lance through her privy parts. When news was brought to Muhammad that Ammār had denied the faith, he said it could not be, for that Ammār was full of faith from the crown of his head to the sole of his foot, faith being mixed and incorporated with his very flesh and blood; and when Ammār himself came weeping to the Prophet, he wiped his eyes, saying, 'What fault was it of thine if they forced thee?'"

"But though it be here said that those who apostatise in appearance only, to avoid death or torments, may hope for pardon from God, yet it is unanimously agreed by the Muhammadan doctors to be much more meritorious and pleasing in the sight of God courageously and nobly to persist in the true faith, and rather to suffer death itself than renounce it even in words. Nor did the Muhammadan religion want its martyrs, in the strict sense of the word, of which I will here give two instances besides the above-mentioned. One is that of Khubaib Ibn Ada, who being perfidiously sold to the Quraish, was by them put to death in a cruel manner—by mutilation and cutting off his flesh piecemeal; and being asked in the midst of his tortures whether he did not wish Muhammad was in his place, answered, 'I would not wish to be with my family, my substance, and my children on condition that Muhammad was only to be pricked with a thorn.' The other is that of a man who was put to death by Musailama on the following occasion. That false prophet having taken two of Muhammad's

fall, and they shall suffer a grievous punishment. (109) This *shall be their sentence*, because they have loved the present life above that which is to come, and for that God directeth not the unbelieving people. (110) These *are* they whose hearts, and hearing, and sight, God hath sealed up; and these are the negligent: there is no doubt but that in the next life they shall perish. (111) Moreover thy LORD *will be favourable* unto those who have fled their country, after having suffered persecution, *and had been compelled to deny the faith by violence*, and *who* have since fought *in defence of the true religion*, and have persevered with patience; verily *unto these will thy LORD be gracious and merciful*, after *they shall have shown their sincerity*.

R $\frac{1}{21} \frac{5}{1}$.

|| (112) On a certain day shall every soul come to plead

followers, asked one of them what he said of Muhammad? The man answered that he was the apostle of God. 'And what sayest thou of me?' added Musailama; to which he replied, 'Thou also art the apostle of God,' whereupon he was immediately dismissed in safety. But the other, having returned the same answer to the former question, refused to give any to the last, though required to do it three several times, but pretended to be deaf, and was therefore slain. It is related that Muhammad, when the story of these two men was told him, said, 'The first of them threw himself on God's mercy, but the latter professed the truth, and he shall find his account in it.'—Sale, on authority of Baidhawi, Zamakhshari, Yahya, and Ibn Shonah.

This passage certainly encourages Muslims to dissemble in order to escape persecution. The cases of martyrdom mentioned by Sale may exhibit the *sincerity* of the martyrs, but at the same time they show, in the light of this verse, their ignorance. Muslims admit that lying, if used to protect one's own life or property, is justifiable. See notes on chap. xxxix. 54. Compare with this precept of the incomparable Qur'an our Lord's words in Luke xiv. 26, 27.

(109) *God directeth not, &c.* "Yet he directed the unbelieving Arabians, who were plunged in idolatry and unbelief till Mohammed preached to them."—Brinckman's *Notes on Islām*, p. 127.

The statement of the text is, however, consistent with the doctrine that the infidels were given over to judicial blindness. That this is the meaning here is evident from the verse following.

(111) *Those who have fled, &c.* The Muhājirin, being either those who fled to Abyssinia or those who afterwards went to Madīna; most probably the latter. See on ver. 43 above.

(112) *Every soul, &c., i.e.,* "every person shall be solicitous for his own salvation, not concerning himself with the condition of another, but crying out, 'My own soul, my own soul!'"—Sale, Baidhawi.

for itself, and every soul shall be repaid that which it shall have wrought; and they shall not be treated unjustly. (113) GOD propoundeth as a parable a city which was secure *and* quiet, unto which her provisions came in abundance from every side; but she ungratefully denied the favour of GOD: wherefore GOD caused her to taste the extreme famine, and fear, because of that which they had done. (114) And now is an apostle come unto the *inhabitants of Makkah* from among themselves; and they accuse him of imposture: wherefore a punishment shall be inflicted on them, while they are acting unjustly. (115) Eat of what GOD hath given you for food, *that which is lawful and good*; and be thankful for the favours of GOD, if ye serve him. (116) He hath only forbidden you that which dieth of itself, and blood, and swine's flesh, and that which hath been slain in the name of any besides GOD. But unto him who shall be compelled by necessity *to eat of these things*, not lasting nor *wilfully* transgressing, GOD *will* surely *be* gracious *and* merciful. (117) And say not that wherein your tongues utter a lie; This is lawful, and this is unlawful; that ye may devise a lie concerning GOD: for they who devise concerning GOD shall not prosper. (118) *They shall have* small enjoy-

(113) *A city.* "This example is applied to every city which, having received great blessings from God, becometh insolent and unthankful, and is therefore chastised by some signal judgment, or rather to Makkah in particular, on which the calamities threatened in this passage, viz., both famine and sword, were inflicted."—*Salé, Baidhâwi.*

The next verse decides in favour of Makkah alone, for it should have been translated, as in Rodwell, "And now is an apostle come unto them from among themselves," &c.

And fear. This points to the fear of the people of Makkah that the famine would become more rigorous than yet felt. We see how Muhammad took advantage of this calamity to forward his own claims. See notes on chap. xxiii. 76-78, and chap. xlv. 14.

(116) *He hath only forbidden, &c.* See notes on chap. v. 4-6, and chap. vi. 118-121.

(117) *This is lawful, &c.* "Allowing what God hath forbidden, and superstitiously abstaining from what he hath allowed."—*Salé.* See chap. vi. 119.

ment *in this world*, and *in that which is to come* they shall suffer a grievous torment. (119) Unto the Jews did we forbid that which we have told thee formerly: and we did them no injury *in that respect*; but they injured their own souls. (120) Moreover thy LORD *will be favourable* unto those who do evil through ignorance, and afterwards repent and amend: verily *unto these will* thy LORD be gracious and merciful, after *their repentance*.

R $\frac{1}{2}$ 6. || (121) Abraham was a model of true religion, obedient unto GOD, orthodox, and was not an idolater: *he was also* grateful for his benefits: (122) *wherefore God* chose him, and directed him into the right way. (123) And we bestowed on him good in this world; and in the next he shall surely be *one of the righteous*. (124) We have also spoken unto thee, O *Muhammad*, by revelation, *saying*, Follow the religion of Abraham, *who was* orthodox, and was no idolater. (125) The sabbath was only appointed

(119) *They injured their own souls, i.e., "they were forbidden things which were in themselves indifferent, as a punishment for their wickedness and rebellion."*—Sale.

See chap. vi. 146.

(121) *Orthodox*. The original word is *hanîf*, meaning *to turn or convert*. See Rodwell, *in loco*.

"Long anterior to the Hegira, Mahomet propounded in the Coran the doctrine that a grand catholic faith pervaded all ages and revelations—a faith which, in its purest form, had been held by the patriarch Abraham. This primitive religion, varied at each dispensation by accidental rites, comprised, as its essential features, belief in the one true God, rejection of all idolatry or worship of mediators as sharers in the power and glory of the Deity, and the implicit surrender of the will to God: such surrender is termed 'Islam'; and hence Abraham is called 'the first of Moslems.' To this original Islam it was now the mission of Mahomet to recall *the whole of mankind*."—*Muir's Life of Mahomet*, vol. ii. pp. 294, 295.

Not an idolater. "This was to reprehend the idolatrous Quraish, who pretended that they professed the religion of Abraham."—Sale.

(124) See above on ver. 121.

(125) *The sabbath, &c.* "These were the Jews, who being ordered by Moses to set apart Friday (the day now observed by the Muhammadans) for the exercise of divine worship, refused it, and chose the sabbath-day, because on that day God rested from his works of creation: for which reason they were commanded to keep the day they had chosen in the strictest manner."—Sale.

If this interpretation be correct, this passage contradicts the Bible,

unto those who differed *with their prophet* concerning it; and thy LORD will surely judge between them, on the day of resurrection, as to that concerning which they differed. (126) Invite *men* unto the way of thy LORD, by wisdom, and mild exhortation; and dispute with them in the most condescending *manner*: for thy LORD well knoweth him who strayeth from his path, and he well knoweth those who are *rightly* directed. (127) If ye take vengeance on *any*, take a vengeance proportionable to the wrong which hath been done you; but if ye suffer *wrong* patiently, verily this will be better for the patient. (128) Wherefore do thou bear *opposition* with patience; but thy patience shall not be *practicable*, unless with GOD's *assistance*. And be thou not grieved on account of the *unbelievers*; neither be thou troubled for that which they subtilly devise; for GOD is with those who fear *him*, and are upright.

which declares the Sabbath to have been given in the Decalogue by God himself, the children of Israel having nothing to do with its establishment.

(126) *Invite . . . by wisdom and mild exhortation, &c.* The preacher of Makkah believed in moral suasion, but the politician of Madína preferred force, as the means of persuading men to accept of Islám. See chap. ii. 190-193, and chap. ix. 5.

(127) *Vengeance proportionable, &c.* "This passage is supposed to have been revealed at Madína, on occasion of Hamza, Muhammad's uncle, being slain at the battle of Ohod. For the infidels having abused his dead body, by taking out his bowels, and cutting off his ears and his nose, when Muhammad saw it, he swore that if God granted him success, he would retaliate those cruelties on seventy of the Quraish; but he was by these words forbidden to execute what he had sworn, and he accordingly made void his oath. Abulfida makes the number on which Muhammad swore to wreak his vengeance to be but thirty: but it may be observed by the way that the translator renders this passage in that author, 'God hath revealed unto me that I shall retaliate,' &c., instead of, 'If God grant me victory over the Quraish, I will retaliate,' &c., reading *Lain adharni* for *adharni*; God, far from putting this design into the Prophet's head by a revelation, expressly forbidding him to put it in execution."—Sale.

It is more likely that this verse was simply *applied* by Muhammad to the case of Hamza. So Weil on authority of Noëlske.

The patient. "Here," says Baidháwi, "the Qurán principally points at Muhammad, who was of all men the most conspicuous for meekness and clemency."—Sale.

CHAPTER XVII.

ENTITLED SURAT AL BANI ISRAÏL (THE CHILDREN OF ISRAEL).

Revealed at Makkah.

INTRODUCTION.

By some writers this chapter is entitled *The Night-Journey* on account of the reference to that event in vers. 1 and 62. But the contents of the chapter justify the ordinary title of *The Children of Israel*.

The burden of this chapter is the sin of the Quraish in rejecting their Prophet. The dreadful character of this sin is illustrated by the history of those who had rejected the messengers of God in past ages, and especially by reference to the destruction of the holy city of Jerusalem, in consequence of the unbelief of the children of Israel. The people of Makkah are therefore warned by the example of these rebellious unbelievers. They are told that no city ever was destroyed until its people had rejected the prophet sent to them. The inference to be drawn is, that the destruction of Makkah is near at hand, unless its people repent and believe on their Prophet.

The character of the unbelief of the Quraish is evident from their demanding of Muhammad that he would perform certain miracles, which he confesses himself unable to perform; from their hideous custom of killing their own daughters, while ascribing daughters to God; from their foolish idolatry; and from their rejection of the doctrine of the resurrection.

The tone of the whole chapter is moderate, yet showing earnest purpose on the part of the preacher of Makkah.

Probable Date of the Revelations.

The verses referring to the night-journey (vers. 1 and 62) must, of course, be placed subsequent to B.H. 1, though they cannot date

later than the Hijra. As for the bulk of the chapter, the following data will enable us to fix an approximate date of composition : (1) The exhortation in ver. 55 points to a period when Muhammad still hoped for the conversion of some of his townsmen ; (2) the faith of certain Jews and Christians at Makkah, alluded to in vers. 108 and 109, points to a period somewhat removed from the Hijra ; and (3) with this agrees the spirit attributed to the unbelieving Quraish, whose opposition is decided, but not as yet of a violent character. From this we conclude that most of the chapter belongs to a period preceding the Ban of the Hashimites, or the final break between Muhammad and the Quraish, say about B.H. 6, or the sixth year of Muhammad's mission. The passage from ver. 24 to ver. 41, however, must be referred to Madîna, as the precepts concerning the duties of children to parents, of all to the poor and the orphan, &c., seem to point to a Muslim community with definite laws of its own, and not to a mixed company, as at Makkah previous to the Hijra. I would place this passage at about A.H. 3.

The conjectures of the commentators, which would place vers. 75-82 and 87 at Madîna, seem to be mistaken. See notes on these verses below.

Principal Subjects.

	VERSES
God praised for the night-journey	1
The law of Moses a direction to the Israelites	2
Noah's gratitude commended to his posterity	3
The double sin of Israel and its punishment	4-8
The Qurán a direction to both the faithful and the unbelievers	9-11
Men inconsiderate in their prayers	12
The night and day are signs to men	13
Every man's fate bound about his neck	14
God will give every man the record of his life at the judgment-day	14, 15
No nation left without an apostle	16
The cities destroyed which rejected their apostles	17, 18
Rewards and punishments of the faithful and unbelieving	19-21
Degrees of honour belong to the life to come	22
Men should worship only one God	23, 24
Kindness to be shown to parents, the poor, and the stranger	24-27
Extravagance forbidden	28, 29
Those unable to contribute for the support of the poor may help them by speaking kindly to them	30, 31
Stinginess and foolish extravagance forbidden	32
Infanticide, fornication, and murder forbidden	33-35
The murdered man to be avenged	35

	VERSES
The substance of the orphan to be sacredly preserved . . .	36
Men should lead lives of honesty and humility . . .	37-40
God not to be dishonoured by idol-worship . . .	41
Angels not daughters of God . . .	42
Various warnings for the Quraish . . .	43
A plurality of gods would lead to rebellion in heaven . .	44, 45
All things praise God . . .	46
The Quraish are judicially blinded to the Qurán . . .	47-49
Muhammad called a madman . . .	50
The Quraish reject the doctrine of the resurrection . . .	51-53
The dead when raised will fancy they have been dead but a little while . . .	54
Idolaters and unbelievers to be mildly treated . . .	55, 56
Some prophets peculiarly favoured . . .	57
The false gods need divine protection . . .	58, 59
Every city to be destroyed before the judgment-day . . .	60
Muhammad not allowed to work miracles because of the unbelief of former tribes . . .	61
The night-journey and the Zakkum tree causes of contention	62
Iblis disobeys God, and is cursed in consequence . . .	63, 64
He receives permission to delude men . . .	65, 66
He shall have no power over God's servants . . .	67
God protects the merchant while on the sea . . .	68
Idolaters forget their idols in times of danger . . .	69
They are ungrateful . . .	69-71
The special privileges of mankind . . .	72
In the judgment all shall be fairly judged . . .	73, 74
Muhammad almost seduced from Islám . . .	75-77
The unbelievers almost persuade Muhammad to leave them	78, 79
Exhortation to prayer . . .	80-82
The truth of the Qurán to be proclaimed . . .	83, 84
Man's perversity seen both in prosperity and adversity . .	85
The spirit created of God . . .	86
Revelation (inspiration) a peculiar favour from God to Mu- hammad . . .	87-89
Men and genii could not produce a book like the Qurán . .	90
Muhammad excuses his inability to work miracles . . .	91-95
Men appointed messengers for men and angels for angels . .	96-98
The dreadful fate of the idolaters at the resurrection . .	99, 100
God is able to raise the dead . . .	101
Man covetous even in respect to God's mercy . . .	102
The nine signs of Moses fail to convince Pharaoh . . .	103, 104
Pharaoh destroyed . . .	105

VERSES

The children of Israel succeed Pharaoh in his possession of the land of Egypt	106
Why the Qurán was revealed in parcels	107
Some Jews and Christians believe on the Qurán	108, 109
God and the Merciful the same	110
God hath neither son nor partner	111

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

|| (1) PRAISE be unto him who transported his servant by night from the sacred temple of *Makkah* to the farther temple of *Jerusalem*, the circuit of which we have blessed, that we might show *some* of our signs; for *God is* he who

FOURTH
MANZIL.
FIFTEENTH
SIPARA.
R 1.

(1) *Who transported his servant . . . to the farther temple.* "From whence he was carried through the seven heavens to the presence of God, and brought back again to *Makkah* the same night.

"This journey of Muhammad to heaven is so well known that I may be pardoned if I omit the description of it. The English reader may find it in Dr. Prideaux's *Life of Mohammed* (p. 43, &c.), and the learned in Abulfida (*Life of Mahom.*, chap. xix.), whose annotator has corrected several mistakes in the relation of Dr. Prideaux, and in other writers.

"It is a dispute among the Muhammadan divines whether their Prophet's night-journey was really performed by him corporeally, or whether it was only a dream or a vision. Some think the whole was no more than a vision; and allege an express tradition of Mu'aviyah, one of Muhammad's successors, to that purpose. Others suppose he was carried bodily to Jerusalem, but no farther; and that he ascended thence to heaven in spirit only. But the received opinion is, that it was no vision, but that he was actually transported in the body to his journey's end; and if any impossibility be objected, they think it a sufficient answer to say, that it might easily be effected by an omnipotent agent."—*Sale, Baidháwi.*

The celebrated night-journey from *Makkah* to Jerusalem, and from there through the seven heavens up to the throne of God, is regarded by Muir, Noëldeke, Bosworth Smith, and other writers, as simply a vision, on which tradition has brooded and hatched out the story as related by most orthodox Muslims. Sprenger, however, considers Muhammad to have been guilty of perpetrating "an unblushing forgery," saying, "he sold a description of the Temple of Jerusalem, which he may have obtained from books or oral information, to the best advantage." Some traditions favour the opinion that it was a vision, while others point to the opinion that it was a bodily journey. There seems to me to be two questions involved here: (1) Whether the night-journey was originally simply a vision?

heareth and seeth. (2) And we gave unto Moses the book of the law, and appointed the same to be a direction unto the children of Israel, commanding them, saying, Beware that ye take not any other patron besides me. (3) O posterity of those whom we carried in the ark with Noah: verily he was a grateful servant. (4) And we expressly declared unto the children of Israel in the book of the law, saying, Ye will surely commit evil in the earth twice, and ye will be elated with great insolence. (5) And when the punishment threatened for the first of those

(2) Whether Muhammad, in speaking of this visionary journey, did not represent it as a reality? I think the arguments of Muir *versus* Sprenger (*Life of Mahomet*, vol. ii. p. 222) prove the journey to have been in reality a vision; but I do not think they satisfy all the conditions of the problem. For, if simply a vision, and if related as such by Muhammad, why should Omm Háni have "seized him by the mantle, and conjured him not to expose himself to the mockery and revilings of the unbelievers?" Why should the faithful have been staggered in their faith in their Prophet, had it been merely a dream? And, finally, why should Abu Baqr have declared his belief in the story of Muhammad, were it only a tale of a dream? It seems to me clear that Muhammad represented this journey as a reality; and, viewed in the light of the many palpable forgeries of the Qurán, we think Sprenger's judgment, in this case, on the whole well established. See also below on ver. 95.

The farther temple. This could only refer to the site of the Temple, or perhaps the Christian edifice erected in its place, which Muhammad thought to be the Jewish temple.

(2) Rodwell notes the incongruity of this verse with the preceding, and suggests a verse may have been lost, and that this ver. 1 has been placed at the head of the chapter because the night-journey is elsewhere alluded to in it. But such want of connection between the verses of the Qurán is too common to excite wonder here.

(3) *O posterity, &c.* "The commentators are put to it to find out the connection of these words with the foregoing. Some think the accusative case is here put for the vocative, as I have translated it: and others interpret the words thus, 'Take not for your patrons, besides me, the posterity of those,' &c., meaning, mortal men."—Sale.

(4) *Ye will surely commit evil . . . twice.* "Their first transgression was their rejecting the decisions of the law, their putting Isaiah to death, and their imprisoning of Jeremiah: and the second was their slaying of Zachariah and John the Baptist, and their imagining the death of Jesus."—Sale, *Baidhawi*, *Jaláluddín*.

The commentators here give six instances of evil committed instead of two. The allusion may be to the two destructions of Jerusalem, by the Babýlonians and the Romans. The next verse, compared with ver. 7, certainly points in this direction.

transgressions came to be executed, we sent against you our servants, endued with exceeding strength in war, and they searched the inner apartments of your houses; and the prediction became accomplished. (6) Afterwards we gave you the victory over them, in your turn, and we granted you increase of wealth and children, and we made you a more numerous people, saying, (7) If ye do well, ye will do well to your own souls; and if ye do evil, ye will do it unto the same. And when the punishment threatened for your latter transgression came to be executed, we sent enemies

(5) *Our servants.* "These were Jálút, or Goliah, and his forces; or Sennacherib, the Assyrian; or else Nebuchadnezzar, whom the Eastern writers call Bakhtanasr (which was, however, only his surname, his true name being Gudarz, or Raham), the governor of Babylon under Lohorasp, king of Persia, who took Jerusalem, and destroyed the Temple."—Sale, *Zamakhshari, Yahya.*

(6) *We gave you the victory.* "By permitting David to kill Goliah; or by the miraculous defeat of Sennacherib's army; or for that God put it into the heart of Bahman, the son of Isfandiyár, when he succeeded his grandfather, Lohorasp, to order Kiraish, or Cyrus, then governor of Babylon, to send home the Jews from their captivity, under the conduct of Daniel; which he accordingly did, and they prevailed against those whom Bakhtanasr had left in the land."—Sale, *Baidhawi.*

(7) *We sent enemies, &c.* "Some imagine the army meant in this place was that of Bakhtanasr; but others say the Persians conquered the Jews this second time by the arms of Gudarz (by whom they seem to intend Antiochus Epiphanes), one of the successors of Alexander at Babylon. It is related that the general in this expedition, entering the temple, saw blood bubbling up on the great altar, and asking the reason of it, the Jews told him it was the blood of a sacrifice which had not been accepted of God; to which he replied that they had not told him the truth, and ordered a thousand of them to be slain on the altar; but the blood not ceasing, he told them, that if they would not confess the truth, he would not spare one of them; whereupon, they acknowledged it was the blood of John; and the general said, 'Thus hath your Lord taken vengeance on you;' and then cried out, 'O John, my Lord and thy Lord knoweth what hath befallen thy people for thy sake; wherefore, let thy blood stop, by God's permission, lest I leave not one of them alive;' upon which the blood immediately stopped.

"These are the explications of the commentators, wherein their ignorance in ancient history is sufficiently manifest; though perhaps Muhammad himself, in this latter passage, intended the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans."—Sale, *Baidhawi, Yahya, Jakúluddín.*

against you to afflict you, and to enter the temple, as they entered it the first time, and utterly to destroy that which they had conquered. (8) Peradventure your LORD will have mercy on you *hereafter*: but if ye return to *transgress a third time*, we also will return to *chastise you*; and we have appointed hell to be the prison of the unbelievers. (9) Verily this Qurán directeth unto *the way* which is most right, (10) and declareth unto the faithful, who do good works, that they shall receive a great reward; (11) and that for those who believe not in the life to come, we have prepared a grievous punishment.

R 2.

|| (12) Man prayeth for evil, as he prayeth for good; for man is hasty. (13) We have ordained the night and the day for two signs *of our power*; afterwards we blot out the sign of the night, and we cause the sign of the day to shine forth, that ye may endeavour to obtain plenty from your LORD *by doing your business therein*, and that ye may know the number of years, and the computation of time; and everything *necessary* have we explained by a

(8) *We also will return to chastise you.* "And this came accordingly to pass; for the Jews being again so wicked as to reject Muhammad and conspire against his life, God delivered them into his hands; and he exterminated the tribe of Quraidha, and slew the chiefs of al Nadir, and obliged the rest of the Jewish tribes to pay tribute."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*.

(12) *Man prayeth for evil.* "Out of ignorance, mistaking evil for good; or making wicked imprecations on himself and others, out of passion and impatience."—Sale.

Man is hasty. "Or inconsiderate, not weighing the consequence of what he asks.

"It is said that the person here meant is Adam, who, when the breath of life was breathed into his nostrils, and had reached so far as his navel, though the lower part of his body was, as yet, but a piece of clay, must needs try to rise up, and got an ugly fall by the bargain. But others pretend the passage was revealed on the following occasion. Muhammad committed a certain captive to the charge of his wife, Sauda bint Zamáa, who, moved with compassion at the man's groans, unbound him, and let him escape: upon which the Prophet, in the first motions of his anger, wished her hand might fall off; but immediately composing himself, said aloud, 'O God, I am but a man; therefore turn my curse into a blessing.'"—Sale, *Jaláluddín*.

perspicuous explication. (14) The fate of every man have we bound about his neck ; and we will produce unto him, on the day of resurrection, a book *wherein his actions shall be recorded* : it shall be offered him open, (15) *and the angels shall say unto him, Read thy book* ; thine own soul will be a sufficient accountant against thee, this day. (16) He who shall be *rightly* directed shall be directed to *the advantage only of his own soul* ; and he who shall err shall err only against the same : neither shall any laden soul be charged with the burden of another. We did not punish *any people*, until we had *first* sent an apostle to *warn them*. (17) And when we resolved to destroy a city, we commanded the inhabitants thereof, who live in affluence, *to obey our apostle* ; but they acted corruptly therein : wherefore the sentence was justly pronounced against *that city* ; and we destroyed it with an utter destruction. (18) And how many generations have we consumed since Noah ? for thy LORD sufficiently knoweth and seeth the sins of his servants. (19) Whosoever chooseth *this* transitory life, we will bestow on him therein beforehand that which we please ; on him, *namely*, whom we please : afterwards will we appoint him hell *for his abode* ; he shall be thrown into the same to be scorched, covered with ignominy, *and utterly rejected from mercy*. (20) But whoso-

(14) *The fate, &c.* " Literally, *the bird*, which is here used to signify a man's *fortune or success* ; the Arabs, as well as the Greeks and Romans, taking omens from the flight of birds, which they supposed to portend good luck, if they flew from the left to the right, but if from the right to the left, the contrary ; the like judgment they also made when certain beasts passed before them."—*Sale*.

About his neck. " Like a collar, which he cannot by any means get off." See the Prelim. Disc., sect. iv. p. 164.

This passage makes God the author of evil as well as of good. What man does he is obliged to do by his fate. If he will to do wrong, it is because his fate was bound like a collar about his neck, and which he was unable to loose. See chap. vii. 180, xv. 39-43, and xvi. 95.

(15) *Read thy book.* See Prelim. Disc., p. 144.

(16-18) The effort of the Prophet here is to show that God would destroy the Arabs, and especially the Quraish of Makkah, just as he had destroyed the unbelievers in olden time.

ever chooseth the life to come, and directeth his endeavour towards the same, being also a true believer; the endeavour of these shall be acceptable *unto God*. (21) On all will we bestow *the blessings of this life*, both on these and on those, of the gift of thy LORD; for the gift of thy LORD shall not be denied *unto any*. (22) Behold, how we have caused some of them to surpass others *in wealth and dignity*: but the next life shall be more considerable in degrees of *honour*, and greater in excellence. (23) Set not up another god with *the true God*, lest thou sit down in disgrace, *and destitute*.

R 3. || (24) Thy LORD hath commanded that ye worship none besides him; and *that ye show kindness unto your parents*, whether the one of them, or both of them attain to old age with thee. Wherefore, say not unto them, *Fie on you!* neither reproach them, (25) but speak respectfully unto them, and submit to behave humbly towards them, out of tender affection, and say, O LORD, have mercy on them both, as they nursed me *when I was little*. (26) Your LORD well knoweth that which is in your souls; whether ye be men of integrity: (27) and he will be gracious unto those who sincerely return *unto him*. (28) And give unto him who is of kin *to you* his due, and *also* unto the poor, and the traveller. And waste not *thy substance* profusely: (29) for the profuse are brethren of the

(24) *Show kindness unto your parents, &c.* This command is on the whole well observed by Muslims. The respect shown to the grey head among them is one of their most pronounced virtues.

Say not . . . Fie. Use no contemptuous language towards them.

(25) *Behave humbly, &c.* "Literally, lower the wing of humility," &c.—Sale.

(27) *Sincerely return, i.e.,* sincerely turn to him by repentance.

(28) *Give . . . his due.* "That is, friendship and affection, and assistance in time of need."—Sale.

(29) *The profuse are brethren of devils.* "Prodigality and squandering away one's substance in folly or luxury being a very great sin. The Arabs were particularly guilty of extravagance in killing camels, and distributing them by lot, merely out of vanity and ostentation, which they are forbidden by this passage, and commanded to bestow what they could spare on their poor relations and other indigent people."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*.

devils: and the devil was ungrateful unto his LORD. (30) But if thou turn from them, in expectation of the mercy which thou hopest from thy LORD; *at least*, speak kindly unto them. (31) And let not thy hand be tied up to thy neck; neither open it with an unbounded expansion, lest thou become worthy of reprehension, and be reduced to poverty. (32) Verily thy LORD will enlarge the store of whom he pleaseth, and will be sparing *unto whom he pleaseth*; for he knoweth and regardeth his servants. (33) Kill not your children for fear of being brought to want; we will provide for them and for you; verily the killing them is a great sin.

|| (34) Draw not near unto fornication; for it is wicked-^{RUBA.}ness and an evil way. (35) Neither slay the soul which ^{R 4} GOD hath forbidden *you to slay*, unless for a just cause; and whosoever shall be slain unjustly, we have given his heir power *to demand satisfaction*; but let him not exceed the bounds of *moderation* in putting to death *the murderer in too cruel a manner, or by revenging his friend's blood on any other than the person who killed him*; since he

(30) *If thou turn from them, &c.* "That is, if thy present circumstances will not permit thee to assist others, defer thy charity till God shall grant thee better ability."—Sale.

(31) *I.e.*, "be neither niggardly nor profuse, but observe the mean between the two extremes, wherein consists true liberality."—Sale, Baidhāwi.

(33) *Kill not your children.* See notes on chap. vi. 137 and 151; also on chap. lxxxi. 8.

(35) *Unless for a just cause.* This verse is said (Hughes' *Notes on Muhammadanism*, p. 140) to abrogate chap. ii. 178, though it is difficult to understand how a subsequent revelation can be abrogated by a former!

It is more reasonable to understand chap. ii. 178, which forbids retaliation by private persons, as abrogating the law of this verse.

Sale says, "The crimes for which a man may justly be put to death are these: apostasy, adultery, and murder." See also chap. ii. 178.

We have given his heir power, &c. "It being at the election of the heir or next of kin, either to take the life of the murderer or to accept of a fine in lieu of it."—Sale.

He is assisted. "Some refer the pronoun he to the person slain, for the avenging whose death this law was made; some to the heir, who has a right granted him to demand satisfaction for his friend's

is assisted *by this law*. (36) And meddle not with the substance of the orphan, unless it be to improve it, until he attain his age of strength : and perform *your* covenant ; for the *performance of your* covenant shall be inquired into *hereafter*. (37) And give full measure, when you measure *ought* ; and weigh with a just balance. This will be better, and more easy for determining *every man's due*. (38) And follow not that whereof thou hast no knowledge ; for the hearing, and the sight, and the heart, every of these shall be examined *at the last day*. (39) Walk not proudly in the land, for thou canst not cleave the earth, neither shalt thou equal the mountains in stature. (40) All this is evil, *and* abominable in the sight of thy LORD. (41) These *precepts are a part* of the wisdom which thy LORD hath revealed unto thee. Set not up any other god *as equal* unto God, lest thou be cast into hell, reprov'd *and* rejected. (42) Hath your LORD preferably granted unto you sons, and taken *for himself* daughters from among the angels ? Verily *in asserting this* ye utter a grievous saying.

R $\frac{5}{3}$.

|| (43) And now have we used various *arguments and repetitions* in this Qurán, that they may be warned : yet it only rendereth them more disposed to fly *from the truth*. (44) Say *unto the idolaters*, If there were *other* gods with him, as ye say, they would surely seek an occasion of *making some attempt* against the possessor of the throne :

blood ; and others to him who shall be slain by the heir, if he carry his vengeance too far."—*Sale, Yahya, Baidhawi*.

(36) See notes on chap. iv. 2-5.

(38) *That whereof thou hast no knowledge, i.e.,* "vain and uncertain opinions, which thou hast not good reason to believe true, or at least probable. Some interpret the words, *Accuse not* another of a crime *whereof thou hast no knowledge* ; supposing they forbid the bearing false witness, or the spreading or giving credit to idle reports of others."—*Sale, Baidhawi, Zamakhshari*.

(42) See notes on chap. xvi. 59-61.

(44) *They would surely seek, &c., i.e.,* "they would in all probability contend with God for superiority, and endeavour to dethrone him, in the same manner as princes act with one another on earth."—*Sale*.

(45) GOD forbid! and far, very far, be that from him which they utter! (46) The seven heavens praise him, and the earth, and all who are therein: neither is there anything which doth not celebrate his praise; but ye understand not their celebration *thereof*: he is gracious and merciful. (47) When thou readest the Qurán, we place between thee and those who believe not in the life to come a dark veil; (48) and we put coverings over their hearts, lest they should understand it, and in their ears thickness of hearing. (49) And when thou makest mention, in *repeating* the Qurán, of thy LORD only, they turn their backs, flying *the doctrine of his unity*. (50) We well know with what *design* they hearken, when they hearken unto thee, and when they privately discourse together: when the ungodly say, Ye follow no other than a madman. (51) Behold! what epithets they bestow on thee. But they are deceived; neither can they *find* any *just* occasion to *reproach thee*. (52) They also say, After we shall have become bones and dust, shall we surely be raised a new creature? (53) Answer, Be ye stones, or iron, or some creature more improbable in your opinions *to be raised to life*. But they will say, Who shall restore us *to life*? Answer, He who created you the first time: and they will wag their heads at thee, saying, When *shall this be*? Answer, Peradventure it is nigh. (54) On *that* day shall GOD call you *forth from your sepulchres*, and ye shall obey, with cele-

(46) *Seven heavens*. These, according to the Jews, were, "the veil, the firmament, the clouds, the habitation, the abode, the fixed seat, and the arabath." See Welstein on 2 Cor. xii. 2.

(47, 48) Compare 2 Cor. iii. 13-16.

(49) *They turn their backs, &c.* "Not allowing their gods to be his associates, nor praying their intercession with him."—Sale.

(50) *With what design they hearken*, viz., "to mock and jest. One Nadhar Ibn Hárith said, 'I don't know what Muhammad says.' Abu Sufián said, 'I believe some of his statements to be true.' Abu Jahal replied, 'He is a madman;' and Abul Lahab said, 'He is a juggler;' while some one else said, 'He is only a poet.'"—*Tafsir-i-Raufi*.

(54) *With celebration of his praise*. "The dead, says Baidháwi, at his call shall immediately arise, and shaking the dust off their heads, shall say, 'Praise be unto thee, O God.'"—Sale.

bration of his praise, and ye shall think that ye tarried but a little while.

R 6. || (55) Speak unto my servants, that they speak mildly *unto the unbelievers, lest ye exasperate them*; for Satan soweth discord among them, and Satan is a declared enemy unto man. (56) Your LORD well knoweth you; if he pleaseth, he will have mercy on you, or, if he pleaseth, he will punish you: and we have not sent thee *to be* a steward over them. (57) Thy LORD well knoweth all persons in heaven and on earth. We have bestowed peculiar favours on some of the prophets, preferably to others; and we gave unto David the psalms. (58) Say, Call upon those whom ye imagine *to be gods* besides him; yet they will not be able to free you from harm, or to turn *it on others*. (59) Those whom ye invoke do *themselves* desire *to be admitted to* a near conjunction with their LORD, *striving* which of them shall approach nearest *unto him*: they also hope for his mercy, and dread his punishment; for the

Tarried but a little while, viz., "in your graves, or in the world."
—Sale.

(55) See chap. xvi. 126.

(56) *He will punish you.* "These words are designed as a pattern for the Muslims to follow in discoursing with the idolaters, by which they are taught to use soft and dubious expressions, and not to tell them directly that they are doomed to hell-fire; which, besides the presumption in offering to determine the sentence of others, would only make them more irreconcilable enemies."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*.

(57) *Thy Lord well knoweth, &c.* "And may choose whom he pleases for his ambassador. This is an answer to the objections of the Quraish that Muhammad was the orphan pupil of Abu Tālib, and followed by a parcel of naked and hungry fellows."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*.

We gave unto David the psalms. "Which were a greater honour to him than his kingdom; and wherein Muhammad and his people are foretold by these words, among others, 'The righteous shall inherit the earth.'"—Sale, *Baidhāwī*.

Compare Psalm xxxvii. 29.

(59) *Those whom ye invoke, &c., viz., "the angels and prophets, who are the servants of God, as well as yourselves."*—Sale. Rodwell thinks the passage alludes to Christian saint-worship, but this, like Sale's reference to the prophets, is doubtful. The allusion is very probably limited to the angels, who are called in ver. 42, "the daughters of God."

punishment of thy LORD is terrible. (60) There is no city but we will destroy the same before the day of resurrection, or we will punish it with a grievous punishment. This is written in the book of *our eternal decrees*. (61) Nothing hindered us from sending *thee* with miracles, except that the former *nations* have charged them with imposture. We gave unto *the tribe of Thamúd*, at *their demand*, the she-camel visible to *their sight*: yet they dealt unjustly with her: and we send not a *prophet* with miracles, but to strike terror. (62) *Remember* when we said unto thee, Verily thy LORD encompasseth men *by his knowledge and power*. We have appointed the vision which we showed thee, and also the tree cursed in the

(61) *Nothing hindered us, &c.* This is perhaps the most decisive passage in the Qurán to prove Muhammad did not possess the power of working miracles. He is said not to have received the power, and the reason is annexed—that former prophets had wrought miracles, but had nevertheless been charged with imposture! The only miracle of the Qurán is the Qurán, which, according to Muhammad, was not his miracle, but God's miracle.

They dealt unjustly. See chap. vii. 74, and note.

But to strike terror. The purport of this saying is the same as that of the beginning of this verse. Miracles were always of a dreadful character, as the Flood, the destruction of Sodom, of Ád, of Thamúd, &c. Ergo, were Muhammad to work a miracle, it would be one of terror and destruction to the Quraish!

(62) *The vision.* "Muhammad's journey to heaven is generally agreed to be intended in this place, which occasioned great heats and debates among his followers, till they were quieted by Abu Baqr's bearing testimony to the truth of it. The word *vision*, here used, is urged by those who take this journey to have been no more than a dream as a plain confirmation of their opinion. Some, however, suppose the vision meant in this passage was not the night-journey, but the dream Muhammad saw at al Hudaibiya, wherein he seemed to make his entrance into Makkah; or that at Badr; or else a vision he had relating to the family of Ummaya, whom he saw mount his pulpit, and jump about in it like monkeys; upon which he said, 'This is their portion in this world, which they have gained by their profession of Islám.' But if any of these latter expositions be true, the verse must have been revealed at Madína."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*.

See Prelim. Disc., pp. 80 and 81; also note on chap. xlviii. 18, viii. 34, and above on ver. 1.

The tree cursed in the Qurán. "Called al Zakkum, which springs from the bottom of hell."—Sale. See also chap. xxxvii. 60.

"The zakkum is a thorny tree which grows in Arabia, and of

Qurán, only for an occasion of dispute unto men, and to strike *them* with terror; but it shall cause them to transgress only the more enormously.

R 7.

|| (63) And *remember* when we said unto the angels, Worship Adam; and they *all* worshipped him except Iblís, *who* said, Shall I worship him whom thou hast created of clay? (64) And he said, What thinkest thou *as to this man* whom thou hast honoured above me? verily, if thou grant me respite until the day of resurrection, I will extirpate his offspring, except a few. (65) God answered, Begone, *I grant thee respite*: but whosoever of them shall follow thee, hell shall surely be your reward; an ample reward *for your demerits*! (66) And entice to vanity such of them as thou canst, by thy voice; and assault them on all sides with thy horsemen and thy footmen; and partake with them in *their* riches, and *their* children; and make them promises; (but the devil shall make them no other than deceitful promises;) (67) *as to* my servants, thou shalt have no power over them; for thy LORD is a sufficient protector *of those who trust in him*. (68) It is your LORD who driveth forward the ships for you in the sea, that ye may seek *to enrich yourselves* of his abundance *by commerce*; for he is merciful towards you. (69) When a misfortune befallerth you at sea, the *false deities* whom ye invoke are forgotten *by you*, except him *alone*: yet when he bringerth you safe to dry land, ye

which the fruit is excessively bitter. It was no doubt this bad quality which induced Muhammad to place it in hell."—*Savary*.

(63–65) *Iblís*. See notes on chap. ii. 34, vii. 11–19, and xv. 28–44.

(66) *Footmen*, *i.e.*, use every means in your power.

Partake with them in their riches, &c. "Instigating them to get wealth by unlawful means, and to spend it in supporting vice and superstition, and tempting them to incestuous mixtures, and to give their children names in honour of their idols, as Abd Yagúth, Abd al Uzza, &c."—*Sale, Baidháwi*.

Savary translates this passage, preserving the spirit of the original, thus:—"Render men docile to thy voice; attack them with thy legions; increase their riches and the number of their children; flatter them with delightful hopes. Thy promises shall be delusive."

(69) *Man is ungrateful*. See notes on chap. x. 23, 24.

retire afar off *from him, and return to your idols*; for man is ungrateful. (70) Are ye therefore secure that he will not cause the dry land to swallow you up, or *that he will not send against you a whirlwind driving the sands to overwhelm you*? Then shall ye find none to protect you.

(71) Or are ye secure that he will not cause you again to commit yourselves to *the sea* another time, and send against you a tempestuous wind, and drown you; for that ye have been ungrateful? then shall ye find none to defend *you* against us in that *distress*. (72) And now have we honoured the children of Adam *by sundry peculiar privileges and endowments*; and we have given them conveniences of carriage by land and by sea, and have provided food for them of good things; and we have preferred them before many of *our creatures* which we have created, by granting *them great prerogatives*.

|| (73) On a *certain day* we will call all men to judg- R $\frac{8}{8}$.
ment with their *respective leader*: and whosoever shall have his book given him into his right hand, they shall read their book *with joy and satisfaction*; and they shall not be wronged a hair. (74) And whoever hath been blind in this *life* shall be also blind in the next, and shall wander more widely from the *path of salvation*. (75) It wanted little *but the unbelievers* had tempted thee

(73) *Their . . . leader*. "Some interpret this of the prophet sent to every people; others, of the heads of sects; others, of the various religions professed in the world; others, of the books which shall be given to every man at the resurrection, containing a register of their good and bad actions."—Sale, *Baidhāvī*.

Whosoever shall have his book, &c. See the Prelim. Disc., p. 144.

A hair. See note on chap. iv. 47.

(74) *Blind, i.e., in respect to the truth of Islām*.

(75) *It wanted but little, &c.* "These are generally supposed to have been the tribe of Thakīf, the inhabitants of al Tayīf, who insisted on Muhammad's granting them several very extraordinary privileges, as the terms of their submission to him; for they demanded that they might be made free from the legal contribution of alms, and from observing the appointed times of prayer; that they might be allowed to keep their idol al Lāt for a certain time (Prelim. Disc., p. 39), and that their territory might be declared a place of security, and not be violated, like that of Makkah, &c. And

to swerve from *the instructions* which we had revealed unto thee, that thou shouldest devise concerning us a different thing; and then would they have taken thee for *their* friend: (76) and unless we had confirmed thee, thou hadst certainly been very near inclining unto them a little. (77) Then would we surely have caused thee to taste the punishment of life and the punishment of death; and thou shouldest not have found any to protect thee against us. (78) The *unbelievers* had likewise almost caused thee to depart the land, that they might have expelled thee thence: but then should they not have tarried *therein*

they added, that if the other Arabs asked him the reason of these concessions, he should say that God had commanded him so to do. According to which explication it is plain this verse must have been revealed long after the Hijra.

"Some, however, will have the passage to have been revealed at Makkah, on occasion of the Quraish, who told Muhammad they would not suffer him to kiss the black stone in the wall of the Kaabah, unless he also visited their idols and touched them with his hand, to show his respect."

Muir refers this passage to the compromise which Muhammad made with idolatry at Makkah in the sixth year of his mission. Certainly the explanations of the commentators, as given by Sale, are, to say the least, very improbable. But the passage carries with it a definite meaning when applied to the "lapse of Muhammad." For the whole story, with the authorities of the same, the reader is referred to Muir's *Life of Mahomet*, vol. ii. chap. v.; see also notes on chap. xxii. 53, 54, and chap. liii. 19-23.

(77) *The punishment of life and . . . death*, viz., "both of this life and the next. Some interpret the first of the punishment in the next world, and the latter of the torture of the sepulchre."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*.

(78) *Had likewise almost caused thee to depart, &c.* "The commentators differ as to the place where this passage was delivered and the occasion of it. Some think it was revealed at Makkah, and that it refers to the violent enmity which the Quraish bore Muhammad, and their restless endeavours to make him leave Makkah, as he was at length obliged to do. But as the persons here spoken of seem not to have prevailed in their project, others suppose that the verse was revealed at Madína, on the following occasion: The Jews, envious of Muhammad's good reception and stay there, told him, by way of counsel, that Syria was the land of the prophets, and that if he was a prophet he ought to go thither. Muhammad, seriously reflecting on what they had said, began to think they had advised him well, and actually set out and proceeded a day's journey on his way to Syria; whereupon God acquainted him with their design by

after thee, except a little while. (79) *This is the method of dealing which we have prescribed ourselves* in respect to our apostles, whom we have already sent before thee: and thou shalt not find any change in our *prescribed* method.

|| (80) Regularly perform *thy* prayer at the declension R 9. of the sun, at the first darkness of the night, and the prayer of daybreak; for the prayer of daybreak is borne

the revelation of this versè, and he returned to Madîna.”—Sale, *Baidhâwî, Jalâluddîn.*

These interpretations of the commentators have a suspicious look here. The first could only apply if shown that Muhammad ever did meditate leaving Makkah before the Hijra, which we have no reason to believe. The second is not only without historical basis, but in itself improbable. A better meaning is suggested by what follows: that, should he leave the unbelievers, as he was tempted to do by their obstinate unbelief, the result would be speedy destruction to the unbelievers, as Lot’s leaving Sodom had been the precursor of the divine vengeance on the Sodomites, or as Shuaib’s departure from the Midianites was followed by a pestilent storm from heaven, &c. (see chap. vii. 81-94).

Except a little while. “This was fulfilled, according to the former of the above-mentioned explications, by the loss of the Quraish at Badr; and, according to the latter, by the great slaughter of the Jews of Quraidha and al. Nadhîr.”—Sale.

This pretended fulfilment confutes the explications referred to by Sale above. The first contradicts the terms of the text, which plainly make the threatened punishment to depend upon *their success* in persuading Muhammad to leave Makkah. As they did not succeed, and the text implies that they did not, we must believe the threat never could have had a fulfilment. The same statement applies to the second explanation of the commentators, which implies, contrary to the purport of the text, that Muhammad actually left Madîna.

(80) *The declension of the sun, i.e.,* “at the time of noon-prayer, when the sun declines from the meridian; or, as some choose to translate the words, *at the setting of the sun*, which is the time of the first evening prayer.”—Sale.

First darkness. “The time of the last evening prayer.”—Sale.

Prayer of daybreak. “Literally, *the reading of the daybreak*; whence some suppose the reading of the Qurân at that time is here meant.”—Sale.

It seems clear from this passage that Muhammad first observed the Jewish hours of prayer.

Borne witness unto by the angels, viz., “the guardian angels, who, according to some, are relieved at that time; or else the angels appointed to make the change of night into day, &c.”—Sale, *Baidhâwî.*

witness unto *by the angels*. (81) And watch *some part* of the night in the same *exercise*, as a work of supererogation for thee : peradventure thy LORD will raise thee to an honourable station. (82) And say, O LORD, cause me to enter with a favourable entry, and cause me to come forth with a favourable coming forth ; and grant me from thee an assisting power. (83) And say, Truth is come, and falsehood is vanished : for falsehood is of short continuance. (84) We send down of the Qurán that which is a medicine and mercy unto the true believers ; but it shall only increase the perdition of the unjust. (85) When we bestow favours on man, he retireth and withdraweth himself *ungratefully from us* : but when evil

(81) *Watch some part of the night, &c.* This suggests how the two hours of prayer added to the Jewish times of prayer had their rise. They were first supererogatory and afterwards were made necessary.

Thy Lord will raise thee, &c. "According to a tradition of Abu Huraira, the *honourable station* here intended is that of intercession for others."—*Sale, Jaláluddín.*

Rodwell thinks the *station* has reference to the nearness of the believer to God, attained in spiritual ecstasies, &c.

(82) *Cause me to enter, &c.* "That is, grant that I may enter my grave with peace, and come forth from it at the resurrection with honour and satisfaction. In which sense this petition is the same with that of Balaam, 'Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his' (Numb. xxiii. 10).

"But as the person here spoken to is generally supposed to be Muhammad, the commentators say he was commanded to pray in these words for a safe departure from Makkah, and a good reception at Madína ; or for a sure refuge in the cave, where he hid himself when he fled from Makkah ; or, which is the more common opinion, for a victorious entrance into Makkah and a safe return thence."—*Sale, Baidháwi, Jaláluddín.*

(83) "These words Muhammad repeated when he entered the temple of Makkah after the taking of that city, and cleansed it of the idols ; a great number of which are said to have fallen down on his touching them with the end of the stick he held in his hand."—*Sale, Baidháwi, and Gagnier's Life of Mahomet*, vol. ii. p. 127.

The passage is closely connected with the preceding verse, which seems to show that both verses have been *adapted* by the commentators to various events which might be alluded to, the half-dozen or more events, to which the former part of this passage is made to apply (see *Tafsír-i-Raufi, in loco*), indicate that the application of the latter portion to the entry of Makkah is purely arbitrary and fanciful.

toucheth him, he despaireth of our mercy. (86) Say, Every one acteth after his own manner: but your LORD best knoweth who is most truly directed in *his* way.

|| (87) They will ask thee concerning the spirit: answer, R $\frac{10}{10}$.
The spirit *was created* at the command of my LORD: but ye have no knowledge given unto you, except a little. (88) If we pleased, we should certainly take away that which we have revealed unto thee: in such case thou couldst not find any to assist thee therein against us, (89) unless through mercy from thy LORD; for his favour towards thee hath been great. (90) Say, Verily if men and genii were purposely assembled, that they might produce a book like this Qurán, they could not produce one

(86) *Every one acteth after his own manner, i.e., "according to his judgment or opinion, be it true or false; or according to the bent of his mind and the natural constitution of his body."*—Sale, *Baidhāwī*.

(87) *The spirit*, "or the soul of man. Some interpret it of the Angel Gabriel or of the divine revelation."—Sale.

Rodwell takes the latter view, and fills up the ellipsis by inserting the word *proceedeth* instead of *was created*. The *Tafsīr-i-Husainī*, *Tafsīr-i-Raufī*, and the Commentary by Abdul Qádir all agree with Sale.

At the command, viz., "by the word *Kun*, i.e. *Be*; consisting of an immaterial substance and not generated like the body. But, according to a different opinion, this passage should be translated, 'The spirit is of those things, the knowledge of which thy Lord hath reserved to himself.' For it is said that the Jews bid the Quraish ask Muhammad to relate the history of those who slept in the cave (see next chapter), and of Dhu al Qarnain, and to give them an account of the soul of man; adding, that if he pretended to answer all the three questions, or could answer none of them, they might be sure he was no prophet; but if he gave an answer to one or two of the questions, and was silent as to the other, he was really a prophet. Accordingly, when they propounded the questions to him, he told them the two histories, but acknowledged his ignorance as to the origin of the human soul."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*.

Except a little. "All your knowledge being acquired from the information of your senses, which must necessarily fail you in spiritual speculations, without the assistance of divine revelation."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*.

(88) *That which we have revealed*, viz., "the Qurán, by razing it both from the written copies and the memories of men."—Sale.

This passage again sets forth Muhammad's belief in the inspiration of the Qurán. According to the next verse he regarded himself as a special favourite of God.

(90) See notes on chap. ii. 23, vi. 94, viii. 31, and x. 39.

like unto it, although the one of them assisted the other. (91) And we have variously propounded unto men in this Qurán every *kind* of figurative argument; but the greater part of men refuse to *receive it*, merely out of infidelity. (92) And they say, We will by no means believe on thee until thou cause a spring of water to gush forth for us out of the earth; (93) or thou have a garden of palm-trees and vines, and thou cause rivers to spring forth from the midst thereof in abundance; (94) or thou cause the heaven to fall down upon us, as thou hast given out, in pieces; or thou bring down God and the angels to vouch *for thee*; (95) or thou have a house of gold; or thou ascend by a ladder to heaven: neither will we believe thy ascending *thither alone*, until thou cause a book to descend unto us, *bearing witness of thee*, which we may read. Answer, My LORD be praised! Am I *other* than a man, *sent as an apostle*?

R $\frac{11}{11}$. || (96) And nothing hindereth men from believing, when a direction is come unto them, except that they say, Hath GOD sent a man *for his* apostle? (97) Answer, If the angels had walked on earth *as* familiar inhabitants *thereof*, we had surely sent down unto them from heaven an angel *for our* apostle. (98) Say, God is a sufficient witness between me and you: for he knoweth and regardeth his servants. (99) Whom God shall direct, he shall be the *rightly* directed; and whom he shall cause to err, thou shalt find none to assist, besides him. And

(92-95) These miracles were demanded of Muhammad by the Quraish of Makkah, and though Muhammad here denies his inability to perform the wonders demanded, saying, "My Lord be praised! Am I other than a man sent as an apostle?" and, notwithstanding the teaching of ver. 61 above, yet all orthodox Muslims believe on the testimony of tradition that he actually wrought all these wonders. See also notes on chap. xiii. 8 and 27.

(95) *Neither will we believe thy ascending, &c.* The allusion is to Muhammad's night-journey; see note on ver. 1 above. This passage proves beyond reasonable dispute that the night-journey was represented to the Quraish as a real journey and not as a vision. See note on ver. 1.

we will gather them together on the day of resurrection, *creeping* on their faces, blind, and dumb, and deaf: their abode *shall be hell*; so often as *the fire thereof* shall be extinguished, we will rekindle a burning flame to *torment* them. (100) This shall be their reward, because they disbelieve in our signs, and say, When we shall have been *reduced to bones and dust*, shall we surely be raised new creatures?

|| (101) Do they not perceive that GOD, who created the ^{NISF.} heavens and the earth, *is* able to create *other bodies*, like *their present*? And he hath appointed them a limited term; there is no doubt thereof: but the ungodly reject *the truth*, merely out of unbelief. (102) Say, If ye possessed the treasures of the mercy of my LORD, ye would surely refrain *from using them*, for fear of spending *them*; for man is covetous.

|| (103) We heretofore gave unto Moses *the power of* R ^{12.}₁₂. *working* nine evident signs. And do thou ask the children

(99) *We will gather, &c.* See Prelim. Disc., pp. 138-140.

So often as the fire, &c., i.e., "when the fire shall go out or abate for want of fuel after the consumption of the skins and flesh of the damned, we will add fresh vigour to the flames by giving them new bodies."—Sale.

See chap. iv. 54, and notes on chap. ii. 38.

(101) *A limited term.* "Of life or resurrection."—Sale.

The latter is probably the reference intended here. Compare chap. iii. 9 and note.

(102) *For fear of spending them, i.e.,* "lest they should be exhausted."—Sale.

(103) *Nine evident signs.* "These were, the changing his rod into a serpent, the making his hand white and shining, the producing locusts, lice, frogs, and blood, the dividing of the Red Sea, the bringing water out of the rock, and the shaking of Mount Sinai over the children of Israel. In lieu of the three last some reckon the inundation of the Nile, the blasting of the corn, and scarcity of the fruits of the earth. These words, however, are interpreted by others, not of *nine miracles*, but of *nine commandments*, which Moses gave his people, and were thus numbered up by Mohammed himself to a Jew, who asked him the question, viz., that they should not be guilty of idolatry, nor steal, nor commit adultery or murder, nor practise sorcery or usury, nor accuse an innocent man to take away his life, or a modest woman of whoredom, nor desert the army; to which he added the observing of the sab-

of Israel *as to the story of Moses*; when he came unto them, and Pharaoh said unto him, Verily, I esteemed thee, O Moses, *to be deluded by sorcery*. (104) *Moses* answered, Thou well knowest that none hath sent down these evident signs except the LORD of heaven and earth; and I surely esteem thee, O Pharaoh, a lost *man*. (105) Wherefore *Pharaoh* sought to drive them out of the land; but we drowned him and all those who were with him. (106) And we said unto the children of Israel, after *his destruction*, Dwell ye in the land: and when the promise of the next life shall come *to be fulfilled*, we will bring you *both* promiscuously *to judgment*. We have sent down *the Qurán* with truth, and it hath descended with truth: and we have not sent thee *otherwise* than *to be* a bearer of good tidings and a denouncer *of threats*. (107) And we have divided the Qurán, *revealing it by parcels*, that thou mightest read it unto men with deliberation: and we have sent it down, causing *it* to descend *as occasion required*. (108) Say, Whether ye believe therein, or do not believe, verily those who have been favoured with the knowledge *of the scriptures which were revealed* before it, when the same is rehearsed unto them, fall down on *their* faces, worshipping, and say, Our LORD be praised, for that the promise of our LORD is surely fulfilled! (109) and they fall down on *their* faces, weeping; and *the hearing thereof* increaseth their humility. (110)

bath, as a tenth commandment, but which peculiarly regarded the Jews; upon which answer, it is said, the Jew kissed the Prophet's hands and feet."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*.

Ask the children of Israel. See note on chap. vi. 20.

"Some think these words are directed to Moses, who is hereby commanded to demand the children of Israel of Pharaoh, that he might let them go with him."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*.

(106) *Dwell ye in the land*. The impression is left on the mind here that the land referred to by Muhammad was the land of the Pharaohs. See note on chap. vii. 137.

(107) *We have divided the Qurán, &c.* See Prelim. Disc., p. 108.

(108) The persons alluded to here were Jews or Jewish converts, who either believed or pretended to believe in Muhammad as the promised Messiah. See note on chap. vi. 20.

Say, call upon GOD, or call on the Merciful: by which-soever of the two names ye invoke him, it is equal; for he hath most excellent names. Pronounce not thy prayer aloud, neither pronounce it with too low a voice, but follow a *middle* way between these: (111) and say, Praise be unto GOD, who hath not begotten any child; who hath no partner in the kingdom, nor hath any to protect him from contempt: and magnify him by proclaiming his greatness.

(110) *God or . . . the Merciful.* "The infidels hearing Muhammed say, O God, and O *Merciful*, imagined the *Merciful* was the name of a deity different from God, and that he preached the worship of two, which occasioned this passage. See chap. vii. 181."
—Sale.

Follow a middle way, &c. "Neither so loud that the infidels may overhear thee, and thence take occasion to blaspheme and scoff; nor so softly as not to be heard by the assistants. Some suppose that by the word *prayer* in this place is meant the reading of the Qurán."—Sale.

Rodwell tells us this was in imitation of the practice of the Jews.

(111) Compare chap. iii. 39, v. 19 and 79, and vi. 101.

CHAPTER XVIII.

ENTITLED SURAT AL KAHAF (THE CAVE).

Revealed at Makkah.

INTRODUCTION.

THIS chapter might be called the chapter of wonderful stories. It owes its name to one of these—the story of the sleepers in the cave, which is the story of the Seven Sleepers of Christian tradition embellished by Muhammad with an Islamic colouring. (See notes on vers. 8–12.)

This story is remarkable, in that it throws some light on the habit the Prophet of Makkah had of delaying to answer difficult questions till the following day, on the pretence of not yet having received the answer by revelation. In this instance, if we are to believe the commentators, he had to wait ten days for the required answer, at which time he proclaims himself rebuked by God for rashly presuming to command the spirit of revelation on a morrow (ver. 23, note). But, judging from the character of the story itself, we are safe in adopting the opinion that during this interval Muhammad did not despise the scanty information he was able to derive from the Christian slaves of his town, some of whom were in his own household.

A remarkable feature of the stories of this chapter is that three of them are derived from apocryphal sources, viz., the story of the sleepers, the story of Khidhar (Jethro), and the story of Alexander's journeyings, and of his building a barrier to prevent the incursions of the northern kings of Gog and Magog. All these stories partake of the character of the marvellous, and carry with them such an air of vagueness as to leave the impression that Muhammad's informants were themselves but ill-informed. We have already indicated our belief as to the source of this information.

The remaining portions of the chapter are of the usual Makkan type. The idolaters are warned by the example of rebellious nations in past ages, and especially by that of the Israelites, who, on account of having rejected their prophets, suffered the loss of their sacred city. On the other hand, the faithful are encouraged by the hopes of Paradise.

Probable Dates of the Revelations.

The whole of this chapter belongs to Makkah. It is true some authorities would refer the exhortation of ver. 27 to Madína, but other authorities place it among the Makkan revelations, while there is nothing in the sentiment of that verse which might not have been uttered at any time and in any place. Occurring as it does in the midst of Makkan revelations, it is more natural to count it among them than forcibly to transfer it to Madína.

Beyond the style of the chapter and the spirit of the addresses to the Quraish there is little upon which to fix a date for the composition. These are, however, quite decisive for a period anterior to the Ban of the Hashimites. The intercourse with Jews and Christians, through whom most of the matter of this chapter was derived, would also point to a period when Muhammad had gained converts and adherents from among these. We conclude, therefore, that the main portion of this chapter should be assigned to about the sixth year of Muhammad's ministry at Makkah. The stories of Khidhar and of Alexander may, however, belong to some other period, their presence here being accounted for by the purpose of the compilers to bring together these marvellous stories in the same chapter. I confess, however, that this is simply conjecture.

Principal Subjects.

	VERSES
God praised for the gift of the Qurán	1
The Qurán a warner to unbelievers and good tidings to the faithful	2
Those who say God has sons or daughters are liars	3, 4
Muhammad grieves for the unbelief of his people	5
Earth's adornment to be reduced to dust	6, 7
The story of the companions of the cave	8-22
Muhammad rebuked for promising a revelation on a fixed date	23
The sleepers of the cave sleep 309 years	24
Times and seasons are in God's hands	25
None can change the Qurán	26
The pious are the Prophet's guardians	27

	VERSES
Truth is from the Lord	28
Sufferings of the wicked contrasted with the rewards of the righteous	28-30
The parable of the two men	31-42
Life on earth likened to water from heaven	43
Good works better than wealth and children	44
Mankind assembled on the judgment-day	45
The manner of the judgment—the book of personal action delivered	46, 47
Iblis refuses to worship Adam	48
Genii, the offspring of Satan, not present at the creation	49
Idol-worshippers deserted by their idols in the judgment	50
The wicked doomed to hell-fire	51
The Qurán rejected by men through unbelief	52, 53
Prophets are sent with threats and good news	54
The sin of apostasy	55-57
Unbelief destroyed the former cities	58
Moses and Joshua visit Khidhar	59-64
Moses desires to be taught by Khidhar	65
Khidhar, knowing Moses's inability to receive his wisdom, yields to his importunity	66-69
He scuttles a boat, kills a man, and builds a tottering wall	70-76
Khidhar refuses to communicate further with Moses on account of his protests against his conduct, but con- descends to explain his conduct	77-81
Dhu al Qarnain journeys to the setting sun	82-84
He finds a people, whom he is permitted to treat as he will	85-87
He travels east and north, where he finds an ignorant race, who plead his protection against Gog and Magog	88-93
He builds a rampart against them	94-96
Gog and Magog to be let loose before the judgment-day	97-99
Rewards and punishments in the judgment	100-108
Were the ocean ink, it would not suffice to write all the words of God	109
Muhammad only a mortal man	110

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

R₁₃¹.

|| (1) Praise be unto God, who hath sent down unto his servant the book of the *Qurán*, and hath not inserted therein any crookedness, (2) *but hath made it a straight rule*: that he should threaten a grievous punishment unto

the unbelievers, from his presence; and should bear good tidings unto the faithful, who work righteousness, that they should receive an excellent reward, *namely, paradise*, wherein they shall remain for ever: (3) and that he should warn those who say, God hath begotten issue; (4) of which matter they have no knowledge, neither *had* their fathers. A grievous saying *it is*, which proceedeth from their mouths: they speak no other than a lie. (5) Peradventure thou wilt kill thyself with grief after them, *out of thy earnest zeal for their conversion*, if they believe not in this new revelation *of the Qurán*. (6) Verily we have ordained whatsoever is on the earth for the ornament thereof, that we might make trial of *men*, and see which of them excelleth in works: (7) and we will surely reduce whatever is thereon to dry dust. (8) Dost thou consider that the companions of the cave, and Al Raqím, were *one* of our signs, and a great miracle? (9)

(3) *Those who say, God hath begotten issue.* See notes on chap. iv. 169, v. 19 and 79, and vi. 101. The passage may allude to Christians, but more probably to the idolaters of Makkah, who called the angels the daughters of God.

(5) *New revelation.* It was new to the Arabs, but, according to Muhammad's uniform claim, not new to Jews and Christians.

(8) *Companions of the cave.* "These were certain Christian youths, of a good family in Ephesus, who, to avoid the persecution of the Emperor Decius, by the Arab writers called Decianus, hid themselves in a cave, where they slept for a great number of years.

"This apocryphal story (for Baronius, *Martyrol.* ad 27 Julii, treats it as no better, and Father Marracci acknowledges it to be partly false, or at least doubtful, though he calls Hottinger a monster of impiety, and the off-scum of heretics, for terming it a fable) was borrowed by Muhammad from the Christian traditions (vide Greg. Turon et Simeon, *Metaphraste*), but has been embellished by him and his followers with several additional circumstances."—Sale, *Baidhāwī, Jalāluddīn*.

Al Raqím. "What is meant by this word the commentators cannot agree. Some will have it to be the name of the mountain or the valley wherein the cave was; some say it was the name of their dog; and others (who seem to come nearest the true signification) that it was a brass plate or stone table placed near the mouth of the cave, on which the names of the young men were written.

There are some, however, who take the companions of Al Raqím to be different from the seven sleepers: for they say the former

When the young men took refuge in the cave, they said, O LORD, grant us mercy from before thee, and dispose our business for us to a right *issue*. (10) Wherefore we struck their ears *with deafness, so that they slept without disturbance* in the cave for a *great* number of years: (11) then we awaked them, that we might know which of the two parties was more exact in computing the space which they had remained *there*.

R $\frac{2}{14}$.

|| (12) We will relate unto thee their history with truth. Verily they were young men who had believed in their LORD; and we had abundantly directed them; (13) and we fortified their hearts with constancy when they stood *before the tyrant*; and they said, Our LORD is the LORD of heaven and earth; we will by no means call on any god besides him, *for* then should we surely utter an extravagance. (14) These our *fellow-people* have taken *other* gods besides him, although they bring no demonstrative argument for them; and who is more unjust than he who deviseth a lie concerning GOD? (15) And *they said the one*

were three men who were driven by ill weather into a cave for shelter, and were shut in there by the falling down of a vast stone, which stopped the cave's mouth; but on their begging God's mercy, and their relating each of them a meritorious action which they hoped might entitle them to it, were miraculously delivered by the rock's rending in sunder to give them passage."—Sale, *Baidhawī*.

(11) *The two parties*, viz., "of the sleepers themselves, or others, who were divided in opinion as to the length of their stay in the cave."—Sale.

(12) *We will relate unto thee their history with truth*. Muhammad relates this story, which he received from Christian tradition, as coming from God for his own instruction! Was there no element of fabrication and conscious imposition here? Can any one conceive of such conduct apart from a purpose to deceive?

(13) *We will by no means, &c.* The language used by Muhammad in his addresses to the Quraish is here put into the mouths of the seven sleepers.

(14) *Our fellow-people*. The word *fellow* in Sale's translation is misleading. These young men are conceived of here as divine messengers, and "our people" is the usual term whereby the Qurān designates the people to whom the prophets were sent.

Beside him, &c. These young men were Muslims, bringing to mankind verbatim the very message Muhammad brought to the Quraish.

to the other, when ye shall separate yourselves from them, and from the deities which they worship, except GOD, fly into the cave: your LORD will pour his mercy on you abundantly, and will dispose your business for you to advantage. (16) And thou mightest have seen the sun when it had risen to decline from their cave towards the right hand, and when it went down to leave them on the left hand: and they were in the spacious part of the cave. This was one of the signs of GOD. Whomsoever GOD shall direct he shall be rightly directed, and whomsoever he shall cause to err thou shalt not find any to defend or to direct.

|| (17) And thou wouldest have judged them to have been awake while they were sleeping; and we caused them to turn themselves to the right hand and to the left. And their dog stretched forth his forelegs in the mouth of the cave: if thou hadst come suddenly upon them, verily

(15) *When ye shall separate, &c.* According to the *Tafsir-i-Raufi*, these words were spoken by the eldest of the seven, whose name was Yamlikha. The names of the remaining six were Maksalmina, Masalina, Marnush, Barnush, Shazlus, and Kamartus, and the name of their dog Qatmir. The same authority, however, gives another list differing somewhat from this.

(16) *Thou mightest have seen the sun, &c.* "Lest it should be offensive to them, the cave opening towards the south."—Sale.

The spacious part, i.e., "in the midst of it, where they were incommoded neither by the heat of the sun nor the closeness of the cave."—Sale, *Baidhawî*.

(17) *To have been awake.* "Because of their having their eyes open, or their frequent turning themselves from one side to the other."—Sale, *Baidhawî*.

We caused them to turn. "Lest their lying so long on the ground should consume their flesh."—Sale, *Baidhawî*, *Jalaluddin*.

Their dog. "This dog had followed them as they passed by him when they fled to the cave, and they drove him away, whereupon God caused him to speak, and he said, 'I love those who are dear unto God; go to sleep therefore, and I will guard you.' But some say it was a dog belonging to a shepherd who followed them, and that the dog followed the shepherd, which opinion is supported by reading, as some do, *kālībohum*, 'their dog's master,' instead of *kalbohum*, 'their dog.' Jalaluddin adds, that the dog behaved as his masters did, in turning himself, in sleeping, and in waking.

"The Muhammadans have a great respect for this dog, and allow him a place in paradise with some other favourite brutes; and they have a sort of proverb which they use in speaking of a covetous per-

thou wouldest have turned thy back and fled from them, and thou wouldest have been filled with fear *at the sight* of them. (18) And so we awaked them from *their* sleep, that they might ask questions of one another. One of them spake and said, How long have ye tarried *here*? They answered, We have tarried a day, or part of a day. *The others* said, Your LORD best knoweth the *time* ye have tarried: and now send one of you with this your money into the city, and let him see which of its *inhabitants* hath the best and cheapest food, and let him bring you provision from him, and let him behave circumspectly, and not discover you to any one.

son, 'that he would not throw a bone to the dog of the seven sleepers;' nay, it is said that they have the superstition to write his name, which they suppose to be Qatmír (though some, as is observed above, think he was called al Raqím), on their letters which go far, or which pass the sea, as a protection, or kind of talisman, to preserve them from miscarriage."—*Sale, Baidhāwi*. See also La Roque, *Voy. de l'Arabie Heure.*, p. 74.

The reading *kálíbohūm* is without any good authority, and was probably invented to avoid the doctrine, otherwise to be inferred from the text, that at least one unclean beast is to be found in Paradise.

Thou wouldest have been filled with fear, &c. "For that God had given them terrible countenances, or else because of the largeness of their bodies, or the horror of the place.

"It is related that the Khalífah Muáviah, in an expedition he made against Natolia, passed by the cave of the seven sleepers, and would needs send somebody into it, notwithstanding Ibn Abbás remonstrated to him the danger of it, saying that a better man than him (meaning the Prophet) had been forbidden to enter it, and repeated this verse; but the men the Khalífah sent in had no sooner entered the cave than they were struck dead by a burning wind."—*Sale, Baidhāwi*.

This story exaggerates even the text, and illustrates how wild the revels of the traditionists became whilst they dwelt in this congenial clime.

(18) *The time ye have tarried.* "As they entered the cave in the morning, and waked about noon, they at first imagined they had slept half a day, or a day and a half at most, but when they found their nails and hair grown very long, they used these words."—*Sale, Baidhāwi*.

The city. "Which some commentators suppose was Tarsus."—*Sale*. The story requires it to be Ephesus.

|| (19) Verily if they come up against you they will stone you, or force you to return to their religion, and then shall ye not prosper for ever. (20) And so we made *their people* acquainted with *what had happened* to them, that they might know that the promise of GOD is true, and that there is no doubt of the *last* hour, when they disputed among themselves concerning their matter. And they said, Erect a building over them; their LORD best knoweth *their condition*. Those who prevailed in their affair answered, We will surely build a chapel over them. (21) *Some say the sleepers were three, and their dog was the fourth, and others say they were five, and their dog was the sixth, guessing at a secret matter; and others say they were seven, and their dog was the eighth.* Say, My LORD best knoweth their number: none shall know them except

(19) This verse marks the middle of the Qurán, attained by counting the letters of the Arabic text.

(20) *That they might know, &c.* "The long sleep of these young men, and their waking after so many years, being a representation of the state of those who die, and are afterwards raised to life."—Sale.

Disputed . . . concerning the matter, i.e., "concerning the resurrection, some saying that the souls only should be raised, others that they should be raised with the body; or concerning the sleepers, after they were really dead; one saying that they were dead, and another that they were only asleep; or else concerning the erecting a building over them, as it follows in the next words; some advising a dwelling-house to be built there, and others a temple."—Sale, Baidháwi.

We will surely build a chapel. Literally, a *masjid*, or a place of worship. "When the young man who was sent into the city went to pay for the provision he had bought, his money was so old, being the coin of Decianus, that they imagined he had found a treasure, and carried him before the prince, who was a Christian, and having heard his story, sent some with him to the cave, who saw and spoke to the others, after which they fell asleep again and died, and the prince ordered them to be buried in the same place, and built a chapel over them."—Sale.

(21) *Their dog the fourth.* "This was the opinion of Sayad, a Jacobite Christian of Najrán."—Sale, Baidháwi.

Their dog was the sixth. "This was the opinion of certain Christians, and particularly of a Nestorian prelate."—Sale, Baidháwi.

Their dog was the eighth. "This is the true opinion."—Sale, Baidháwi.

None shall know. The fair inference from this statement is that

a few. (22) Wherefore dispute not concerning them, except with a clear disputation, *according to what hath been revealed unto thee*, and ask not any of the Christians concerning them. (23) Say not of any matter, I will surely do this to-morrow, unless *thou add* if GOD please. And remember thy LORD when thou forgettest, and say, My LORD is able to direct me with ease, that I may draw near unto *the truth of this matter* rightly. (24) And they remained in their cave three hundred years, and nine years over. (25) Say, GOD best knoweth how long they

the number was not made known even in the Qurán. Muhammad's purpose evidently was to be non-committal on this subject.

(22) *Ask not any of the Christians, &c.* One would have thought the Christians best qualified to attest the truth of a story based upon their own tradition. It cannot be doubted that Muhammad here deliberately casts discredit on those who were alone competent to expose the source of his revelation.

(23) *Say not I will surely do this to-morrow, &c.* "It is said that when the Quraish, by the direction of the Jews, put the three questions above mentioned to Muhammad, he bid them come to him the next day and he would give them an answer, but added not 'if it please God,' for which reason he had the mortification to wait above ten days before any revelation was vouchsafed him concerning those matters, so that the Quraish triumphed, and bitterly reproached him as a liar; but at length Gabriel brought him directions what he should say, with this admonition, however, that he should not be so confident for the future."—Sale, Baidhāwī, Jalāluddīn.

When thou forgettest. Sale applies these words to the Prophet's forgetting to say, "If God please," but the text requires that these words be applied to the story just related. Does not this passage suggest the use Muhammad made of the delay he sought on this occasion? And is it not reasonable to believe that the various numbers of verse 21 represent the various renderings of the story as he heard it now from one informant and again from another? We should like to know how the apologists would account for all the circumstances of this piece of garbled Christian tradition in accordance with their belief in Muhammad's honesty and sincerity.

(24) *Three hundred years, and nine years over.* "Jalāluddīn supposes the whole space was three hundred solar years, and that the odd nine are added to reduce them to lunar years.

"Some think these words are introduced as spoken by the Christians, who differed among themselves about the time, one saying it was three hundred years, and another three hundred and nine years. The interval between the reign of Decius and that of Theodosius the younger, in whose time the sleepers are said to have awaked, will not allow them to have slept quite two hundred years, though Muhammad is somewhat excusable, since the number assigned by

continued *there*: unto him *are* the secrets of heaven and earth *known*; do thou make him to see and to hear. The *inhabitants thereof* have no protector besides him, neither doth he suffer any one to have a share in *the establishment or knowledge of* his decree.

|| (26) Read that which hath been revealed unto thee of R $\frac{4}{16}$ the book of thy LORD *without presuming to make any change therein*. There is none who hath power to change his words; and thou shalt not find any to fly to besides him *if thou attempt it*. (27) Behave thyself with constancy towards those who call upon their LORD morning and evening, and who seek his favour; and let not thine eyes be turned away from them seeking the pomp of this life, neither obey him whose heart we have caused to neglect the remembrance of us, and who followeth his lusts, and leaveth *the truth* behind him.

|| (28) And say, The truth *is* from your LORD, wherefore SULS. let him who will believe, and let him who will be incredulous.

Simeon Metaphrastes is three hundred and seventy-two years."—*Sale, Greg., Turan., et Simeon Metaphras.*

This passage is fatal to Muhammad's inspiration. According to this account the seven sleepers awoke about ten years before Muhammad's birth.

(25) *Do thou make him to see and to hear*. "This is an ironical expression, intimating the folly and madness of man's presuming to instruct God."—*Sale, Baidhāwī, Jalāluddīn.*

Rodwell translates, "Look thou and hearken unto him alone," but admits the possibility of rendering as in the text.

(26) *None hath power to change his words*. "As the unbelievers would persuade thee to do."—*Sale.*

This passage may be fairly quoted against those who claim that the corrupters of Scripture have succeeded in so corrupting the Jewish and Christian Scriptures as to render them unworthy of credit. If the great Prophet of Islām could not have changed the Word of God, had he attempted it, how much less likely wicked Jews and Christians should succeed.

(27) *Seeking the pomp*. "That is, despise not the believers because of their meanness, nor honour the rich because of their wealth and grandeur."—*Sale.*

Him whose heart, &c. "The person more particularly intended here, it is said, was Ummaya Ibn Khalf, who desired Muhammad to discard his indigent companions out of respect to the Quraish. See chap. vi. 51."—*Sale.*

lous. We have surely prepared for the unjust *hell*-fire, the flame and smoke whereof shall surround him like a pavilion ; and if they beg relief they shall be relieved with water like molten brass, which shall scald *their* faces. Oh, how miserable a potion, and how unhappy a couch ! (29) As to those who believe and do good works, we will not suffer the reward of him who shall work righteousness to perish ; (30) for them *are prepared* gardens of eternal abode, which shall be watered by rivers ; they shall be adorned therein with bracelets of gold, and they shall be clothed in green garments of fine silk and brocades, reposing themselves therein on thrones. Oh, how happy a reward, and how easy a couch !

R $\frac{5}{17}$.

|| (31) And propound unto them as a parable two men, on the one of whom we had bestowed two vineyards, and had surrounded them with palm-trees, and had caused corn to *grow* between them. Each of the gardens brought forth its fruit *every season*, and failed not at all ; (32) and we caused a river to flow in the midst thereof : and he

(30) *Gardens.* See note on chap. ix. 73.

Brocades. Rodwell says this word and the words for *paradise* and *cups*, in chap. liv., are all of Persian origin, showing whence Muhammad obtained his sensual heaven.

(31) *A parable of two men.* "Though these seem to be general characters only, designed to represent the different end of the wicked and of the good, yet it is supposed by some that two particular persons are here meant. One says they were two Israelites and brothers, who had a considerable sum left them by their father, which they divided between them, and that one of them, being an unbeliever, bought large fields and possessions with his portion, while the other, who was a true believer, disposed of his to pious uses ; but that in the end the former was ruined and the latter prospered. Another thinks they were two men of the tribe of Makhzûm : the one named al Aswad Ibn Abdul Ashad, an infidel, and the other Abu Salma Ibn Abdul-lah, the husband of Omm Salma (whom the Prophet married after his death), and a true believer."—*Salé, Baidhâwi.*

Compared with any one of the parables of Jesus, the parables of Muhammad come far short of vindicating his claim that the Qurân is incomparable in style and sentiment.

(33) *He went into his garden.* "Carrying his companion with him, out of ostentation, and to mortify him with the view of his large possessions."—*Sa'e.*

had great abundance. And he said unto his companion by way of debate, I am superior to thee in wealth, and have a more powerful family. (33) And he went into his garden, being guilty of injustice against his own soul, *and* said, I do not think that this *garden* will decay for ever; (34) neither do I think that the last hour will come: and although I should return unto my LORD, verily I shall find a better *garden* than this in exchange. (35) *And* his companion said unto him, by way of debate, Dost thou not believe in him who created thee of the dust, and afterwards of seed; and then fashioned thee into a perfect man? (36) But *as for me*, GOD is my LORD; and I will not associate any *other deity* with my LORD. (37) And when thou enterest thy garden, wilt thou not say, What GOD pleaseth *shall come to pass*; there is no power but in GOD *alone*? Although thou seest me to be inferior to thee in wealth and *number of* children, (38) my LORD is well able to bestow on me a better *gift* than thy garden, and to shoot *his* arrows against the same from heaven, so that it shall become barren dust; (39) or its waters may sink deep *into the earth*, that thou canst not draw thereof. (40) And his possessions were encompassed *with destruction*, as *his companion* had forewarned him; wherefore he began to turn down the palms of his hands *out of sorrow and regret* for that which he had expended thereon; for *the vines thereof* were fallen down on their trails: and he said, Would to GOD that I had not associated any *other deity* with my LORD! (41) And he had no party to assist

(34) *Neither do I think the last hour will come.* This shows decidedly that this parable is directed against the prosperous Makkans, who refused to believe in the doctrine of the resurrection, and, at the same time despised the poor Muslims. See chap. ii. 211, and xi. 8-11. The passage is not therefore of Madína origin.

I shall find a better garden. "Vainly imagining that his prosperity was not so much the free gift of God as due to his merit."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*.

(35-42) These words were intended to serve the double purpose of comforting poor believers and rebuking the vainglory of the unbelieving Quraish.

him besides GOD, neither was he able to defend himself *against his vengeance*. (42) In such case protection *be-longeth* of right unto GOD *alone*; he is the best rewarder, and the best giver of success.

R $\frac{6}{18}$.

|| (43) And propound to them a similitude of the present life. *It is* like water which we send down from heaven; and the herb of the earth is mixed therewith, and *after it hath been green and flourishing*, in the morning it becometh dry stubble, which the winds scatter abroad; and GOD is able to do all things. (44) Wealth and children *are* the ornament of this present life; but good *works*, which are permanent, *are* better in the sight of thy LORD, with respect to the reward, and better with respect to hope. (45) On a *certain* day we will cause the mountains to pass away, and thou shalt see the earth appearing plain *and even*; and we will gather *mankind* together, and we will not leave any one of them behind. (46) And they shall be set before thy LORD in *distinct* order, *and he shall say unto them*, Now are ye come unto us *naked*, as we created you the first time, but ye thought that we should not perform *our* promise unto you. (47) And the book *wherein every one's actions are recorded* shall be put *into his hand*; and thou shalt see the wicked in great terror because of that which *is written* therein, and they shall say, Alas for us! what *meaneth* this book? it omitteth neither a small *action* nor a great *one*, but it compriseth the same; and they shall find that which they have wrought, present *before their eyes*: and thy LORD will not deal unjustly with any one.

R $\frac{7}{19}$.

|| (48) *Remember* when we said unto the angels, *Worship ye Adam*: and they *all* worshipped *him*, except Iblis,

(43) Compare Psalm xc. 3-9.

(45) *We will cause the mountains to pass away*. "For being torn up by the roots, they shall fly in the air and be reduced to atoms."
—Sale, *Baidhawī*. See Prelim. Disc., p. 135.

(47) *The book, &c.* See Prelim. Disc., p. 144.

(48) *Except Iblis*. See notes on chap. ii. 34, and vii. 11-19.

Who was one of the genii. "Hence some imagine the genii are a

who was one of the genii, and departed from the command of his LORD. Will ye therefore take him and his offspring for *your* patrons besides me, notwithstanding they are your enemies? Miserable *shall such* a change be to the ungodly! (49) I called not them to be present at the creation of the heavens and of the earth, nor at the creation of themselves, neither did I take *those* seducers for *my* assistants. (50) On a *certain* day God shall say *unto the idolaters*, Call those whom ye imagined to be my companions to protect you: and they shall call them, but they shall not answer them; and we will place a valley of destruction between them.

|| (51) And the wicked shall see *hell-fire*: and they shall know that they shall be thrown into the same, and R $\frac{8}{20}$.

species of angels. Others suppose the devil to have been originally a *genius*, which was the occasion of his rebellion, and call him *the father of the genii*, whom he begat after his fall, it being a constant opinion among the Muhammadans that the angels are impeccable, and do not propagate their species.”—Sale, *Jaláluddin*.

See also Prelim. Disc., pp. 119-121 and 147.

His offspring. Some commentators understand this to mean those who are subject to the command of the Evil One; but most writers understand the words literally. They say that God created his wife out of a portion of his left side, with whom he lived in a wilderness, and by whom were born to him (1) Lâqís, who brings to the mind foolish imaginations during ceremonial washings; (2) Dalhán, who endangers the believer when at prayers; (3) Zakínúr, who teaches lying and cheating in the market-places; (4) Aaúr, who shows the way to leechery; (5) Wásim, who eats with the man who does not say *bismillah*; (6) Madhash, who dazes the mind of the learned; (7) Bashar, who afflicts and persecutes those who are the children of sorrow and calamity; and, (8) Mansút, who is the author of lies. See the *Tafsír-i-Raufi*, *in loco*.

(49) *I called not, &c.* The infidels fancied the genii were acquainted with the secrets of divinity, and this passage meets the claim by denying their existence when God created the heavens and the earth.—*Tafsír-i-Raufi*.

This passage, including the preceding verse, contradicts the opinion of those who fancy the earth to have been inhabited by genii before man was created.

(50) *Call those, &c.* See chap. xvi. 88, 89.

A valley . . . between, i.e., “between the idolaters and their false gods. Some suppose the meaning is no more than that God will set them at variance and division.”—Sale.

they shall find no way to avoid it. (52) And now have we variously propounded unto men, in this Qurán, a parable of every kind; but man cavilleth at most things *therein*. (53) Yet nothing hindereth men from believing, now a direction is come unto them, and from asking pardon of their LORD, excepting that *they wait until* the punishment of *their* predecessors come *to be inflicted* on them, or that the chastisement of *the next life* come upon them publicly. (54) We send not *our* messengers, but to bear good tidings, and to denounce threats. Those who believe not dispute with vain *arguments*, that they may thereby render the truth of no effect; and they hold my signs, and the admonitions which have been made them, in derision. (55) And who is more unjust than he who hath been acquainted with the signs of his LORD, and retireth afar off from the same, and forgetteth that which his hands have formerly committed. Verily we have cast veils over their hearts, lest they should understand *the Qurán*, and into their ears thickness of hearing; (56) if thou invite them to the *true* direction, yet will they not therefore be directed for ever. (57) Thy LORD *is* gracious, endued with mercy; if he would have punished them for that which they have committed, he would doubtless have hastened their punishment: but a threat *hath been denounced* against them, and they shall find no refuge, besides him. (58) And those *former* cities did we destroy when they acted unjustly; and we gave them previous warning of their destruction.

R $\frac{9}{21}$. || (59) And *remember* when Moses said unto his servant Joshua the son of Nun, I will not cease *to go forward*, until

(54) This passage is abrogated by every passage of the Qurán exhorting the faithful to fight for the faith, especially by chap. ix. 5.

(55) *We have cast veils, &c.* Compare Isa. vii. 9, 10.

(57) *A threat, &c., viz.,* "of their calamity at Badr (for the Quraish are the infidels here intended), or their punishment at the resurrection."—Sale, Baidháwi.

(58) *The former cities, i.e.,* the Ádites, Thamúdítes, Sodomites, &c. See chap. vii. 66, &c.

I come to the place where the two seas meet; or I will travel for a long space of time. (60) But when they were arrived at the meeting of the two *seas*, they forgot their fish, *which they had taken with them*; and *the fish* took its way freely in the sea. (61) And when they had passed beyond *that place*, Moses said unto his servant, Bring us our dinner; for now are we fatigued with this our journey. (62) *His servant* answered, Dost thou know *what has*

(59) *The place where two seas meet.* The commentators say these two seas were the Mediterranean and the Persian. Some, however, feeling that this is not quite satisfactory, understand the expression as figurative of the meeting of Moses and Khidhar, who are likened to the two oceans of human and divine knowledge! This mystical interpretation is not in favour with the orthodox, who do not feel obliged even to mention the seas by name.

A long space of time. "The original word properly signifies the space of eighty years and upwards. To explain this long passage the commentators tell the following story. They say that Moses once preaching to the people, they admired his knowledge and eloquence so much, that they asked him whether he knew any man in the world who was wiser than himself; to which he answered in the negative: whereupon God, in a revelation, having reprehended him for his vanity (though some pretend that Moses asked God the question of his own accord), acquainted him that his servant Khidhar was more knowing than he; and, at Moses's request, told him he might find that person at a certain rock, where the two seas met; directing him to take a fish with him in a basket, and that where he missed the fish, that was the place. Accordingly Moses set out with his servant Joshua in search of al Khidhar; which expedition is here described."

—Sale, *Zamakhshari*, &c.

Brinckman, in his *Notes on Islām*, says this contradicts what the Bible teaches as to Moses' meekness, "As he is said to have searched for Khidhar through vanity, hearing he was thought to be wiser than himself," but Abdul Qādir explains his journey as prompted by a desire to learn from one so wise. See ver. 65 below.

(60) *They forgot their fish.* "Moses forgot to inquire concerning it, and Joshua forgot to tell him when he missed it. It is said that when they came to the rock, Moses falling asleep, the fish, which was roasted, leaped out of the basket into the sea; some add, that Joshua making the ablution at the fountain of life (of which immediately), some of the water happened to be sprinkled on the fish, which immediately restored it to life."—Sale, *Baidhāwi*, &c.

Freely. "The word here translated *freely*, signifying also a pipe or arched canal for conveyance of water, some have imagined that the water of the sea was miraculously kept from touching the body of the fish, which passed through it as under an arch."—Sale, *Baidhāwi*.

befallen me? When we took up our lodging at the rock, verily I forgot the fish: and none made me to forget it, except Satan, that I should not remind *thee* of it. And *the fish* took its way into the sea, in a wonderful manner. (63) *Moses* said, This is what we sought after. And they both went back, returning by the way they came. (64) And *coming to the rock*, they found one of our servants, unto whom we had granted mercy from us, and whom we had taught wisdom from before us. (65) And *Moses* said unto him, Shall I follow thee, that thou mayest teach me *part* of that which thou hast been taught, for a direction *unto me*? (66) He answered, Verily thou canst not bear with me: (67) for how canst thou patiently suffer those things, the knowledge whereof thou dost not comprehend? (68) *Moses* replied, Thou shalt find me patient, if GOD please; neither will I be disobedient unto thee in anything. (69) He said, If thou follow me, therefore, ask me not concerning anything, until I shall declare the meaning thereof unto thee.

R ^{10.}_I. || (70) So they went on *by the sea-shore*, until they went up into a ship; and he made a hole therein. And *Moses*

(63) *This is what we sought after, i.e., this is the sign given to direct us to our journey's end.* See above on ver. 59.

(64) *One of our servants.* "This person, according to the general opinion, was the prophet al Khidhar, whom the Muhammadans usually confound with Phineas, Elias, and St. George, saying that his soul passed by a metempsychosis successively through all three. Some, however, say his true name was Balya Ibn Malkân, and that he lived in the time of Afridûn, one of the ancient kings of Persia, and that he preceded Dhu'l-Qarnain, and lived to the time of Moses. They suppose al Khidhar, having found out the fountain of life, and drank thereof, became immortal; and that he had therefore this name from his *flourishing* and continual youth. Vide D'Herbelot, *Bibl. Orient.*, art. Khedher; *Septemcastrens. de Turcar. Moribus.*; Busbeq. *Epist.* 1, p. 93, &c.; Hotting. *Hist. Orient.*, p. 58, &c., 99, &c., 292, &c.

"Part of these fictions they took from the Jews, some of whom also fancy Phineas was Elias (R. Levi Ben Gerson in Append., lib. i., Reg. 1, 27)."—Sale, *Baidhâwi*.

(70) *Made a hole.* "For Khidhar took an axe and knocked out two of her planks."—Sale, *Baidhâwi*.

said *unto him*, Hast thou made a hole therein, that thou mightest drown those who are on board? now hast thou done a strange thing. (71) He answered, Did I not tell thee that thou couldest not bear with me? (72) *Moses* said, Rebuke me not, because I did forget; and impose not on me a difficulty in what I am commanded. (73) Wherefore they *left the ship and* proceeded, until they met with a youth, and he slew him. *Moses* said, Hast thou slain an innocent person, without *his having killed* another? now hast thou committed an unjust action.

|| (74) He answered, Did I not tell thee that thou couldest not bear with me? (75) *Moses* said, If I ask thee concerning anything hereafter, suffer me not to accompany thee: now hast thou received an excuse from me. (76) They went forwards, therefore, until they came to the inhabitants of a *certain city*: and they asked food of the inhabitants thereof; but they refused to receive them. And they found therein a wall, which was ready to fall down; and he set it upright. *Whereupon Moses* said *unto him*, If thou wouldest thou mightest doubtless have received a reward for it. (77) He answered, This shall be a separation between me and thee; *but* I will *first* declare unto thee the signification of that which thou couldest not bear with patience. (78) The vessel belonged to certain poor men, who did their business in the sea: and I was minded to render it unserviceable, because there was a

SIXTEENTH
SIPARA.

(73) *And he slew him.* "By twisting his neck round, or dashing his head against a wall, or else by throwing him down and cutting his throat."—*Sale, Baidhāwi.*

(76) *A certain city.* "This city was Antioch; or, as some rather think, Obollah, near Basra, or else Bājirwān in Armenia."—*Sale, Baidhāwi.*

He set it upright. "By only stroking it with his hand; though others say he threw it down and rebuilt it."—*Sale, Baidhāwi.*

(78) *Certain poor men.* The commentators, as usual, undertake to give particulars as to their history. "They were ten brothers, five of whom were past their labour by reason of their age."—*Sale, Baidhāwi.*

A king. "Námid Jaland Ibn Karkar, or Minwár Ibn Jaland al Azdi, who reigned in Omán. See *Poc. Spec.*, p. 42."—*Sale.*

king behind them, who took every *sound* ship by force. (79) As to the youth, his parents were true believers; and we feared, lest he, *being an unbeliever*, should oblige them to suffer *his* perverseness and ingratitude: (80) wherefore we desired that their LORD might give them a more righteous *child* in exchange for him, and one more affectionate *towards them*. (81) And the wall belonged to two orphan youths in the city, and under it was a treasure *hidden which belonged* to them; and their father was a righteous man: and thy LORD was pleased that they should attain their full age, and take forth their treasure, through the mercy of thy LORD, and I did not *what thou hast seen* of mine own will, *but by God's direction*. This is the interpretation of that which thou couldst not bear with patience.

R ¹¹₂.

|| (82) The Jews will ask thee concerning Dhu-'l-Qarnain. Answer, I will rehearse unto you an account of him. (83) We made him powerful in the earth, and

(80) *One more affectionate*. "It is said that they had afterwards a daughter, who was the wife and the mother of a prophet; and that her son converted a whole nation."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*.

(81) *Two orphan youths*. "Their names were Asram and Sarīm."—Sale.

The author of the Notes on the *Roman Urdu Qurān* says this story is found in the commentary of the Syrian Ephraim almost verbatim as here recorded in the Qurān. As that book belongs to an age preceding Muhammad, he concludes that the story came from that source.

(82) *Dhu-'l-Qarnain*. "Or, the two-horned. The generality of the commentators (Baidhāwī, Zamakhsharī, Jalāluddīn, and Yahya) suppose the person here meant to be Alexander the Great, or, as they call him, Iskandar al Rūmī, king of Persia and Greece; but there are very different opinions as to the reason of this surname. Some think it was given him because he was king of the East and of the West, or because he had made expeditions to both those extreme ends of the earth; or else because he had two horns on his diadem, or two curls of hair, like horns, on his forehead; or, which is most probable, by reason of his great valour. Several modern writers rather suppose the surname was occasioned by his being represented in his coins and statues with horns, as the son of Jupiter Ammon; or else by his being compared by the prophet Daniel to a he-goat; though he is here represented with but one horn.

"There are some good writers, however, who believe the prince

we gave him means to *accomplish* everything *he pleased*. (84) And he followed *his* way, until he came to the place where the sun setteth; *and* he found it to set in a spring of black mud; and he found near the same a certain people. (85) And we said, O Dhu'l-Qarnain, either punish *this people* or use gentleness towards them. (86) He answered, Whosoever *of them* shall commit injustice, we will surely punish him *in this world*; afterwards shall he return unto his LORD, and he shall punish him with a severe punishment. (87) But whosoever believeth, and doth that which is right, shall receive the most excellent reward, and we will give him in command that which is easy. (88) Then he continued *his* way, (89) until he came to the place where the sun riseth; *and* he found it to rise on certain people, unto whom we

intended in this passage of the Qurán was not Alexander the Grecian, but another great conqueror, who bore the same name and surname, and was much more ancient than he, being contemporary with Abraham, and one of the kings of Persia of the first race (D'Herbelot, *Bibl. Orient.*, art. Escander); or, as others suppose, a king of Yaman, named Asaab Ibn al Raish.

"They all agree he was a true believer, but whether he was a prophet or no, is a disputed point."—Sale.

The orthodox belief is that given under the authority of the great commentators of Islám, and there has not yet appeared one good reason for doubting that that interpretation of the passage is correct. All other Muslim interpretations are inspired by the evident desire to escape from the conclusion that their Prophet had set his imprimatur on an idolater as one of the great prophets.

(84) *A spring of black mud.* "That is, it seemed so to him, when he came to the ocean and saw nothing but water."—Sale, *Baidhawi*, *Jaláluddín*.

A certain people. "An unbelieving nation, who were clothed in the skins of wild beasts, and lived upon what the sea cast on shore."—Sale, *Baidhawi*.

(85) *Either punish, or, &c.* "For God gave Dhu'l-Qarnain his choice, either to destroy them for their infidelity, or to instruct them in the true faith; or, according to others, either to put them to the sword, or to take them captives: but the words which follow confirm the former interpretation, by which it appears he chose to invite them to the true religion, and to punish only the disobedient and incredulous."—Sale.

(88) *When the sun riseth, i.e.,* "that part of the habitable world on which the sun first rises."—Sale.

Certain people, &c. "Who had neither clothes nor houses, their

had not given anything wherewith to shelter themselves therefrom. (90) Thus *it was*; and we comprehended with our knowledge the *forces* which were with him. (91) And he prosecuted *his journey from south to north*, (92) until he came between the two mountains; beneath which he found certain people, who could scarcely understand what was said. (93) *And they said, O Dhu-'l-Qarnain, verily Gog and Magog waste the land: shall we therefore pay thee tribute, on condition that thou build a rampart between us and them?* (94) He answered, *The power wherewith my LORD has strengthened me is better than your tribute*; but assist me strenuously, and I will set a strong wall between you and them. (95) Bring me iron in large pieces, until it fill up *the space* between the two sides of *these mountains*. *And he said to the workmen, Blow with your bellows, until it make the iron red hot as fire. And he said further, Bring me molten brass, that I may pour upon it.* (96) Wherefore, *when this wall was finished, Gog and Magog could not scale it, neither could*

country not bearing any buildings, but dwelt in holes underground, into which they retreated from the heat of the sun. Jaláluddín says they were the Zanj, a black nation lying south-west of Ethiopia. They seem to be the Troglodytes of the ancients."—Sale.

(92) *He came between the two mountains.* "Between which Dhu-'l-Qarnain built the famous rampart, mentioned immediately, against the irruptions of Gog and Magog. These mountains are situate in Armenia and Adirbiján, or, according to others, much more northwards, on the confines of Turkestan. The relation of a journey taken to this rampart, by one who was sent on purpose to view it by the Khalifah al Wathiq, may be seen in D'Herbelot."—Sale.

Who could scarce understand. "By reason of the strangeness of their speech and their slowness of apprehension; wherefore they were obliged to make use of an interpreter."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*.

(93) *Gog and Magog.* Sale, on the authority of Baidhāwī and D'Herbelot, *Bibl. Orient.*, art. Jagiougé, says: "The Arabs call them Yájúj and Májúj, and say they are two nations or tribes descended from Japhet, the son of Noah, or, as others write, Gog are a tribe of the Turks, and Magog of those of Gillán, the Geli and Gelæ of Ptolemy and Strabo.

"It is said these barbarous people made their irruptions into the neighbouring countries in the spring and destroyed and carried off all the fruits of the earth; and some pretend that they were man-eaters."

they dig through it. (97) *And Dhu-'l-Qarnain* said, This is a mercy from my LORD: (98) but when the prediction of my LORD shall come *to be fulfilled*, he shall reduce *the wall* to dust; and the prediction of my LORD is true. (99) On that day we will suffer some of them to press tumultuously like waves on others: and the trumpet shall be sounded, and we will gather them in a body together. (100) And we will set hell on that day before the unbelievers; (101) whose eyes have been veiled from my remembrance, and who could not hear *my words*.

|| (102) Do the unbelievers think *that I will not punish* R $\frac{12}{3}$
them, for that they take my servants for *their* protectors besides me? Verily we have prepared hell for the abode

(96) *Neither could they dig through it.* "The commentators say the wall was built in this manner: They dug till they found water, and having laid the foundation of stone and melted brass, they built the superstructure of large pieces of iron, between which they laid wood and coals till they equalled the height of the mountains; and then setting fire to the combustibles, by the help of large bellows they made the iron red-hot, and over it poured melted brass, which filling up the vacancies between the pieces of iron, rendered the whole work as firm as a rock. Some tell us that the whole was built of stones joined by cramps of iron, on which they poured melted brass to fasten them."—*Sale, Baidhawī.*

This wall has been identified with fortifications which extended from the Caspian to the Pontus Euxinus, said to have been constructed by Alexander the Great. See Rodwell *in loco*. The author of the Notes on the *Roman Urdu Qurān* conjectures that the text is based upon the sayings of Syrian Jews and Christians, who, having heard of Alexander's fortifications against the incursions of the northern barbarians, naturally identified these people with the Gog and Magog of prophecy. May not this fancied conflict of Alexander with the enemies of God, Gog and Magog, have led Muhammad to count the great conqueror among the prophets who were zealous for the worship of the one true God?

(98) *When the prediction, &c.* "That is, when the time shall come for Gog and Magog to break forth from their confinement; which shall happen some time before the resurrection."—*Sale.*

See the Prelim. Disc., p. 133.

(99) *To press tumultuously, &c.* "These words represent either the violent irruption of Gog and Magog, or the tumultuous assembly of all creatures, men, genii, and brutes, at the resurrection."—*Sale.*

See the Prelim. Disc., pp. 145, 146.

(102) *We have prepared hell, &c.* Other passages of the Qurān declare that God made many men and genii for hell; see chap. xi.

of the infidels. (103) Say, Shall we declare unto you those whose works are vain, (104) whose endeavour in the present life hath been wrongly directed, and who think they do the work which is right? (105) These are they who believe not in the signs of their LORD, or that they shall be assembled before him; wherefore their works are vain, and we will not allow them any weight on the day of resurrection. (106) This *shall be* their reward, *namely*, hell: for that they have disbelieved, and have held my signs and apostles in derision. (107) But *as for* those who believe and do good works, they shall have the gardens of Paradise for their abode: (108) they shall remain therein for ever; they shall wish for no change therein. (109) Say, If the sea were ink to *write* the words of my LORD, verily the sea would fail, before the words of my LORD would fail; although we added *another sea* like unto it as a further supply. (110) Say, Verily I am only a man as ye are. It is revealed unto me that your GOD is one only GOD: let him therefore who hopeth to meet his LORD work a righteous work; and let him not make any other to partake in the worship of his LORD.

119, xxxii. 13, 14, and l. 29. The Scripture statement is that God prepared hell for the devil and his angels; see Matt. xxv. 41; 2 Pet. ii. 4; and Jude 6.

(109) Compare John xxi. 25.

(110) Compare with Christ's teaching as to himself, John x. 31-38, xv. 1-7, &c.

CHAPTER XIX.

ENTITLED SURAT AL MARYAM (MARY).

Revealed at Makkah.

INTRODUCTION.

"SEVERAL circumstances," says Sale, "relating to the Virgin Mary being mentioned in this chapter, her name was pitched upon for the title." It contains the fullest and earliest accounts of gospel history found in the Qurán. According to Muslim authorities, it was recited by Jáfir, Muhammad's uncle, before the Najáshi or king of Ethiopia, in the presence of the Quraishite envoys, sent from Makkah to secure the expulsion of Muslim refugees; whereupon "the king wept until his beard became moist, and the bishops also wept, so that their tears ran down upon their books, saying, 'Verily this revelation and that of Moses proceed from one and the same source'" (Muir's *Life of Mohamet*, vol. ii. pp. 172, 173, note).

Rodwell calls attention to the change of style of this chapter, vers. 1-37, and that of chap. iii. vers. 35-57, and suggests that it was due to a desire to avoid the imputation "of being merely a poet, a sorcerer, or person possessed." This does not seem very likely; as these charges were peculiarly Makkan, he would hardly have waited until his arrival in Madína before making the change in his style, if indeed desirous of avoiding these particular charges against his prophetic character. It seems to me the cause of this change of style is to be sought in the change of his surroundings, his habits, and aspirations. The prophet had given place in some measure to the general of armies and the ruler of a people.

The numerous historical errors contained in this chapter prove that Muhanmad had no personal acquaintance with Jewish or Christian records. He seems to have been indebted to Jewish or Christian informants, who were themselves very ignorant of their own traditions.

Probable Date of the Revelations.

Excepting vers. 35-41, the revelations of this chapter belong to an early period of Muhammad's prophetic career at Makkah. Muir (*Life of Moh.*, vol. ii. p. 278) assigns it to a period shortly succeeding Muhammad's return from Tayif, but this period seems to me to be too late to accord with the general spirit of the chapter. The exhortations to the Quraish are earnest and the threatenings against unbelievers are solemn, but there is not a sign of that violent imprecation and bitter enmity against the people of Makkah which characterise the later Makkan chapters. I would therefore fix the date as early as the beginning of the second period of Muhammad's ministry at Makkah.

Vers. 35-41 are more polemic in style than the rest of the chapter, and for this reason should be assigned to a later date, say the end of the second or the beginning of the third Makkan period.

Ver. 74 *seq.* have been thought to be Madinic, but on insufficient grounds. The change in rhyme belongs to vers. 35-41, though these are confessedly Makkan, while the words "two parties" may refer to infidels and unbelievers in general, and therefore may apply to Makkah as aptly as to Madina.

Principal Subjects.

	VERSES
Zacharias prays for offspring	1-6
Gabriel is sent with an answer promising a son	7, 8
Zacharias asks a sign which is given	9-12
John's mission and character described	13-15
Story of Mary's miraculous conception	16-22
The birth of Jesus	22, 23
Mary in distress is comforted by Jesus	23-27
Mary brings her child to her people, who reproach her	28, 29
Jesus (speaking in infancy) vindicates his mother and describes his own prophetic character	30-34
Jesus the Word of Truth	35
God has no son	36
God alone to be worshipped	37
The miserable fate of Jewish and Christian sectaries	38-41
The story of Abraham :—	
He reproaches his father for idolatry	42-46
His father threatens to stone him	47
Abraham prays for his father, but separates himself from him	48-50
God gives him Isaac and Jacob, who were notable prophets	50, 51

	VERSES
Moses—an apostle and prophet	52
Discourses with God privately	53
Aaron given him for an assistant	54
Ismail was a prophet acceptable to his Lord	55, 56
Idris was taken up to heaven	57, 58
God is bounteous to all true prophets	59
The followers of former prophets compared with those of Muhammad	59, 60
The reward of the faithful in Paradise	61-64
Gabriel comes down from heaven only when commanded	65
God is the only Lord—no name like his	66
The dead shall surely rise	67, 68
The dead shall be judged on their knees	69-73
Believers and unbelievers compared	74, 75
The prosperity of infidels a sign of God's reprobation	76, 77
Good works better than riches	78, 79
The doom of the wicked certain	80-83
Even the false gods will desert idolaters in the judgment	84, 85
God sends devils to incite infidels to sin	86, 87
The pious to be honoured before God	88
The wicked to be driven into hell	89, 90
Attributing children to God a great sin	91-93
God the only Lord—all creatures his servants	94, 95
Believers to be rewarded with love	96
The Qurán made easy for Muhammad	9
Miserable doom of all God's enemies	98

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

|| (1) K. H. Y. A. S. A commemoration of the mercy R $\frac{1}{4}$.
of thy LORD *towards* his servant Zacharias. (2) When
he called upon his LORD, invoking *him* in secret, (3) and

(1) K. H. Y. A. S. See Prelim. Disc., pp. 100-102. The conjecture of Golius, that these letters represent *Koh Y'as* = *thus he counselled*, or that of Sprenger (*Journal As. Soc. Bengal*, xx. 280) that they signify, *Jesus of the Nazarenes, king of the Jews*, may be placed in the same category with that of the commentators, that each letter is the initial of one of the Divine attributes—Ali having sometimes addressed God in prayer, *Yâ Kâhy'as*.

Zacharias. See chap. iii. 38, 39, and xxi. 89, 90.

(2) *Invoking him in secret*, or in a low tone of voice, through fear of ridicule. See chap. iii. 38, note.

said, O LORD, verily my bones are weakened, and my head is become white with hoariness, (4) and I have never been unsuccessful in my prayers to thee, O LORD. (5) But now I fear my nephews, who are to succeed after me, for my wife is barren: wherefore give me a successor of my own body from before thee; (6) who may be my heir, and may be an heir of the family of Jacob; and grant, O LORD, that he may be acceptable unto thee. (7) *And the angel answered him*, O Zacharias, verily we bring thee tidings of a son, whose name shall be John; (8) we have not caused any to bear the same name before him. (9) *Zacharias* said, LORD, how shall I have a son, seeing my wife is barren, and I am now arrived at a great age, and am decrepit? (10) *The angel* said, So shall it be: thy LORD saith, This is easy with me; since I created thee heretofore, when thou wast nothing. (11) *Zacharias*

(5) *My nephews*. "These were his brother's sons, who were very wicked men, and Zacharias was apprehensive lest, after his death, instead of confirming the people in the true religion, they should seduce them to idolatry. And some commentators imagine that he made this prayer in private, lest his nephews should overhear him."—Sale, *Baidhāwi*, *Jalāluddīn*.

A successor. See note on chap. iii. 38.

(6) *An heir of . . . Jacob*, viz., "in holiness and knowledge, or in the government and superintendence of the Israelites. There are some who suppose it is not the patriarch who is here meant, but another Jacob, the brother of Zacharias, or of Imrān Ibn Māthān, of the race of Solomon."—Sale, *Jalāluddīn*, *Tafsīr-i-Ra'ufi*.

(8) *We have not caused any to bear the same name*. "For he was the first who bore the name of John, or Yahya (as the Arabs pronounce it); which fancy seems to be occasioned by the words of St. Luke misunderstood, that none of Zacharias's kindred was called by that name: for otherwise John, or, as it is written in Hebrew, Johanan, was a common name among the Jews.

"Some expositors avoid this objection by observing that the original word *samiyyan* signifies, not only one who is actually called by the same name, but also one who, by reason of his possessing the like qualities and privileges, deserves or may pretend to the same name."—Sale, *Baidhāwi*, *Jalāluddīn*.

The only way to reconcile this passage with 2 Kings xxv. 23, 1 Chron. iii. 16, Ezra viii. 12, &c., is to regard Yahya as the Baptist's name, and not John, as recorded in Luke i.; but in this case the statement contradicts the former Scriptures.

(9) See note on chap. iii. 40.

answered, O LORD, give me a sign. *The angel* replied, Thy sign *shall be* that thou shalt not speak to men for three nights, *although thou be* in perfect health. (12) And he went forth unto his people from the chamber, and he made signs unto them, *as if he should say*, Praise ye *God* in the morning and in the evening. (13) *And we said unto his son*, O John, receive the book of the law, with a resolution to study and observe it. And we bestowed on him wisdom, *when he was yet* a child, (14) and mercy from us, and purity of life; and he was a devout person, and dutiful towards his parents, and was not proud or rebellious. (15) Peace be on him the day whereon he was born, and the day whereon he shall die, and the day whereon he shall be raised to life.

|| (16) And remember in the book of the *Qurán* the RUBA. story of Mary, when she retired from her family to a R $\frac{2}{5}$. place towards the east, (17) and took a veil to conceal herself from them; and we sent our spirit *Gabriel* unto

(11) *Thy sign.* See note on chap. iii. 41.

(12) *He made signs.* "Some say he wrote the following words on the ground."—*Salé.* See chap. iii. 41.

(13) *Wisdom.* The *Tafsir-i-Kaufi* gives the following illustration of John's wisdom. When three years of age, some children asked him to play with them, but he declined, saying that he had not been created for play!

(15) Compare with ver. 34 below. This verse was probably first applied by Muhammad to Jesus, but misplaced here by the compilers.

(16) *A place towards the east.* "To the eastern part of the temple; or to a private chamber in the house, which opened to the east: whence, says Al Baidháwi, the Christians pray towards that quarter."

"There is a tradition that when the Virgin was grown to years of puberty, she used to leave her apartment in the temple, and retire to Zacharias's house, to her aunt, when her courses came upon her; and so soon as she was clean, she returned again to the temple; and that at the time of the angel's visiting her, she was at her aunt's on the like occasion, and was sitting to wash herself, in an open place, behind a veil, to prevent her being seen. But others more prudently suppose the design of her retirement was to pray."—*Salé, Yahya, Baidháwi, &c.*

This passage contradicts Luke i. 26 and 39.

(17) *Our spirit . . . appeared . . . a perfect man.* "Like a full-

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they doubt. (36) It is not *meet* for GOD, that he should have any son; GOD forbid! When he decreeth a thing, he only saith unto it, Be; and it is. (37) And verily GOD is my LORD and your LORD; wherefore, serve him: this is the right way. (38) Yet the sectaries differ among themselves *concerning Jesus*: but woe be unto those who are unbelievers, because of *their* appearance at the great day. (39) Do thou cause them to hear, and do thou cause *them* to see, *on* the day *whereon* they shall come unto us *to be judged*: but the ungodly are this day in a manifest error. (40) And do thou forewarn them of the day of sighing, when the matter shall be determined, while they are *now sunk* in negligence, and do not believe. (41) Verily we will inherit the earth, and whatever *creatures* are therein; and unto us shall they *all* return.

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Qurán; for he was one of great veracity, *and* a prophet. (43) When he said unto his father, O my father, why dost thou worship that which heareth not, neither seeth, nor profiteth thee at all? (44) O my father, verily a *degree* of knowledge hath been bestowed on me, which hath not been bestowed on thee: wherefore follow me; I will lead thee into an even way. (45) O my father, serve not Satan; for Satan was rebellious unto the Merciful. (46) O my father, verily I fear lest a punishment be inflicted on thee from the Merciful, and thou become a companion of Satan. (47) *His father* answered, Dost thou reject my gods, O Abraham? If thou forbear not, I will surely stone thee: wherefore leave me for a long time. (48) *Abraham* replied, Peace *be* on thee: I will ask pardon for thee of my LORD; for he is gracious unto me. (49) And I will separate myself from you, and from the *idols* which ye invoke besides GOD; and I will call upon my LORD: it may be that I shall not be unsuccessful in calling on my LORD, *as ye are in calling upon them*. (50) And when he had separated himself from them, and from the *idols* which they worshipped besides GOD, we gave him Isaac and Jacob; and we made each of them a prophet, (51) and we bestowed on them, through our mercy, *the gift of prophecy, and children and wealth*; and we caused them to deserve the highest commendations. (52) And remember Moses in the book of the *Qurán*: for he was sincerely upright, and was an apostle *and* a prophet. (53) And we called unto him from the right side of Mount *Sinai*, and

A prophet. Rodwell distinguishes between a prophet (*nabí*) and an apostle (*rasúl*), the mission of the former being restricted to a family, that of an apostle being extended to a tribe, some of the prophets, *e.g.*, Moses, Jesus, and Muhammad, possessing the credentials of both *nabí* and *rasúl*.

(43-50) See notes on chap. vi. 75-85.

(50) *When he had separated himself from them.* "By flying to Harrán, and thence to Palestine."—Sale.

(51) *To deserve, &c.* Literally, *We granted them a lofty tongue of truth.*

(52) *An apostle and a prophet.* See above on ver. 42.

caused him to draw near, *and* to discourse privately *with us*. (54) And we gave him, through our mercy, his brother Aaron a prophet, *for his assistant*. (55) Remember also Ismáíl in the *same* book; for he was true to *his* promise, and was an apostle *and* a prophet. (56) And he commanded his family *to observe* prayer and *to give* alms; and he was acceptable unto his LORD. (57) And remember Idrís in the *same* book; for he was a just person *and* a prophet: (58) and we exalted him to a high place. (59) These are they unto whom GOD hath been bounteous, of the prophets of the posterity of Adam, and of those whom we carried *in the ark* with Noah; and of the posterity of Abraham, and of Israel, and of those whom we have directed and chosen. When the signs of the Merciful

(53) *To draw near*. "Or, as some expound it, *And we raised him on high*; for, say they, he was raised to so great an elevation, that he heard the creaking of the pen writing on the table of God's decrees."—Sale, *Baidháwi*.

(55) *He was true to his promise*. "Being celebrated on that account, and particularly for his behaving with that resignation and constancy which he had promised his father, on his receiving God's command to sacrifice him: for the Muhammadans say it was Ismáíl, and not Isaac, whom he was commanded to offer."—Sale, *Baidháwi*.

Abdul Qádir says Ismáíl obtained this title (in Arabic *Sádiq ul W'adí*) because having promised to wait for a certain person in a certain place till he came, he waited there a whole year.

(57) *Idrís*, "or Enoch, the great-grandfather of Noah, who had that surname from his great *knowledge*"; for he was favoured with no less than thirty books of divine revelations, and was the first who wrote with a pen, and studied the sciences of astronomy and arithmetic, &c."—*Baidháwi, Jaláluddín*.

"The learned Bartolucci (*Bartol. Bibl. Rab.*, part ii. p. 845) endeavours to show, from the testimonies of the ancient Jews, that Enoch, surnamed Idrís, was a very different person from the Enoch of Moses, and many ages younger."—Sale.

Arab writers derive the name *Idrís* from *Darasa*, *to search out*.

(58) *We exalted him*. "Some understand by this the honour of the prophetic office and his familiarity with God; but others suppose his translation is here meant: for they say he was taken up by God into heaven at the age of three hundred and fifty, having first suffered death, and been restored to life, and that he is now alive in one of the seven heavens, or in paradise."—Sale, *Jaláluddín, Baidháwi*.

See Rodwell's note *in loco* for corresponding Jewish tradition.

were read unto them, they fell down, worshipping, and wept.

R 4. || (60) But a succeeding generation have come after them, who neglect prayer and follow *their* lusts; and they shall surely fall into evil: (61) except him who repenteth and believeth, and doth that which is right; these shall enter Paradise, and they shall not in the least be wronged: (62) gardens of perpetual abode *shall be their reward*, which the Merciful hath promised unto his servants, as an object of faith; for his promise will surely come *to be fulfilled*. (63) Therein shall they hear no vain discourse, but peace; and their provision shall be prepared for them therein morning and evening. (64) This is Paradise, which we will give for an inheritance unto such of our servants as shall be pious. (65) We descend not *from heaven*, unless by command of thy LORD: unto him *belongeth* whatsoever is before us, and whatsoever is behind us, and whatsoever is in the intermediate space; neither is thy LORD forgetful *of thee*. (66) *He is* the LORD of heaven

(59) *And wept*. The *Tafsîr-i-Raûfî* draws from these words the inference that tears should be shed during the reading of the Qurân. "If they do not flow voluntarily," says a tradition, "then strain them out with difficulty."

(61) *Except him who repenteth, &c.* Salvation is here promised on the ground of repentance, faith, and good works (prayer, fasting, almsgiving, &c.) In other words, those who live the lives of good Muslims will be saved—Islâm being the one true religion of God on earth. See also note on chap. iii. 31.

(62) *Gardens*. See note on chap. iii. 15.

(63) *Peace, i.e.*, "words of peace and comfort, or the salutations of the angels, &c."—*Salê*. See also chap. x. 10, and note there.

(65) "These are generally supposed to have been the words of the Angel Gabriel in answer to Muhammad's complaint for his long delay of fifteen, or, according to another tradition, of forty days, before he brought him instructions what solution he should give to the questions which had been asked him concerning the sleepers, Dhu'l-Qarnain, and the spirit (see chap. xviii. 23, note).

"Others, however, are of opinion that they are the words which the godly will use at their entrance into Paradise; and that their meaning is, 'We take up our abode here at the command and through the mercy of God alone, who ruleth all things, past, future, and present; and who is not forgetful of the works of his servants.'"—*Salê, Baidhâwî*.

and earth, and of whatsoever is between them: wherefore worship him, and be constant in his worship. Dost thou know any named like him?

|| (67) Man saith, After I shall have been dead, shall I R $\frac{5}{8}$
really be brought forth alive *from the grave*? (68) Doth not man remember that we created him heretofore, when he was nothing? (69) But by thy LORD we will surely assemble them and the devils *to judgment*; then will we set them round about hell on their knees: (70) afterwards we will draw forth from every sect such of them as *shall have been* a more obstinate rebel against the Merciful; (71) and we best know which of them are more worthy to be burned therein. (72) There shall be none of you but shall approach near the same: *this* is an established decree with thy LORD. (73) Afterwards we will deliver those who shall have been pious, but we will leave the ungodly therein on their knees. (74) When our manifest signs

(66) *Dost thou know any named like him?* "That is, deserving or having a right to the name and attributes of God."—Sale.

His name is Allah, a name not used by the idolaters, who worshipped gods whom they called *Ilahat* (from *Ilah*), or *Ālihāt* (plural of *Īlāh*).

(67) *Man saith.* "Some suppose a particular person is here meant, namely, Abī Ibn Khalf."—Sale. See note on chap. xvi. 4.

(69) *Them and the devils.* "It is said that every infidel will appear at the day of judgment chained to the devil who seduced him."—Sale, Baidhāwī.

(70) *We will draw forth from every sect, &c.* "Hence, says al Baidhāwī, it appears that God will pardon some of the rebellious people. But perhaps the distinguishing the unbelievers into different classes, in order to consign them to different places and degrees of torment, is here meant."—Sale.

But see ver. 73 below. The *pious* are probably the erring faithful, who will be punished by purgatorial fire.

(81) *More worthy*, viz., "the more obstinate and perverse, and especially the heads of sects, who will suffer a double punishment for their own errors and their seducing of others."—Sale.

(72) *You . . . shall approach near the same.* "For the true believers must also pass by or through hell, but the fire will be damped, and the flames abated, so as not to hurt them, though it will lay hold on the others. Some, however, suppose that the words intend no more than the passage over the narrow bridge, which is laid over hell."—Sale. See Prelim. Disc., p. 147.

(73) See above on ver. 70.

are read unto them, the infidels say unto the true believers, Which of the two parties *is* in the more eligible condition, and *formeth* the more excellent assembly? (75) But how many generations have we destroyed before them, which excelled them in wealth, and in outward appearance? (76) Say, Whosoever is in error, the Merciful will grant him a long and prosperous life, (77) until they see that with which they are threatened, whether it be the punishment *of this life*, or *that of the last hour*; and hereafter they shall know who is in the worse condition, and the weaker in forces. (78) GOD shall more fully direct those who receive direction; (79) and the good works which remain *for ever* are better in the sight of thy LORD *than worldly possessions*, in respect to the reward, and more eligible in respect to the future recompense. (80) Hast thou seen him who believeth not in our signs, and saith, I shall surely have riches and children bestowed on me? (81) Is he acquainted with the secrets *of futurity*; or hath he received a covenant from the Merciful *that it shall be so*? (82) By no means. We will surely write down that which he saith; and increasing we will increase his punishment; (83) and we will be his heir as to that which he speaketh of; and *on the last day* he shall appear before us alone

(74) *The two parties*, viz., “of us or of you. When the Quraish were unable to produce a composition to equal the Qurán, they began to glory in their wealth and nobility, valuing themselves highly on that account, and despising the followers of Muhammad.”—Sale.

(76) *A long and prosperous life*. Not in order that he may have a longer day of probation, but that he may thus treasure up a greater degree of suffering. See chap. iii. 179, and note on chap. ii. 211.

(80) “This passage was revealed on account of ‘Aás Ibn Waíl, who being indebted to Khabbáb, when he demanded the money refused to pay it, unless he would deny Muhammad; to which proposal Khabbáb answered that he would never deny that prophet, neither alive, nor dead, nor when he should be raised to life at the last day. Therefore, replied al ‘Aás, ‘When thou art raised again, come to me, for I shall then have abundance of riches and children, and I will pay you.’”—Sale, *Baidhárwi, Jaláluddín*.

(83) *We shall be heir, &c., i.e.*, “God will take from him all his wealth and children, whom he will be obliged to leave behind at death.” See the same idea above in ver. 41.

and naked. (84) They have taken *other* gods, besides God, that they may be a glory unto them. (85) By no means. Hereafter shall they deny their worship; and they shall become adversaries unto them.

|| (86) Dost thou not see that we send the devils R 6. against the infidels, to incite them *to sin* by *their* instigations? (87) Wherefore be not in haste *to call down destruction* upon them; for we number unto them a *determined number of days of respite*. (88) On a certain day we will assemble the pious before the Merciful *in an honourable manner*, as ambassadors come *into the presence of a prince*: (89) but we will drive the wicked into hell, *as cattle are driven* to water: (90) they shall obtain no intercession, except he only who hath received a covenant from the Merciful. (91) They say, The Merciful hath begotten issue. Now have ye uttered an impious thing: (92) it wanteth little but that on occasion thereof the heavens be rent, and the earth cleave in sunder, and the mountains be overthrown and fall, (93) for that they attribute children unto the Merciful; whereas it becometh not GOD to beget children. (94) Verily there is none in

(85) *They shall deny their worship*, viz., “at the resurrection, when the idolaters shall disclaim their idols, and the idols their worshippers, and shall mutually accuse one another.”—Sale.

See note on chap. x. 29.

(86) *We send devils . . . to incite*. This contradicts the teaching of the Bible. Comp. James i. 13.

(90) *Except he only*. “That is, except he who shall be a subject properly disposed to receive that favour, by having possessed Islām. Or the words may also be translated, according to another exposition, ‘They shall not obtain the intercession of any, except the intercession of him,’ &c. Or else, ‘None shall be able to make intercession for others, except he who shall have received a covenant (or permission) from God;’ i.e., who shall be qualified for that office by faith and good works, according to God’s promise, or shall have special leave given him by God for that purpose.”—Sale, *Baidhāwī*.

(91–95) The fact, however clearly explained, that the word *walada*, used throughout the Qurān, involves the notion of sex, while the equivalent word, used in the New Testament to express the Christian doctrine of the divine sonship, never does so, will do little to remove Muslim misconception on this subject. (Bosworth Smith, *Mahom.*, p. 275.) This *misconception* is based upon the statements of the

heaven or on earth but shall approach the Merciful *as his* servant. He encompasseth them *by his knowledge and power*, and numbereth them with an *exact* computation: (95) and they shall all come unto him on the day of resurrection, destitute *both of helpers and followers*. (96) But as for those who believe and do good works, the Merciful will bestow on them love. (97) Verily we have rendered the *Qurán* easy for thy tongue, that thou mayest thereby declare *our* promises unto the pious, and mayest thereby denounce threats unto contentious people. (98) And how many generations have we destroyed before them? Dost thou find one of them *remaining*? Or dost thou hear *so much as* a whisper concerning them?

Qurán, whose author certainly believed that Christians held these carnal notions of the Godhead. So long, therefore, as Muslims believe in the *Qurán*, they are bound to believe that the Christians' language on this subject is to be understood in a grossly carnal sense. See notes on chap. iv. 169-174, v. 19, 116, and vii. 101, 102.

(96) *The Merciful will bestow on them love*, viz., "the love of God and all the inhabitants of heaven. Some suppose this verse was revealed to comfort the Muslims, who were hated and despised at Makkah on account of their faith, by the promise of their gaining the love and esteem of mankind in a short time."—*Salé*.

(97) *The Qurán easy*. Either because it is written in the Arabic language, or because the Prophet had received facility in recollecting and repeating the revelations of the *Qurán*. See *Tafsir-i-Raufi*, *in loco*.

CHAPTER XX.

ENTITLED SURAT THÁ HÁ (T. H.)

Revealed at Makkah.

INTRODUCTION.

THERE is little to indicate the occasion of the revelations contained in this chapter. Judging from the nature of the contents, it may, however, be conjectured that they were pronounced for the encouragement, and perhaps instruction, of the Muslims during the third stage of Muhammad's prophetic career at Makkah (vers. 1 and 131). With this view accords the spirit of the chapter towards the opponents of Islám, as well as the character of the opposition described therein. The Jews demand a sign (ver. 133), and the Quraish are determined in their adherence to idolatry (vers. 128 and 135).

The opposition of the Jews seems to have led to the somewhat detailed account of Moses and of the children of Israel. This is also the earliest attempt at relating the story of Moses, and probably, for that reason, the most complete account of it in the Qurán. Indeed, a suspicion is raised in vers. 99 and 133 that the revelations were enunciated only after careful research, *in order to prove the oneness of the Qurán with the "former volumes."*

The first fourteen or sixteen verses of this chapter are said to have induced Omar Ibn al Khattáb to become a Muslim in the sixth year before the Hijra (Hishám, 226 sq., cf. note; Ibn Sád, i. and v.; comp. Weil, p. 60; Causs, i. 396 sq.; and Springer, 187 sq.) Against this view, Noeldeke points out what seems to be a fatal objection, that the commentators, without exception, are silent as to this story. Besides this, he notes the fact that other chapters have been credited with this same honour (*e.g.*, lxi., lvii., or lxiv.; all Madínic!), not to mention the fact that two contradictory accounts of this conversion are given by the principal authority for that story (Hishám); see Muir's *Life of Mohamet*, vol. ii. pp. 168-171, with notes.

Probable Date of the Revelations.

Aside from the external evidence, already alluded to above, the general tone of the revelations and the circumstances of Islām, apparent throughout the chapter, point to the early portion of the third stage of Muhammad's prophetic career at Makkah—say B.H. 6 or 7—as the probable date of this chapter. Vers. 130 and 131 have been regarded as Madīnic by some (see as Syuti's *Itqān* 34 sq.), but Noeldeke thinks this supposition to be without good reason.

Principal Subjects.

	VERSES
The Qurān an admonition from God to the faithful . . .	1-3
God one, a Sovereign King, omniscient, and possessed of most excellent names	4-7
<i>The History of Moses :—</i>	
He sees the burning bush	8-10
God speaks to him out of the fire	11, 12
He is chosen and instructed by God	13, 14
A day of judgment will surely come	15-17
God bestows on him signs and miracles	18-24
He is commanded to go to Pharaoh	25
Moses prays for the assistance of Aaron	26-35
God reminds Moses of former favours	36-42
He is sent with Aaron to Pharaoh	43-50
Conversation between Pharaoh and Moses	51-57
Pharaoh rejects Moses and accuses him of imposture	58, 59
Pharaoh proposes to meet Moses and Aaron with counter- miracles	60-62
Moses warns the magicians against deception	63, 64
The magicians dispute among themselves	65
They counsel Pharaoh against Moses	66
Pharaoh encourages the magicians to do their best	67
The contest between Moses and the magicians	68-72
The magicians are converted	73
Pharaoh threatens the magicians with dire punishment	74, 75
The magicians defy the wrath of Pharaoh, and express hope in God	75-78
God commands Moses to lead the Israelites through the Red Sea	79, 80
Pharaoh pursues them, and is overwhelmed by the sea	81
God feeds the Israelites on manna and quails in the desert	82, 83

	VERSES
God's treatment of the unbelieving and penitent	83, 84
The Israelites worship a golden calf	85-87
Moses reproaches them with idolatry	88-89
They lay the blame on al Sámiri	90, 91
The people disobey Aaron	92, 93
Moses rebukes Aaron—his apology	94, 95
Sámiri's explanation of his conduct	96
Sámiri's doom to social ostracism	97, 98
The penalty of rejecting God's revelations	97-101
The resurrection and the conduct of those judged on the judgment-day	102-107
No intercession on that day, except by permission	108
The fate of the wicked and reward of the righteous	109-111
The Qurán made easy for Muhammad, but he is not to be hasty in repeating it	112, 113
<i>The Story of Adam:—</i>	
Adam disobeys God	114
All the angels worship Adam except Iblis	115
Adam warned against Satan	116, 117
Satan beguiles Adam and Eve	118, 119
God pardons, but expels them from Paradise	120, 121
An admonition promised, with penalty of rejection of it	122-124
Infidels will appear in the judgment blind, and reasons for blindness!	125-127
The Makkans warned	128, 129
Muhammad comforted and encouraged	130-132
The Jews demand a sign, and the Quraish disbelieve	133, 134
God directs Muhammad to proclaim his readiness to wait the final issue of the controversy between them	135

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

|| (1) T. H. We have not sent down the Qurán unto ^{NISF.} thee that thou shouldest be unhappy; (2) but for an R $\frac{1}{10}$.

(1) T. H. "The signification of these letters, which, being prefixed to the chapter, are therefore taken for the title, is uncertain. (Prelim. Disc, p. 100.) Some, however, imagine they stand for *Yá rajul*, i.e., *O man!* which interpretation, seeming not easily to be accounted for from the Arabic, is by a certain tradition deduced from the Ethiopic (Muham. Ibn Abdul Baki, *ex trad.* Acremæ Ibn Abi Suhán); or for *Ta*, i.e., *tread*, telling us that Muhammad, being employed in watching and prayer the night this passage was

admonition unto him who feareth *God*: (3) being sent down from him who created the earth and the lofty heavens. (4) The Merciful sitteth on *his* throne: (5) unto him *belongeth* whatsoever is in heaven and on earth, and whatsoever is between them, and whatsoever is under the earth. (6) If thou pronounce *thy prayers* with a loud voice, *know that it is not necessary in respect to God*; for he knoweth that which is secret, and what is yet more hidden. (7) *GOD!* there is no *GOD* but he; he hath most excellent names. (8) Hast thou been informed of the history of Moses? (9) When he saw fire, and said unto his family, Tarry ye *here*; for I perceive fire: (10) peradventure I may bring you a brand thereout, or may find

revealed, stood on one foot only, but was hereby commanded to ease himself by setting both feet to the ground. Others fancy the first letter stands for *Tāba*, *beatitudo*; and the latter for *Harriyat*, the name of the lower apartment of hell. *Tah* is also an interjection commanding silence, and may properly enough be used in this place.”—*Salé*.

Unhappy. “Either by reason of thy zealous solicitude for the conversion of the infidels, or thy fatiguing thyself by watching and other religious exercises; for, it seems, the Quraish urged the extraordinary fatigues he underwent in those respects as the consequence of his having left their religion.”—*Salé*, *Baidhāwi*.

(6) *If thou pronounce . . . with a loud voice*. One of the points of controversy between the orthodox or Sunni sect of Muslims and the Indian Wahábis, commonly called Ghair Mukallad, or Anti-authoritists (*i.e.*, they refuse to recognise the authority of the Muslim fathers, so to speak, regarding the Qurán alone as inspired; tradition having merely historical value in matters of doctrine), is that the latter repeat the “Amen” with a loud voice, while the orthodox say it in a whisper. This verse favours the orthodox view, though the example of the Prophet (as witnessed to by this verse) is on the side of the Wahábis. The latter, of course, deny that *pronouncing* the name of God is here prohibited.

(7) *He hath most excellent names*. See chap. vii. 181, and xvii. 110, and notes there.

(8) “The relation of the story of Moses, which takes up the greatest part of this chapter, was designed to encourage Muhammad, by his example, to discharge the prophetic office with firmness of mind, as being assured of receiving the like assistance from God; for it is said this chapter was one of the first that were revealed.”

(9) *When he saw fire*. Compare this and the following verses with Exod. iii. 1-6, to see how far the Qurán comes short of confirming the Pentateuch.

a direction *in our way* by the fire. (11) And when he was come near unto it, *a voice* called unto him, *saying*, O Moses, (12) verily I am thy LORD: wherefore put off thy shoes; for thou art in the sacred valley Tuwá. (13) And I have chosen thee; therefore hearken with attention unto that which is revealed *unto thee*. (14) Verily I am GOD; there is no god besides me; wherefore worship me, and perform *thy* prayer in remembrance of me. (15) Verily the hour cometh: I will surely manifest the same, (16) that every soul may receive its reward for that which it hath deliberately done. (17) Let not him who believeth not therein, and who followeth his lust, prevent thee from *believing in* the same, lest thou perish. (18) Now what *is* that in thy right hand, O Moses? (19) He answered, It is my rod whereon I lean, and with which I beat down leaves for my flock; and I have other uses for it. (20) *God* said *unto him*, Cast it down, O Moses. (21) And he cast it down, and behold, it *became* a serpent, which ran about. (22) *God* said, Take hold on it, and

(10) *A direction in our way.* "The commentators say that Moses having obtained leave of Shuah, or Jethro, his father-in-law, to visit his mother, departed with his family from Midian towards Egypt; but coming to the valley of Tuwá, wherein Mount Sinai stands, his wife fell in labour, and was delivered of a son in a very dark and snowy night; he had also lost his way, and his cattle were scattered from him; when on a sudden he saw a fire by the side of a mountain, which, on his nearer approach, he found burning in a green bush."—*Sale, Baidhāwī.*

(12) *Put off thy shoes.* "This was a mark of humility and respect: though some fancy there was some uncleanness in the shoes themselves, because they were made of the skin of an ass not dressed."—*Sale, Baidhāwī.*

Tuwá. See note above on ver. 10.

(16) *Deliberately done*, literally, *performs with effort*.

(19) *Other uses.* "As to drive away wild beasts from my flock, to carry my bottle of water on, to stick up and hang my upper garment on, to shade me from the sun; and several other uses enumerated by the commentators."—*Sale.*

(21) *A serpent.* "Which was at first no bigger than the rod, but afterwards swelled to a prodigious size."—*Sale, Baidhāwī.*

See note on chap. vii. 107.

fear not: we will reduce it to its former condition. (23) And put thy *right* hand under thy *left* arm: it shall come forth white, without any hurt. (24) *This shall be* another sign: that we may show thee *some* of our greatest signs. (25) Go unto Pharaoh: for he is exceedingly impious. (26) Moses answered, LORD, enlarge my breast,

R $\frac{2}{11}$

|| (27) And make what thou hast commanded me easy unto me: (28) and loose the knot of my tongue, (29) that they may understand my speech. (30) And give me a counsellor of my family, (31) *namely*, Aaron my brother. (32) Gird up my loins by him, (33) and make him my colleague in the business: (34) that we may praise thee greatly, and may remember thee often; (35) for thou regardest us. (36) *God* replied, Now hast thou obtained thy request, O Moses: (37) and we have heretofore been gracious unto thee another time, (38) when we revealed unto thy mother that which was revealed *unto her*, (39) *saying*, Put him into the ark, and cast him into the river, and the

(22) *Fear not*. "When Moses saw the serpent move about with great nimbleness, and swallow stones and trees, he was greatly terrified, and fled from it; but recovering his courage at these words of God, he had the boldness to take the serpent by the jaws."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*.

(23) See note on chap. vii. 108.

(26) *Enlarge my breast*. Abdul Qádir says this expression means that he should have control of his temper.

(28) *Loose the knot of my tongue*. "For Moses had an impediment in his speech, which was occasioned by the following accident. Pharaoh one day carrying him in his arms when a child, he suddenly laid hold of his beard, and plucked it in a very rough manner, which put Pharaoh into such a passion that he ordered him to be put to death: but Aishía, his wife, representing to him that he was but a child, who could not distinguish between a burning coal and a ruby, he ordered the experiment to be made; and a live coal and a ruby being set before Moses, he took the coal and put it into his mouth, and burnt his tongue; and thereupon he was pardoned. This is a Jewish story a little altered. (*Vide* Shalsh. Hakkab., p. 11.)"—Sale.

(30) *A counsellor*. The original word is *wazir*, meaning a *prime minister*. The Qurán here (vers. 31–35) contradicts Exod. iv. 10–17.

(38) "The commentators are not agreed by what means this revelation was made, whether by private inspiration, by a dream, by a prophet, or by an angel."—Sale.

(39) *The ark*. "The commentators say that his mother accord-

river shall throw him on the shore; *and* my enemy and his enemy shall take him *and bring him up*; and I bestowed on thee love from me, (40) that thou mightest be bred up under my eye. (41) When thy sister went and said, Shall I bring you unto one who will nurse *the child*? So we returned thee unto thy mother, that her mind might be set at ease, and that she might not be afflicted. And thou slewest a soul, and we delivered thee from trouble; and we proved thee by *several* trials: (42) and *afterwards* thou didst dwell some years among the inhabitants of Madian. Then thou camest *hither* according to *our* decree, O Moses; (43) and I have chosen thee for myself; (44)

ingly made an ark of the *papyrus*, and pitched it, and put in some cotton; and having laid the child therein, committed it to the river, a branch of which went into Pharaoh's garden; that the stream carried the ark thither into a fishpond, at the head of which Pharaoh was then sitting with his wife Aishia, the daughter of Muzahim; and that the king, having commanded that it be taken up and opened, and finding in it a beautiful child, took a fancy to it, and ordered it to be brought up.

"Some writers mention a miraculous preservation of Moses before he was put into the ark, and tell us that his mother having hid him from Pharaoh's officers in an oven, his sister, in her mother's absence, kindled a large fire in the oven to heat it, not knowing the child was there, but that he was afterwards taken out unhurt."—*Sale, Baidhawi, and Abul Fida.*

I bestowed on thee love. "That is, I inspired the love of thee into the hearts of those who saw thee, and particularly into the heart of Pharaoh."—*Sale.*

(41) *One who will nurse.* "The Muhammadans pretend that several nurses were brought, but the child refused to take the breast of any, till his sister Miriam, who went to learn news of him, told them she would find a nurse, and brought his mother."—*Sale, Baidhawi.*

We delivered thee. "Moses killed an Egyptian in defence of an Israelite, and escaped the danger of being punished for it by flying to Midian, which was eight days' journey distant from Misr.

"The Jews pretend he was actually imprisoned for the fact, and condemned to be beheaded, but that, when he should have suffered, his neck became as hard as ivory, and the sword rebounded on the executioner (Shalsh. Hakkab., p. 11)."—*Sale, Baidhawi.*

Several trials. "For he was obliged to abandon his country and his friends, and to travel several days, in great terror and want of necessary provisions, to seek a refuge among strangers; and was afterwards forced to serve for hire to gain a livelihood."—*Sale.*

(42) *Some years.* Baidhawi says ten years.

wherefore go thou and thy brother with my signs ; and be not negligent in remembering me. (45) Go ye unto Pharaoh, for he is excessively impious : (46) and speak mildly unto him ; peradventure he will consider, or will fear *our threats*. (47) They answered, O LORD, verily we fear lest he be precipitately violent against us, or lest he transgress *more exorbitantly*. (48) God replied, Fear not ; for I am with you : I will hear and will see. (49) Go ye therefore unto him, and say, Verily we are the messengers of thy LORD : wherefore send the children of Israel with us, and do not afflict them. Now are we come unto thee with a sign from thy LORD : and peace be upon him who shall follow the *true* direction. (50) Verily it hath been revealed unto us that a punishment *shall be inflicted* on him who shall charge *us* with imposture, and shall turn back. (51) *And when they had delivered their message*, Pharaoh said, Who is your LORD, O Moses ? (52) He answered, Our LORD is he who giveth all things : he hath created them, and directeth them *by his providence*. (53) Pharaoh said, What therefore is the condition of the former generations ? (54) Moses answered, The knowledge thereof is with my LORD, in the book of *his decrees* ; my LORD erreth not, neither doth he forget. (55) *It is he* who hath spread the earth as a bed for you, and hath made you paths therein ; and who sendeth down rain from heaven, whereby we cause various kinds of vegetables to spring forth : (56) *saying*, Eat of *part*, and feed

(44) *Thy brother*. "Aaron being by this time come out to meet his brother, either by divine inspiration, or having notice of his design to return to Egypt."—Sale, Baidhāwi.

(46) *Peradventure he will consider*. This contradicts Exod. iii. 19, 20.

(50) *Charge us with imposture*. See note on chap. iii. p. 185.

(53) *The condition, i.e.*, "as to happiness or misery after death."—Sale.

Rodwell understands the reference to be to the creed, meaning that past generations have always worshipped differently from Moses and his people.

(54-57) The discourse of Moses was of a kind with the preaching of Muhammad to the infidel Quraish.

your cattle *with other part thereof*. Verily herein are signs unto those who are endued with understanding.

|| (57) Out of *the ground* have we created you; and to R $\frac{3}{12}$
 the same will we cause you to return, and we will bring you forth from thence another time. (58) And we showed *Pharaoh* all our signs *which we had empowered Moses to perform*: but he accused *him* of imposture, and refused to believe; (59) and he said, Art thou come unto us that thou mayest dispossess us of our land by thy enchantments, O Moses? (60) Verily we will meet thee with the like enchantments; wherefore fix an appointment between us and thee; we will not fail it, neither shalt thou, in an equal place. (61) *Moses* answered, Let your appointment be on the day of *your* solemn feast; and let the people be assembled in open day. (62) And *Pharaoh* turned away *from Moses*, and gathered together *the most expert magicians to execute* his stratagem; and then came to the appointment. (63) *Moses* said unto them, Woe be unto you! do not devise a lie against GOD, (64) lest he utterly destroy you by some judgment: for he shall not prosper who deviseth lies. (65) *And the magicians* disputed concerning their affair among themselves, and discoursed in private: (66) and they said, These two are certainly magicians: they seek to dispossess you of your land by their sorcery; and to lead away *with them* your chiefest and most considerable men. (67) Wherefore collect *all* your cunning, and then come in order: for he shall prosper this day who shall be superior. (68) They said, O *Moses*, whether wilt thou cast down *thy rod first*, or shall we be the first who cast down *our rods*? (69)

(59) See notes on chap. vii. pp. 124, 128.

(61) *Your solemn feast*. "Which," says Sale, "was probably the first day of their new year."

(63) *Do not devise a lie*. "By saying the miracles performed in his name are the effects of magic."—Sale. This was the charge of the Quarish against Muhammad, who said his revelations were the product of magic.

(65–81) See notes on parallel passage, chap. vii. 109–136.

He answered, Do ye cast down *your rods first*. And behold, their cords and their rods appeared unto him, by their enchantment, to run about *like serpents*; (70) wherefore Moses conceived fear in his heart. (71) *But* we said *unto him*, Fear not; for thou shalt be superior; (72) therefore cast down *the rod* which is in thy right hand, and it shall swallow up *the seeming serpents* which they have made: for what they have made is only the deceit of an enchanter; and an enchanter shall not prosper, whithersoever he cometh. (73) And the magicians, *when they saw the miracle which Moses performed*, fell down and worshipped, saying, We believe in the LORD of Aaron and of Moses. (74) *Pharaoh* said *unto them*, Do ye believe in him before I give you permission? Verily this is your master, who hath taught you magic. But I will surely cut off your hands and your feet on the opposite sides; and I will crucify you on trunks of palm-trees: and ye shall know which of us is more severe in punishing, and can longer protract *your pains*. (75) They answered, We will by no means have greater regard unto thee than unto those evident miracles which have been shown us, or than unto him who hath created us. Pronounce therefore that sentence *against us* which thou art about to pronounce; for thou canst only give sentence *as to* this present life. Verily we believe in our LORD, that he may forgive us our sins, and the sorcery which thou hast forced us to *exercise*: for GOD is better *to reward*, and more able to prolong *punishment than thou*. (76) Verily whosoever shall appear before his LORD *on the day of judgment* polluted with crimes, shall have hell *for his reward*; he shall not die therein, neither shall he live. (77) But whoever shall appear before him, *having been* a true believer, and shall have worked righteousness, for these *are prepared* the highest degrees *of happiness*, (78) *namely*, gardens of perpetual abode, which shall be watered by rivers; they shall remain therein for ever: and this shall be the reward of him who shall be pure.

|| (79) And we spake by revelation unto Moses, *saying*, ^{SUTS.} **R** $\frac{4}{13}$. Go forth with my servants *out of Egypt* by night, and smite *the waters with thy rod*, and make them a dry path through the sea: (80) be not apprehensive of *Pharaoh's* overtaking *thee*, neither be thou afraid. (81) And *when Moses had done so* Pharaoh followed them with his forces, and *the waters* of the sea overwhelmed them. And Pharaoh caused his people to err, neither did he direct *them aright*. (82) Thus, O children of Israel, we delivered you from your enemy, and we appointed you the right side of Mount *Sinai to discourse with Moses and to give him the law*, and we caused manna and quails to descend upon you, (83) *saying*, Eat of the good things which we have given you for food, and transgress not therein lest my indignation fall on you; and on whomsoever my indignation shall fall he shall go down headlong *into perdition*. (84) But I *will be gracious* unto him who shall repent and believe, and shall do that which is right, and *who* shall be rightly directed. (85) What hath caused thee to hasten from thy people, O Moses, *to receive the law*? (86) He answered, *These follow close* on my footsteps, but I have hastened unto thee, O LORD, that thou mightest be well pleased *with me*. (87) *God said*, We have already made a trial of thy people since *thy departure*, and al Sámiri hath seduced

(79) *A dry path*. "The expositors add that the sea was divided into twelve separate paths, one for each tribe—a fable borrowed from the Jews (*vide* R. Eliezer, *Pirke*, chap. xlii)."—Sale.

(82) *Manna and quails*. See note on chap. ii. 56.

(83) *Transgress not*. "By ingratitude, excess, or insolent behaviour."—Sale.

(84) *Repent . . . believe . . . and . . . do . . . right*. See note on chap. ii. 61.

(85) *What caused thee to hasten*. "For Moses, it seems, outwent the seventy elders who had been chosen in obedience to the divine command to accompany him to the mount, and appeared before God while they were at some, though no great distance, behind him."—Sale.

(87) *A trial of thy people*. "They continued in the worship of the true God for the first twenty days of Moses' absence, which, by taking the nights also into their reckoning, they computed to be forty, and at their expiration concluded they had stayed the full

them *to idolatry*. (88) Wherefore Moses returned unto his people in great wrath, and exceedingly afflicted. (89) *And* he said, O my people, had not your LORD promised you a most excellent promise? Did the time *of my absence* seem long unto you? Or did ye desire that indignation from your LORD should fall on you, and therefore failed to keep the promise which ye made me? (90) They answered, We have not failed in what we promised thee of our own authority, but we were made to carry in *several* loads of *gold and silver*, of the ornaments of the people, and we cast them *into the fire*; and in like manner al

time which Moses had commanded them, and so fell into the worship of the golden calf."—*Sale, Baidhāwī*.

Al Sāmīrī. "This was not his proper name, but he had this appellation because he was of a certain tribe among the Jews called Samaritans (wherein the Muhammadans strangely betray their ignorance in history), though some say he was a proselyte, but a hypocritical one, and originally of Kirmān, or some other country. His true name was Moses, or Músa Ibn Dhafar.

"Selden is of opinion that this person was no other than Aaron himself (who was really the maker of the calf), and that he is here called al Sāmīrī, from the Hebrew verb *shamar*, to *keep* (Selden, *De Diis Syris*, Synt. i. chap. 4), because he was the *keeper* or *guardian* of the children of Israel during his brother's absence in the mount; which is a very ingenious conjecture, not absolutely inconsistent with the text of the Qurān (though Muhammad seems to have mistaken al Sāmīrī for the name of a different person), and offers a much more probable origin of that appellation than to derive it, as the Muhammadans do, from the Samaritans, who were not formed into a people, nor bore that name, till many ages after."—*Sale*.

See also note on chap. ii. 50, and Rodwell *in loco*.

(88) *Moses returned*, viz., "after he had completed his forty days' stay in the mount, and had received the law."—*Sale*.

(89) *A most excellent promise*, i.e., "the law, containing a light and certain direction to guide you in the right way."—*Sale*.

(90) *Ornaments of the people*. "These ornaments were rings, bracelets, and the like, which the Israelites had borrowed of the Egyptians, under pretence of decking themselves out for some feast, and had not returned to them; or, as some think, what they had stripped from the dead bodies of the Egyptians cast on shore by the sea, and al Sāmīrī, conceiving them unlawful to be kept, and the occasion of much wickedness, persuaded Aaron to let him collect them from the people; which being done, he threw them all into the fire to melt them down into one mass."

"It is observable that Muhammadans generally suppose the cast metal's coming forth in the shape of a calf was beside the expecta-

Sámirí also cast in *what he had collected*, and he produced unto them a corporeal calf, which lowed. And al Sámirí and his companions said, This is your god and the god of Moses, but he hath forgotten *him, and is gone to seek some other*. (91) Did they not therefore see that *their idol* returned them no answer, and was not able to cause them either hurt or profit?

|| (92) And Aaron had said unto them before, O my people, verily ye are only proved by this calf, for your LORD is the Merciful, wherefore follow me and obey my command. (93) They answered, We will by no means cease to be devoted to its *worship* until Moses return unto us. (94) *And when Moses was returned*, he said, O Aaron, what hindered thee, when thou sawest that they went astray, that thou didst not follow me? Hast thou therefore been disobedient to my command? (95) Aaron answered, O son of my mother, drag *me* not by the beard, nor by *the hair of my head*. Verily, I feared lest thou

tion of al Sámirí, who had not made a mould of that figure, and that when Aaron excuses himself to his brother in the Pentateuch, he seems as if he would persuade him it was an accident" (Exod. xxxii. 24).—*Salé, Baidháwi*.

Corporeal calf. See note on chap. vii. 148.

(91) *No answer*. But in ver. 90 and chap. vii. 148 it is said that the calf lowed, and all the commentators, copying the Jewish traditions, say that Sámirí casting into the molten metal some of the dust of the feet of Gabriel's horse (see note below in ver. 96), caused the calf to live and to low. Both Jews and Muslims have failed to perceive that the sin of the Israelites was not due to any kind of Satanic beguilement, but due to a return to the Egyptian idolatry from which they had been so lately delivered.

Let it be observed that this garbling of Jewish history and tradition is represented here as coming from God by direct revelation.

(94) *What hindered thee*. "By these words Moses reprehends Aaron for not seconding his zeal in taking arms against the idolaters, or for not coming after him to the mountain to acquaint him with their rebellion."—*Salé*.

Disobedient to my command, i.e., to preserve the people from apostacy during Moses' absence from the camp.

(95) *Drag me not by the beard*. See note on chap. vii. 150.

I feared lest, &c., i.e., "lest if I had taken arms against the worshippers of the calf, thou shouldest say that I had raised a sedition; or if I had gone after thee, thou shouldest blame me for abandoning my charge, and not waiting thy return to rectify what was amiss."—*Salé*.

shouldst say thou hast made a division among the children of Israel, and thou hast not observed my saying. (96) Moses said *unto* al Sámirí, What *was* thy design, O Sámirí? He answered, I saw that which they saw not; wherefore I took a handful of *dust* from the footsteps of the messenger of God, and I cast it *into the molten calf*, for so did my mind direct me. (97) Moses said, Get thee gone, for thy *punishment* in *this* life shall be that thou shalt say *unto those who shall meet thee*, Touch me not; and a threat is *denounced* against thee of *more terrible pains in the life to come*, which thou shalt by no means escape. And behold now thy god, to whose *worship* thou hast continued assiduously devoted; verily we will burn it, and we will reduce it to powder and scatter it in the sea. (98) Your GOD is *the true* GOD, besides whom there is no other god: he comprehendeth all things by *his* knowledge. (99) Thus do we recite unto thee, O Muhammad, relations of

(96) Which they saw not, viz., "that the messenger sent to thee from God was a pure spirit, and that his footsteps gave life to whatever they touched, being no other than the Angel Gabriel mounted on the horse of life, and therefore I made use of the dust of his feet to animate the molten calf. It is said al Sámirí knew the angel, because he had saved and taken care [of him when a child, and exposed by his mother for fear of Pharaoh."—Sale, Baidhāwī, Jalāl-uddīn.

A handful of dust. See note on chap. ii. 50, and above on ver. 91.

(97) Thou shalt say . . . touch me not. "Lest they infect thee with a burning fever, for that was the consequence of any man's touching him, and the same happened to the persons he touched; for which reason he was obliged to avoid all communication with others, and was also shunned by them, wandering in the desert like a wild beast."—Baidhāwī.

"Hence it is concluded that a tribe of Samaritan Jews, said to inhabit a certain isle in the Red Sea, are the descendants of our al Sámirí, because it is their peculiar mark of distinction at this day to use the same words, viz., *Lá misás*, i.e., 'Touch me not,' to those they meet (*vide Geogr. Nub.*, p. 45). It is not improbable that this story may owe its rise to the known hatred borne by the Samaritans to the Jews, and their superstitious avoiding to have any commerce with them or any other strangers."—Sale.

We will burn it. "Or, as the word may also be translated, 'We will file it down;' but the other is the more received interpretation."—Sale.

what hath passed heretofore, and we have given thee an admonition from us. (100) He who shall turn aside from it shall surely carry a load *of guilt* on the day of resurrection: (101) they shall continue thereunder *for ever*, and a grievous burden shall it be unto them on the day of resurrection. (102) On *that* day the trumpet shall be sounded, and we will gather the wicked together on that day, having grey eyes. (103) They shall speak with a low voice to one another; *saying*, Ye have not tarried above ten days. (104) We well know what they will say, when the most conspicuous among them for behaviour shall say, Ye have not tarried above one day.

|| (105) They will ask thee concerning the mountains: R $\frac{6}{15}$. Answer, My LORD will reduce them to dust, and scatter them abroad; (106) and he will leave them a plain equally extended: thou shalt see no part of them higher or lower than another. (107) On that day *mankind* shall follow *the angel* who will call *them to judgment*; none shall *have power to* turn aside from him; and *their* voices shall be low before the Merciful; neither shalt thou hear any more than the hollow sound *of their feet*. (108) On that day, the intercession *of none* shall be of advantage *unto another*, except *the intercession* of him to whom the Merciful shall

(101) *A grievous burden.* See note on chap. vi. 30.

(102) *Grey eyes.* "For this with the Arabs is one mark of an enemy, or a person they abominate; to say a man has a black liver (though I think we express our aversion by the term white-livered), reddish whiskers, and grey eyes, being a periphrasis for a foe, and particularly a Greek, which nation were the most inveterate enemies of the Arabs, and have usually hair and eyes of those colours. The original word, however, signifies also those who are squint-eyed, or even blind of a suffusion."—Sale, *Baidhāwī, Jauhari in Lex.*

(103) *Ye have not tarried in the grave.* See notes on chap. xxiii. 103–115, and x. 46.

(105) See Prelim. Disc., p. 135.

(107) *The angel who will call.* See Prelim. Disc., p. 120.

(108) *Intercession.* See notes on chap. ii. 47, vii. 50, and xix. 90. The idea of *intercession* in the Christian sense is logically inconsistent with Islām. The ground of salvation, according to the Qurān, is the confession of faith in the unity of the Godhead and the apostleship of Muhammad, accompanied by the performance of

grant permission, and who shall be acceptable unto him in what he saith. (109) *God* knoweth that which is before them, and that which is behind them; but they comprehend not the same by *their* knowledge: (110) and their faces shall be humbled before the living, the self-subsisting *God*; and he shall be wretched who shall bear *his* iniquity. (111) But whosoever shall do good works, being a true

the duties of Islám, viz., prayer, fasting at stated periods, giving of legal alms, and performance of pilgrimage to Makkah. The obedience required is outward and formal, and the penalties of transgression are all such as are easily atoned for by repentance (see note, chap. ii. 199), or the pronouncing of the declaration of the divine unity. For a man to be a Muslim is to be sure of final salvation. Purgatorial sufferings are to be endured (according to the teaching of tradition), but these will all be ended *before* the final day of judgment. On the contrary, all infidels, hypocrites, and apostates are absolutely condemned to eternal suffering. Now, it is difficult to see what end could be served by the intercession of Muhammad in the judgment-day. So far as true Muslims are concerned, they need no intercession. If it is to bestow a higher degree of reward on certain Muslims than on others, as has been claimed by some of my Muhammadan friends, then the reply still remains, that such rewards will be, as they only can be, strictly in accord with divine justice, otherwise God would show partiality.

Again, so far as non-Muslims are concerned, the day of grace is past, and no intercession can avail for them. Besides, I find no hint anywhere in the Qurán that Muhammad is the intercessor of unbelieving sinners. On the contrary, it proves him to be a sinner, needing intercession himself. See chaps. xlvii. 21, xlviii. 2.

We may therefore boldly say to Muslims, that Muhammad's intercession can be of no use to any one. Sinners need an intercessor NOW, ere death seals their fate as either infidels or believers. But Muhammad lies in the grave at Madína; the dead cannot hear the cry of the living. Besides, his intercession is limited by this verse and many others of like import to the day of judgment.

Let the Christian therefore confidently hold up Jesus—the ascended, the living, and exalted Jesus—as the only intercessor between God and man. The Qurán and tradition admit that he was the only sinless Prophet; that he was of miraculous birth; that he was taken up to heaven, where he now lives; that he will descend and destroy Dajjal, or Antichrist; and that he will rule over the whole world. Surely, this person, of all the prophets of Islám, is alone qualified for the office of intercessor, even on the showing of Islám itself.

(110) *Their faces shall be humbled.* “The original word properly expresses the humility and dejected looks of captives in the presence of their conqueror.”—*Salé*.

believer, shall not fear any injustice, or any diminution of *his reward from God*. (112) And thus have we sent down *this book, being a Qurán in the Arabic tongue*: and we have inserted various threats and promises therein, that *men* may fear *God*, or that it may awaken some consideration in them: (113) wherefore, let *GOD* be highly exalted, the King, the Truth! Be not over-hasty in *receiving or repeating* the Qurán before the revelation thereof be completed unto thee; and say, *LORD*, increase my knowledge. (114) We heretofore gave a command unto Adam; but he forgot *the same, and ate of the forbidden fruit*; and we found not in him a firm resolution.

|| (115) And *remember* when we said unto the angels, R $\frac{7}{16}$
Worship ye Adam; and they worshipped *him*: but Iblís refused. And we said, O Adam, verily this is an enemy unto thee, and thy wife; wherefore, *beware* lest he turn you out of Paradise; for *then* shalt thou be miserable. (116) Verily *we have made a provision* for thee, that thou shalt not hunger therein, neither shalt thou be naked:

(112, 113) "Muhammad is here commanded not to be impatient at any delay in Gabriel's bringing the divine revelations, or not to repeat it too fast after the angel, so as to overtake him before he had finished the passage. But some suppose the prohibition relates to the publishing any verse before the same was perfectly explained to him."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*.

The *Tafsīr-i-Raūfī* gives a tradition, on the authority of Hasn Basri, to the effect that a man struck his wife on the cheek, whereupon she ran to Muhammad seeking for revenge. Muhammad desired to avenge her, and accordingly sought for a command (from God) to do so, when this verse was revealed. Such traditions are fatal to the Muslim claim that Muhammad was at all times inspired, and therefore infallible.

(114) *He forgot*. "Adam's so soon forgetting the divine command has occasioned some Arab etymologists to derive the word *Insān*, i.e., *man*, from *nasiya*, to *forget*, and has also given rise to the following proverbial saying, *Awvalo nāsīn awwalō'nnāsi*; that is, *The first forgetful person was the first of men*, alluding to the like sound of the words."—Sale.

This verse is fatal to the Muslim theory of the sinlessness of the prophets.

(115-122) See notes on parallel passages in chap. ii. 34-37, and chap. vii. 11-26.

(117) and *there is also a provision made* for thee, that thou shalt not thirst therein, neither shalt thou be incommoded by heat. (118) But Satan whispered *evil suggestions* unto him, saying, O Adam, shall I guide thee to the tree of eternity and a kingdom which faileth not? (119) And they both ate thereof: and their nakedness appeared unto them; and they began to sew together the leaves of Paradise, to cover themselves. And *thus* Adam became disobedient unto his LORD, and was seduced. (120) Afterwards his LORD accepted him, *on his repentance*, and was turned unto him, and directed *him*. And (121) God said, Get ye down hence, *all of you*: the one of you *shall be* an enemy unto the other. (122) But hereafter shall a direction come unto you from me: and whosoever shall follow my direction shall not err, neither shall he be unhappy; (123) but whosoever shall turn aside from my admonition, verily he shall *lead* a miserable life, (124) and we will cause him to appear *before us* on the day of resurrection blind. (125) And he shall say, O LORD, why hast thou brought me *before thee* blind, whereas before I saw clearly? (126) God shall answer, Thus *have we done*, because our signs came unto thee, and thou didst forget them; and in the same manner shalt thou be forgotten this day. (127) And thus will we reward him who shall be negligent, and shall not believe in the signs of his LORD: and the punishment of the life to come shall be more severe, and more lasting, *than the punishment of this life*. (128) Are not the *Makkans*, therefore, acquainted how many generations we have destroyed before them; in whose dwellings they walk? Verily herein are signs unto those who are endued with understanding.

R $\frac{8}{17}$. || (129) And unless a decree had previously gone forth from thy LORD *for their respite*, verily *their destruction* had necessarily followed: but there is a certain time deter-

(124) *Blind*. See Prelim. Disc., p. 139.

(128) *In whose dwellings they walk*. "Seeing the footsteps of their destruction; as of the tribes of Ad and Thamūd."—Sale.

mined by God for their punishment. (130) Wherefore, do thou, O Muhammad, patiently bear that which they say ; and celebrate the praise of thy LORD before the rising of the sun, and before the setting thereof, and praise him in the hours of the night, and in the extremities of the day, that thou mayest be well pleased with the prospect of receiving favour from God. (131) And cast not thine eyes on that which we have granted divers of the unbelievers to enjoy, namely, the splendour of this present life, that we may prove them thereby ; for the provision of thy LORD is better and more permanent. (132) Command thy family to observe prayer ; and do thou persevere therein. We require not of thee that thou labour to gain necessary provisions for thyself and family ; we will provide for thee ; for the prosperous issue shall attend on piety. (133) The unbelievers say, Unless he come unto us with a sign from his LORD, we will not believe on him. Hath not a plain declaration come unto them, of that which is contained in

(130) *Extremities of the day, i.e.,* "evening and morning, which times are repeated as the principal hours of prayer. But some suppose these words intend the prayer of noon ; the first half of the day ending, and the second half beginning, at that time."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*, *Jalāluddīn*.

Comp. chap. xxx. 16, 17, and consult note on chap. ii. 238. Muir (*Life of Mahomet*, vol. ii. 267, note) says the interpretation of the *extremities of the day* is in "order to reconcile the passage with the prescribed hours." The original does not favour Sale's idea that the principal hours are here repeated.

(131) *The splendour, i.e.,* "do not envy or covet their pomp and prosperity in this world."—Sale. See notes on chap. xv. 88.

The provision of thy Lord, viz., "the reward laid up for thee in the next life ; or the gift of prophecy, and the revelations with which God has favoured thee."—Sale.

(132) *We will provide for thee.* Muir applies this verse and the one preceding to the straitened circumstances of Muhammad just before the flight to Madīna (*Life of Mahomet*, vol. ii. p. 231).

"It is said that when Muhammad's family were in any strait or affliction, he used to order them to go to prayers, and to repeat this verse."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*.

(133) *Hath not a plain declaration, &c.* The plain meaning of this passage is, that the narratives of sacred history contained in the Qurān are in accord with the sacred records of the Jewish Scriptures.

There is not the slightest ground for the imagination of the com-

the former volumes *of scripture, by the revelation of the Qurán?* (134) If we had destroyed them by a judgment before *the same had been revealed*, they would have said *at the resurrection*, O LORD, *how could we believe*, since thou didst not send unto us an apostle, that we might follow thy signs, before we were humbled and covered with shame? (135) Say, Each *of us wait the issue*; wait, therefore; for ye shall surely know hereafter who *have been* the followers of the even way, and who hath been *rightly* directed.

mentators (*Tafsír-i-Hussaini, Abdul Qádir*) that Muhammad alludes to the prophecies of the Old and New Testaments as referring to his mission.

CHAPTER XXI.

ENTITLED SURAT UL AMBAYA (THE PROPHETS).

Revealed at Makkah.

INTRODUCTION.

THE circumstances of the Muslims at the time this chapter was written have, as usual, determined the style and matter of the "revelations." The Quraish, aided by the Jews, were now active in their resistance to the reformer at Makkah. They scoffed at his revelations, stigmatising them as "a confused heap of dreams," the offspring of sorcery; Muhammad was denounced as "a forger," and his boasted "incomparable" verses were regarded as the ordinary productions of a "poet" (ver. 5).

It is not unreasonable to infer from the character of the persecution of the prophets in former ages described in this chapter, that the Quraish had already threatened Muhammad with violent measures, and were now quite ready to carry their threats into execution (comp. ver. 37 with vers. 66-68). The principal point in the stories of the prophets given here is that the blessing of God rests on the prophets, and that he delivers them out of the hands of their enemies, or avenges their death with dire judgments on their persecutors (see note on vers. 10-15).

The case of Abraham, however, is given with considerable detail. This is one of the prophets with whom Muhammad frequently compared himself in the Qurán. If (with Muir, see note on ver. 18) we regard Muhammad and the Muslims as now exposed to that persecution of the Quraish which resulted in their flight to Madína, and keeping in mind that at this period Muhammad had determined to retire to Madína as soon as the way should be open, we may make the following comparison,—a comparison we believe to have been present in Muhammad's mind at that time—a comparison between Abraham and Muhammad :—

ABRAHAM.

1. Received a revelation for his people (the Chaldeans, ver. 52).
2. Reproaches his father and people for their idolatry (ver. 53).
3. Treats the national idols with contempt, and speaks against them (vers. 54-64).
4. Abraham is tolerated for a while, and hopes for reform (ver. 65).
5. The Chaldeans relapse into former habits and begin to persecute Abraham (ver. 66).
6. The Chaldeans seek Abraham's life (vers. 67, 68).
7. Abraham delivered by divine interference (vers. 69, 70).
8. Abraham and Lot delivered from the Chaldeans and brought into "a land of blessing."

MUHAMMAD.

1. Received a revelation for his people (the Quraish).
2. Reproaches his relatives and the people of Makkah for their idolatry.
3. Treats the national idols with contempt, and preaches against them.
4. Muhammad tolerated for a while, and hopes for reform.
5. The Quraish reject Muhammad and begin to persecute him.
6. The Quraish seek Muhammad's life.
7. Muhammad will receive divine assistance (ver. 112).
8. Muhammad and his companions will be brought safely to Madína.

This chapter is also interesting as illustrating how much of Scripture knowledge Muhammad had already acquired, and how he now moulds it to suit his purpose, and how he *presents it as a revelation from God*, and as a proof of its own inspiration because agreeing, as he declared, with the former Scriptures. No stronger proof of the charge brought against him by the Quraish and the Jews that he was "a forger" could be produced,—his forgery "to be palliated only by the miserable apology of a pious end" (see Muir's *Life of Mahomet*, vol. ii. p. 189).

Probable Date of the Revelations.

From what has already been said, we conclude that this chapter belongs to the latter part of the third stage or ninth year of Muhammad's mission at Makkah. Jaláluddín as Syúti (*Itqán*, 34) thinks ver. 7 to be of Madína origin.

Principal Subjects.

	VERSES
The judgment of careless and mocking Quraish near . . .	1-4
The Makkan people regard Muhammad as "a forger" . . .	5
Miracles not performed by Muhammad because former nations received no benefit from seeing them	6
The former prophets were but mortal men	7, 8
God favours his prophets but judges infidels	9
The Quraish mentioned in the Qurán	10
The unbelieving cities and scoffers destroyed	11-15
God not given to sport	16, 17
The truth must triumph	18

	VERSES
Angels serve God, therefore not to be worshipped . . .	19-22
God is sovereign	23
The great sin of idolatry	24
All apostles testified to God's unity	25
Angels are the daughters of God	26-28
Angelic intercession only by divine permission	29
The doom of angels who usurp divine honours	30
God's works the proof of his divinity	31-34
None immortal but God	35, 36
Muhammad regarded by the Makkans as a scoffer	37
Men hasty to call down divine wrath on themselves	38, 39
Threatened vengeance will descend suddenly	40, 41
The doom of those who mocked former prophets	42, 43
The gods of the idolaters unable to deliver their votaries	44
God will triumph over the infidels	45
Muhammad only a warner	46
The deaf will not hear the warnings of God	47
God will judge righteously	48
Moses and Aaron, like Muhammad, received a revelation	49-51

The Story of Abraham—

He receives a revelation	52
Reproaches his father and people with idolatry	53-57
He devises a plot to destroy the idols	58
He destroys the idols of the Chaldeans	59, 60
He is accused before the people	61, 62
He lays the blame on the largest idol	63, 64
The Chaldeans at first disposed to repent, but they draw back	65, 66
Abraham reproaches them for their idolatry	67
They command him to be burned alive	68
God miraculously delivers him	69, 70
He receives the promise of Isaac and Jacob	71-73
Lot delivered from Sodom	74, 75
Noah delivered from the Flood	76, 77
The persecutors of Noah drowned	77
The wisdom of David and Solomon	78-80
Winds and demons subject to Solomon	81, 82
Job is delivered from his affliction	83, 84
Other prophets receive mercy from God	85-88
Zachariah's prayer answered	89, 90
God's favour to Mary and Jesus	91
The true religion one, but Jews and Christians have sects	92, 93
The faithful certain to be rewarded	94

	VERSES
Infidels to be judged at the resurrection	95-97
Idolaters with their gods to be cast into hell	98-100
The reward of the righteous	101-103
The heavens to be rolled away at the judgment	104
The righteous shall inherit the earth	105, 106
Muhammad proclaims himself to be a warner	107-109
God knoweth the secret thoughts of the infidels	110, 111
God will judge the infidels and show mercy to his prophet	112

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

SEVENTEENTH
SIPARA.

R $\frac{1}{1}$.

|| (1) *The time of giving up* their account draweth nigh unto the people of *Makkah*, while they are *sunk* in negligence, turning aside *from the consideration thereof*. (2) No admonition cometh unto them from their LORD, being lately revealed *in the Qurán*, but when they hear it, they turn it to sport: (3) their hearts *are* taken up with delights. And they who act unjustly discourse privately together, *saying*, Is this *Muhammad* any more than a man like yourselves? Will ye therefore come to *hear* a piece of sorcery, when ye plainly perceive it *to be so*? (4) Say, My LORD knoweth whatever is spoken in heaven and on earth: *it is* he *who* heareth *and* knoweth. (5) But they say, *The Qurán* is a confused heap of dreams: nay, he hath forged it; nay, he is a poet: let him come unto us therefore with some miracle, in like manner as the former *prophets* were sent. (6) None of the cities which we

(5) *A confused heap of dreams.* Pious Muslims say that "the infidels could not understand the Prophet. Blinded by unbelief, the revelations appeared to them now like the ravings of a madman, and again like the wild fancies of a poet." It is to be feared that unbelievers in Islám, reading the earlier Makkan chapters, still hold most of them to be "a confused heap of dreams." However this may be, it is plain that passages like the one under consideration prove indisputably that the miracles of the incomparable verses of the Qurán were no *signs* to Muhammad's contemporaries. See notes on chap. ii. 23, vi. 24, x. 38, and xvii. 90.

He hath forged it. See notes on chap. xvi. 105.

Some miracle. See notes on chap. iii. 185, vi. 34, 36, 49, 109, 111, xi. 32, xiii. 8, xiv. 10, and xvi. 1, 61.

have destroyed believed *the miracles which they saw performed* before them: will these therefore believe, *if they see a miracle?* (7) We sent none *as our apostles* before them, other than men, unto whom we revealed *our will*. Ask those who are acquainted with the Scripture, if ye know not *this*. (8) We gave them not a body *which could be supported* without their eating food; neither were they immortal. (9) But we made good *our promise* unto them: wherefore we delivered them, and those whom we pleased; but we destroyed the exorbitant transgressors. (10) Now have we sent down unto you, *O Quraish*, the book of *the Qurán*, wherein there is *honourable* mention of you: will ye not therefore understand?

|| (11) And how many cities have we overthrown, R $\frac{2}{2}$
which were ungodly; and caused other nations to rise up after them? (12) And when they felt our severe vengeance, behold, they fled swiftly from those *cities*. (13) *And the angels said scoffingly unto them*, Do not fly; but return to that wherein ye delighted, and to your habita-

(6) *None . . . believed*. This was the reason given by Muhammad, in answer to the demand of the Makkans as expressed in the preceding verse, for not working miracles as did the "former prophets." We may certainly infer from this, and other verses of a like character, that Muhammad wrought no miracles; his sole claim was that the Qurán was itself a miracle, and this sign was rejected by the Quraish, as well as by the Jews and Christians. See also notes on chap. ii. 118, 119, iii. 184, and references there.

(7) *Ask those . . . acquainted with the Scripture*. These words imply that the Jews and Christians were in possession of their own Scriptures at this time. The claim is also set up here that the teaching of the Qurán is in strict accordance with that of the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament.

(10-15) The *Tafsir-i-Raufi* refers these verses to the case of a certain city of Yaman called Hazúra, to which a prophet was sent. The people did not believe, but slew him. God in his vengeance sent Nebuchadnezzar to destroy the city, at whose approach the inhabitants fled. A voice from heaven cried, "The prophet is avenged upon you!" the angels also laughed them to scorn, saying, "Do not fly," &c. Sale gives the same story with a little variation. This story sounds like a traditionary account of the destruction of Jerusalem by the Babylonians. The text, however, probably refers to the destruction of Ad, Thamúd, &c.; see chap. xi. 50-68, and Prelim. Disc., pp. 20-23.

tions; peradventure ye will be asked. (14) They answered, Alas for us ! verily we have been unjust. (15) And this their lamentation ceased not until we had rendered them *like* corn which is mown down and utterly extinct. (16) We created not the heavens and the earth, and that which is between them, by way of sport. (17) If we had pleased to take diversion, verily we had taken it with *that which beseemeth* us ; if we had *resolved to have* done this. (18) But we will oppose truth to vanity, and it shall confound the same ; and behold, it shall vanish away. Woe be unto you, for that which ye *impiously* utter *concerning God* ! (19) since whoever *is* in heaven and on earth *is subject* unto him ; and *the angels* who are in his presence do not insolently disdain his service, neither are they tired *therewith*. (20) They praise *him* night and day ; they faint not. (21) Have they taken gods from the earth ? Shall they raise *the dead* to life ? (22) If there were either in

(14) *Peradventure ye will be asked, i.e., "concerning the present posture of affairs, by way of consultation ; or that ye may be examined as to your deeds, that ye may receive the reward thereof."*—Sale, Baidhāwī, Jalāluddīn.

(16) *Not . . . in sport.* "But for the manifestation of our power and wisdom to people of understanding, that they may seriously consider the wonders of the creation, and direct their actions to the attainment of future happiness, neglecting the vain pomp and fleeting pleasures of this world."—Sale.

(17) *Diversion . . . which beseemeth us, viz., "we had sought our pleasure in our own perfections, or in the spiritual beings which are in our immediate presence, and not in raising of material buildings with painted roofs and fine floors, which is the diversion of man.*

"Some think the original word, translated '*diversion*,' signifies in this place a wife or a child, and that the passage is particularly levelled against the Christians."—Sale, Jalāluddīn, Zamakhshari.

If this last be the meaning, then God *may* have a son, but one worthy of his divine nature and consistent with his unity, which is all that Christians claim for Jesus.

(18) *We will oppose truth to vanity.* Rodwell translates, "Nay, we will hurl the truth at falsehood." Muir (*Life of Mahomet*, vol. ii. p. 225) understands these words to express the assurance of ultimate success, notwithstanding the persecutions of the Quraish. "The Lord had given to all his apostles of old the victory, and he would give the same to Mahomet."

heaven or on earth gods beside GOD, verily both would be corrupted. But far be that which they utter from GOD, the LORD of the throne! (23) No account shall be demanded of him for what he shall do; but an account shall be demanded of them. (24) Have they taken *other* gods besides him! Say, Produce your proof *thereof*. This is the admonition of those who *are contemporary* with me, and the admonition of those who *have been* before me, but the greater part of them know not the truth, and turn aside *from the same*. (25) We have sent no apostle before thee, but we revealed unto him that there is no God beside myself; wherefore serve me. (26) They say, The Merciful hath begotten issue, *and the angels are his daughters*. God forbid! They are his honoured servants; (27) they prevent him not in anything which they say, and they execute his command. (28) He knoweth that which is before them, and that which is behind them; they shall not intercede *for any*, (29) except for whom it shall please him; and they tremble for fear of him. (30) Whoever of them shall say, I am a god beside him; that *angel* will we reward with hell: *for* so will we reward the unjust.

(22) *Both would be corrupted.* "That is, the whole creation would necessarily fall into confusion and be overturned by the competition of such mighty antagonists."—Sale.

(24) *The admonition of those . . . before me, i.e.,* "this is the constant doctrine of all the sacred books; not only of the Qurán, but of those which were revealed in former ages, all of them bearing witness to the great and fundamental truth of the unity of God."—Sale.

(26) *The Merciful hath begotten.* "This passage was revealed on account of the Khuzáites, who held the angels to be the daughters of God."—Sale.

See notes on chap. v. 19, 21, ix. 30.

(27) *They prevent him not, &c., i.e.,* "they presume not to say anything until he hath spoken it, behaving as servants who know their duty."—Sale.

(29) *Except for whom it shall please him.* Comp. chap. xix. 90, and chap. xx. 108. It would appear that Muhammad admitted that there would be angelic intercessors on the judgment day, just as there will be human intercessors. On the subject of intercession in general see notes on chaps. ii. 47, vi. 50, and xx. 108.

R 3.

|| (31) Do not the unbelievers therefore know that the heavens and the earth were solid, and we clave the same in sunder, and made every living thing of water? Will they not therefore believe? (32) And we placed stable *mountains* on the earth, lest it should move with them; and we made broad passages between them for paths, that they might be directed *in their journeys*: (33) and we made the heaven a roof well supported. Yet they turn aside from the signs thereof, *not considering that they are the workmanship of God*. (34) It is he who hath created the night, and the day, and the sun, and the moon; all *the celestial bodies* move swiftly, *each in its respective orb*. (35) We have not granted unto any man before thee *eternal permanency in this world*; if thou die, therefore, will they be immortal? (36) Every soul shall taste of death: and we will prove you with evil and with good, for a trial *of you*; and unto us shall ye return. (37) When the unbelievers see thee, they receive thee only with scoffing, *saying, Is this he who mentioneth your gods with contempt*? Yet themselves believe not what is mentioned *to them* of the Merciful. (38) Man is created of precipitation. Hereafter will I show you my

(31) *We clave the same in sunder*. "That is, they were one continued mass of matter, till we separated them, and divided the heaven into seven heavens, and the earth into as many stories; and distinguished the various orbs of the one, and the different climates of the other, &c. Or, as some choose to translate the words, 'The heavens and the earth were shut up, and we opened the same;' their meaning being, that the heavens did not rain, nor the earth produce vegetables, till God interposed his power."—Sale, Baidhāwī, Jalāluddīn.

(32) See note on chap. xvi. 15.

(35) *If thou die, &c.* Sale says, "This passage was revealed when the infidels said, 'We expect to see Muhammad die like the rest of mankind.'"

(36) *Every soul shall taste death*. See note on chap. iii. 186. Comp. Matt. xvi. 28; Heb. ii. 9.

(37) *Yet themselves believe not, &c.* "Denying his unity, or rejecting his apostles and the scriptures which were given for their instruction, and particularly the Qurán."—Sale.

(38) *Precipitation*. "Being hasty and inconsiderate. It is said this passage was revealed on account of al Nadhar Ibn al Hārith,

signs, so that ye shall not wish them to be hastened. (39) They say, *When will this threat be accomplished, if ye speak truth?* (40) If they who believe not knew *that the time will surely come* when they shall not be able to drive back the fire of hell from their faces, nor from their backs, neither shall they be helped, *they would not hasten it.* (41) But *the day of vengeance* shall come upon them suddenly, and shall strike them with astonishment: they shall not be able to avert it, neither shall they be respited. (42) *Other* apostles have been mocked before thee; but the *punishment* which they scoffed at fell upon such of them as mocked.

|| (43) Say *unto the scoffers*, Who shall save you by R $\frac{4}{4}$ night and by day from the Merciful? Yet they utterly neglect the remembrance of their LORD. (44) Have they gods who will defend them, besides us? They are not able to help themselves; neither shall they be assisted against us by their companions. (45) But we have permitted these *men* and their fathers to enjoy *worldly prosperity* so long as life was continued unto them. Do they not perceive that we come unto the land of the *unbelievers*, and straiten the borders thereof? Shall they therefore be the conquerors? (46) Say, I only preach unto you the revelation of *God*: but the deaf will not hear *thy* call, whenever they are preached unto. (47) Yet if *the least* breath of the punishment of thy LORD touch them, they will surely say, *Alas for us!* verily we have been unjust. (48) We will appoint just balances for the day of resur-

when he desired Muhammad to hasten the divine vengeance with which he threatened the unbelievers."—*Salé, Bairdhāwi.*

See also note on chap. xvii. 12.

(42) "These words were for the comfort of the Prophet when scoffed at by the unbelievers of Makkah."—*Tafsīr-i-Raṣfī.*

(45) *We come unto the land . . . and straiten the borders.* Rodwell regards this as an appeal to the rapid progress of Islām in proof of the truth of Islām. I can see nothing in the text to substantiate this position. Surely the progress of Islām up to this point had not been sufficient to justify such a claim. The allusion is rather to the straitening of divine judgments.

(48) See note on chap. vii. 8.

rection ; neither shall any soul be injured at all : although *the merit or guilt of an action* be of the weight of a grain of mustard-seed *only*, we will produce it *publicly* ; and there will be sufficient accountants with us. (49) We formerly gave unto Moses and Aaron the *law, being a distinction between good and evil*, and a light and admonition unto the pious ; (50) who fear their LORD in secret, and who dread the hour *of judgment*. (51) And this *book also is a blessed admonition*, which we have sent down *from heaven* : will ye therefore deny it ?

R $\frac{5}{5}$. || (52) And we gave unto Abraham his direction heretofore, and we knew him *to be worthy of the revelations wherewith he was favoured*. (53) Remember when he said unto his father and his people, What are these images, to which ye are *so entirely devoted* ? (54) They answered, We found our fathers worshipping them. (55) He said, Verily both ye and your fathers have been in a manifest error. (56) They said, Dost thou *seriously* tell us the truth, or art thou one who jestest *with us* ? (57) He replied, Verily your LORD is the LORD of the heavens and the earth ; *it is he* who hath created them : and I am *one* of those who bear witness thereof. (58) By GOD, I will surely devise a plot against your idols, after ye shall have retired *from them*, and shall have turned your backs. (59) And *in the people's absence he went into the temple where the idols stood, and he brake them all in pieces, except the biggest of them, that they might lay the blame upon*

(49) *A distinction*. In the original *furgân*. See note on chap. ii. 52, and Prelim. Disc., p. 97.

(52) *We gave unto Abraham his direction*, viz., "the ten books of divine revelations which were given him." See Prelim. Disc., p. 122.

(53) See notes on chap. vi. 75, and chap. xix. 43-50.

(59) *Except the biggest, &c.* "Abraham took his opportunity to do this while the Chaldeans were abroad in the fields celebrating a great festival ; and some say he hid himself in the temple : and when he had accomplished his design, that he might the more evidently convince them of their folly in worshipping them, he hung the axe with which he had hewn and broken down the images on the neck of the chief idol, named by some writers Baal, as if he had

that. (60) *And when they were returned, and saw the havoc which had been made, they said, Who hath done this to our gods? He is certainly an impious person.* (61) *And certain of them answered, We heard a young man speak reproachfully of them: he is named Abraham.* (62) They said, Bring him therefore before the people, that they may bear witness *against him.* (63) *And when he was brought before the assembly, they said unto him, Hast thou done this unto our gods, O Abraham?* (64) He answered, Nay, that biggest of them hath done it: but ask them, if they *can* speak. (65) And they returned unto themselves, and said *the one to the other, Verily ye are the impious persons.* (66) Afterwards they relapsed into their former obstinacy, *and said, Verily thou knowest that these speak not.*

|| (67) *Abraham answered, Do ye therefore worship,* RUBA. *besides GOD, that which cannot profit you at all, neither can it hurt you? Fie on you: and upon that which ye worship besides GOD! Do ye not understand?* (68) They said, Burn him, and avenge your gods: if ye do

been the author of all the mischief. For this story, which, though it be false, is not ill invented, Muhammad stands indebted to the Jews, who tell it with a little variation: for they say Abraham performed this exploit in his father's shop, during his absence; that Terah, on his return, demanding the occasion of the disorder, his son told him that the idols had quarrelled and fallen together by the ears about an offering of fine flour, which had been brought them by an old woman; and that the father, finding he could not insist on the impossibility of what Abraham pretended without confessing the impotence of his gods, fell into a violent passion, and carried him to Nimrod, that he might be exemplarily punished for his insolence." (See *Schals. Hakob*, 2: *Muimou de Idol*, chap. i.)—*Sale, Baidhawi.*

(65) *Returned unto themselves.* They saw their folly.

(66) *Relapsed into their former obstinacy;* literally, *they were turned down upon their heads.*

(68) *Burn him, &c.* "Perceiving they could not prevail against Abraham by dint of argument, says Al Baidhawi, they had recourse to persecution and torments. The same commentator tells us the person who gave this counsel was a Persian Kurd named Hayyún, and that the earth opened and swallowed him up alive; some, however, say it was Andeshán, a Magian priest; and others,

this it will be well. And when Abraham was cast into the burning pile, (69) we said, O fire, be thou cold, and a preservation unto Abraham. (70) And they sought to lay a plot against him; but we caused them to be the sufferers. (71) And we delivered him and Lot, by

that it was Nimrod himself."—Sale, on authority of D'Herbel., *Bibl. Orient.*, art. DHOKAK, et Schultens, *Indic. Geogr. in Vit. Saladinii*, voce *Curdi*.

(69) *We said, O fire, &c.* "The commentators relate that, by Nimrod's order, a large space was enclosed at Kuthá, and filled with a vast quantity of wood, which being set on fire, burned so fiercely that none dared to venture near it: then they bound Abraham, and putting him into an engine (which some suppose to have been of the devil's invention), shot him into the midst of the fire, from which he was preserved by the Angel Gabriel, who was sent to his assistance; the fire burning only the cords with which he was bound (*Baidhāwi*, *Jaláluddín*.)

"They add that the fire having miraculously lost its heat, in respect to Abraham, became an odoriferous air, and that the pile changed to a pleasant meadow; though it raged so furiously otherwise, that according to some writers, about two thousand of the idolaters were consumed by it (*MS. Gospel of Barnabas*, chap. xxviii.)

"This story seems to have had no other foundation than that passage of Moses where God is said to have brought Abraham out of Ur of the Chaldees, misunderstood: which words the Jews, the most trifling interpreters of Scripture, and some moderns who have followed them, have translated out of the fire of the Chaldees; taking the word *Ur*, not for the proper name of a city, as it really is, but for an appellative, signifying fire. However, it is a fable of some antiquity, and credited, not only by the Jews, but by several of the Eastern Christians; the twenty-fifth of the second *Canún*, or January, being set apart in the Syrian calendar for the commemoration of Abraham's being cast into the fire (Hyde, *De Rel. Vet. Pers.*, p. 73).

"The Jews also mention some other persecutions which Abraham underwent on account of his religion, particularly a ten years' imprisonment; some saying he was imprisoned by Nimrod, and others, by his father Terah."—Sale.

(70) *We caused them to be sufferers.* "Some tell us that Nimrod, on seeing this miraculous deliverance from his palace, cried out that he would make an offering to the God of Abraham; and that he accordingly sacrificed four thousand kine (*Baidhāwi*). But, if he ever relented, he soon relapsed into his former infidelity; for he built a tower that he might ascend to heaven to see Abraham's God; which being overthrown, still persisting in his design, he would be carried to heaven in a chest borne by four monstrous birds; but after wandering for some time through the air, he fell down on a mountain with such a force that he made it

bringing them into the land wherein we have blessed all creatures. (72) And we bestowed on him Isaac and Jacob, as an additional gift; and we made all of them righteous persons. (73) We also made them models of religion, that they might direct *others* by our command: and we inspired into them the doing of good works, and the observance of prayer, and the giving of alms; and they served us. (74) And unto Lot we gave wisdom and knowledge, and we delivered him out of the city which committed filthy crimes, for they were a wicked and insolent people.

|| (75) And we led him into our mercy, for he was R $\frac{6}{8}$.
an upright person. (76) And *remember* Noah, when he called for destruction on his people, before the prophets above mentioned: and we heard him, and delivered him and his family from a great strait; (77) and we protected him from the people who accused our signs of

shake, whereto (as some fancy) a passage in the Qurán (chap. xiv. 47) alludes, which may be translated, 'although their contrivances be such as to make the mountains tremble.'

"Nimrod, disappointed in his design of making war with God, turned his arms against Abraham, who, being a great prince, raised forces to defend himself; but God, dividing Nimrod's subjects, and confounding their language, deprived him of the greater part of his people, and plagued those who adhered to him by swarms of gnats, which destroyed almost all of them; and one of those gnats having entered into the nostril or ear of Nimrod, penetrated to one of the membranes of his brain, where, growing bigger every day, it gave him such intolerable pain that he was obliged to cause his head to be beaten with a mallet in order to procure some ease, which torture he suffered four hundred years; God being willing to punish, by one of the smallest of his creatures, him who insolently boasted himself to be lord of all" (*vide* D'Herbel., *Bibl. Orient.*, art. NEMROD).

"A Syrian calendar places the death of Nimrod, as if the time were well known, on the 8th of Thamúz or July" (*vide* Hyde, *Rel. Vet. Pers.*, p. 74).—*Sale*.

(71) *The land, &c.* Palestine.

(73) *Models of religion.* See note on chap. ii. 124.

(74) *Insolent people.* See chap. vii. 81-83, and notes there.

(76) *Noah . . . called, &c.* See note on chap. viii. 69.

(77) *Accused our signs of falsehood.* The circumstances of these former prophets are here, as elsewhere, represented as like unto those of Muhammad in Makkah. See chap. iii. 137, 138, and 185.

falsehood; for they were a wicked people, wherefore we drowned them all. (78) And *remember* David and Solomon, when they pronounced judgment concerning a field, when the sheep of *certain people* had fed therein by night, having no shepherd; and we were witnesses of their judgment; (79) and we gave the understanding thereof unto Solomon. And on all of *them* we bestowed wisdom and knowledge. And we compelled the mountains to praise us, with David; and the birds also: and we did *this*. (80) And we taught him the art of making coats of mail for you, that they may defend you in your wars; will ye therefore be thankful? (81) And unto Solomon *we subjected* a strong wind; it ran at his command to the

(79) *We give the understanding thereof unto Solomon.* "Some sheep, in their shepherd's absence, having broken into another man's field (or vineyard, say others) by night, and eaten up the corn, a dispute arose thereupon; and the cause being brought before David and Solomon, the former said that the owner of the land should take the sheep in compensation of the damage which he had sustained; but Solomon, who was then but eleven years old, was of opinion that it would be more just for the owner of the field to take only the profit of the sheep, viz., their milk, lambs, and wool, till the shepherd should, by his own labour and at his own expense, put the field into as good condition as when the sheep entered it; after which the sheep might be returned to their master. And this judgment of Solomon was approved by David himself as better than his own."—*Sale, Baidhāwi, Jalāluddīn.*

And we compelled the mountains, &c. "Muhammad, it seems, taking the visions of the Talmudists for truth, believed that when David was fatigued with singing psalms, the mountains, birds, and other parts of the creation, both animate and inanimate, relieved him in chanting the divine praises. This consequence the Jews draw from the words of the Psalmist, when he calls on the several parts of nature to join with him in celebrating the praise of God (Ps. cxlviii.), it being their perverse custom to expound passages in the most literal manner, which cannot bear a literal sense without a manifest absurdity, and, on the contrary, to turn the plainest passages into allegorical fancies."—*Sale.*

(80) *We taught him, &c.* "Men, before his inventing them, used to arm themselves with broad plates of metal. Lest this fable should want something of the marvellous, one writer tells us that the iron which David used became soft in his hands like wax" (*Tārīkh. Muntakhab; vide D'Herbel., p. 284.*)—*Sale.*

(81) *A strong wind.* "Which transported his throne with prodigious swiftness. Some say this wind was violent or gentle, just as Solomon pleased."—*Sale.*

land whereon we had bestowed *our* blessing; and we knew all things. (82) And *we also subjected unto his command divers* of the devils, who might *dive to get pearls* for him, and perform *other* work besides this; and we watched over them. (83) And *remember* Job, when he cried unto his LORD, *saying*, Verily evil hath afflicted me, but thou art the most merciful of those who show mercy. (84) Wherefore we heard him, and relieved *him* from the evil which was upon him; and we restored

See chap. xxvii. 20.

The land, &c. "Palestine, whither the wind brought back Solomon's throne in the evening, after having carried it to a distant country in the morning."—*Salé*.

(82) *Devils.* Comp. chap. xxxvii. 36.

Other work. "Such as the building of cities and palaces, the fetching of rare pieces of art from foreign countries, and the like."—*Salé*.

We watched over them. "Lest they should swerve from his orders, or do mischief according to their natural inclinations. Jalá-luddín says that when they had finished any piece of building, they pulled it down before night, if they were not employed in something new."

See also note on chap. vi. 85.

(83) *Remember Job.* "The Muhammadan writers tell us that Job was of the race of Esau, and was blessed with a numerous family and abundant riches, but that God proved him, by taking away all that he had, even his children, who were killed by the fall of a house; notwithstanding which he continued to serve God, and to return him thanks as usual; that he was then struck with a filthy disease, his body being full of worms, and so offensive, that as he lay on the dunghill, none could bear to come near him; that his wife, however (whom some call Rahmat, the daughter of Ephraim, the son of Joseph, and others, Makhir, the daughter of Manasses) attended him with great patience, supporting him with what she earned by her labour; but that the devil appeared to her one day, after having reminded her of her past prosperity, promised her that if she would worship him, he would restore all they had lost; whereupon she asked her husband's consent, who was so angry at the proposal, that he swore, if he recovered, to give his wife a hundred stripes; that Job having pronounced the prayer recorded in this passage, God sent Gabriel, who, taking him by the hand, raised him up; and at the same time a fountain sprang up at his feet, of which having drank, the worms fell off his body, and washing therein, he recovered his former health and beauty; that God then restored all to him double, his wife also becoming young and handsome again, and bearing him twenty-six sons; and that Job, to satisfy his oath, was directed by God to strike her one blow with a palm-branch having a hundred leaves. Some, to express

unto him his family, and as many more with them, through our mercy, and for an admonition unto those who serve *God*. (85) And *remember* Isma'îl, and Idrîs, and Dhu'l-kifl. All *these* were patient persons; (86) wherefore we led them into our mercy, for they were righteous doers. (87) And *remember* Dhu'l-nûn, when he departed in wrath, and thought that we could not exercise our power over him. And he cried out in the darkness, *saying*, There is no GOD besides thee: praise be unto thee! Verily I have been one of the unjust. (88) Wherefore we heard him, and delivered him from affliction; for so do we deliver the true believers. (89) And

the great riches that were bestowed on Job after his sufferings, say he had two threshing-floors, one for wheat and the other for barley, and that God sent two clouds which rained gold on the one, and silver on the other, till they ran over. The traditions differ as to the continuance of Job's calamities; one will have it to be eighteen years, another thirteen, another three, and another exactly seven years, seven months, and seven hours."—*Salé, Baidhâwi, Jalâluddîn, &c.*

(85) *Idrîs*. See note on chap. xix. 57.

Dhu'l-kifl. "Who this prophet was is very uncertain. One commentator will have him to be Elias, or Joshua, or Zacharias; another supposes him to have been the son of Job, and to have dwelt in Syria; to which some add, that he was first a very wicked man, but afterwards repenting, died; upon which these words appeared miraculously written over his door, 'Now hath God been merciful unto Dhu'l-kifl; and a third tells us he was a person of great strictness of life, and one who used to decide causes to the satisfaction of all parties, because he never was in a passion, and that he was called Dhu'l-kifl from his continual fasting and other religious exercises.'—*Salé, Baidhâwi*.

It is more likely that the prophet intended by this name is Ezekiel, who is called Kifl by the Arabs. See Niebuhr, *Travels*, ii. 265.

(87) *Dhu'l-nûn*. Jonas, so called "because he was swallowed by the fish."—*Salé*. See chap. x. 98.

In wrath. "Some suppose Jonas's anger was against the Ninevites, being tired with preaching to them for so long a time, and greatly disgusted at their obstinacy and ill-usage of him; but others more agreeably to Scripture say the reason of his ill-humour was God's pardoning of that people on their repentance, and averting the judgment which Jonas had threatened them with, so that he thought he had been made a liar."—*Salé, Baidhâwi*.

The darkness, i.e., "out of the belly of the fish."—*Salé*.

(88) *From affliction*. Compare chap. xxxvii. 139–147.

remember Zacharias, when he called upon his LORD, *saying*, O LORD, leave me not childless; yet thou art the best heir. (90) Wherefore we heard him, and we gave him John; and we rendered his wife fit *for bearing a child* unto him. These strove to excel in good works, and called upon us with love and with fear, and humbled themselves before us. (91) and *remember* her who preserved her virginity, and into whom we breathed of our spirit, ordaining her and her son for a sign unto all creatures. (92) Verily this your religion is one religion, and I am your LORD; wherefore serve me. (93) But *the Jews and Christians* have made schisms in the affair of their *religion* among themselves; *but* all of them shall appear before us.

|| (94) Whosoever shall do good works, being a true R 7- believer, there shall be no denial of *the reward due* to his endeavours, and we will surely write *it* down unto him. (95) An inviolable prohibition *is laid* on *every* city which we shall have destroyed; for that they shall not return *any more into the world*, (96) until Gog and Magog shall have a passage opened for them, and they shall hasten from every high hill, (97) and the certain promise shall

(89) *Zacharias*. See chap. iii. 38, 39, and xix. 1.

(91) *Her who preserved her virginity*, namely, the Virgin Mary. —*Sale*. Comp. lxvi. 12. This verse affords decisive proof that Muhammad believed in the immaculate conception of Jesus. Syed Ahmad and his followers are clearly guilty of rejecting the testimony of the Qurán on this subject. See his commentary on Qurán, chap. xix.

(92) *One religion*. “Being the same which was professed by all the prophets, and holy men and women, without any fundamental difference or variation.”—*Sale*.

The claim of Muhammad here is that Islám is identical with the religion of all the former prophets. This claim is fatal to Muhammad's prophetic pretensions, and to the Qurán as the Word of God.

(96) *Until Gog and Magog, &c., i.e.*, “until the resurrection; one sign of the approach whereof will be an irruption of those barbarians.”—*Sale*.

See Prelim. Disc., p. 133, and note on chap. xviii. 93. Comp. Ezekiel, chaps. xxxviii., xxxix.

Every hill. “In this passage some copies, instead of *hadabin*, i.e.,

draw near *to be fulfilled*: and behold, the eyes of the infidels shall be fixed *with astonishment, and they shall say*, Alas for us! we were formerly regardless of this day; yea, we were wicked doers. (98) Verily *both ye, O men of Makkah*, and the idols which ye worship besides GOD, *shall be cast as fuel* into hell-fire: ye shall go down into the same. (99) If these were *really* gods, they would not go down into the same: and all of *them* shall remain therein for ever. (100) In that *place* shall they groan *for anguish*; and they shall not hear *ought* therein. (101) *As for* those unto whom the most excellent reward of Paradise hath been predestinated by us, they shall be transported far off from the same; (102) they shall not hear the least sound thereof: and they shall continue for ever in the *felicity* which their souls desire. (103) The greatest terror shall not trouble them; and the angels shall meet them *to congratulate them, saying*, This is your day which ye were promised. (104) On *that* day we will roll up the heavens, as *the angel al Sijl* rolleth up the book *wherein*

‘an elevated part of the earth,’ have *jadathin*, which signifies ‘a grave;’ and if we follow the latter reading, the pronoun *they* must not refer to Gog and Magog, but to mankind in general.”—Sale.

(100) *They shall not hear ought therein*. “Because of their astonishment and the insupportable torments they shall endure; or, as others expound the words, *They shall not hear therein* anything which may give them the least comfort.”—Sale.

(101) *Far off from the same*. “One Ibn al Zabári objected to the preceding words, *Both ye and that which ye worship besides God shall be cast into hell*, because, being general, they asserted an absolute falsehood, some of the objects of idolatrous worship being so far from any danger of damnation, that they were in the highest favour with God, as Jesus, Ezra, and the angels: wherefore this passage was revealed, excepting those who were predestined to salvation.”—Sale, *Baidhawi, Jaláluddín*.

This passage does not, however, refer to the gods at all; nor does ver. 98 refer to other objects of worship than the idols and gods of the Makkans. This verse simply expresses the certain felicity of the righteous, who are so “far off” from the damned as to be oblivious to their groaning, as is stated in the following verse.

(104) *Sijl*. “Whose office it is to write down the actions of every man’s life, which, at his death, he rolls up as completed. Some pretend one of Muhammad’s scribes is here meant; and others take

every man's actions are recorded. As we made the first creature out of nothing, so we will also reproduce it at the resurrection. This is a promise which it lieth on us to fulfil: we will surely perform it. (105) And now have we written in the Psalms, after the promulgation of the law, that my servants the righteous shall inherit the earth. (106) Verily in this book are contained sufficient means of salvation unto people who serve God. (107) We have not sent thee, O Muhammad, but as a mercy unto all creatures. (108) Say, No other hath been revealed unto me than that your GOD is one GOD: will ye therefore be resigned unto him? (109) But if they turn their backs to the confession of God's unity, say, I proclaim war against you all equally: but I know not whether that which ye are threatened with be nigh, or whether it be far distant. (110) Verily God knoweth the discourse which is spoken in public; and he also knoweth that which ye hold in private. (111) I know not but peradventure the respite granted you is for a trial of you; and that ye may enjoy the prosperity of this world for a time. (112) Say, LORD, judge between me and my adversaries with truth. Our LORD is the Merciful; whose assistance is to be implored against the blasphemies and calumnies which ye utter.

the word Sijl, or, as it is also written, Sijjil, for an appellative, signifying a book or written scroll, and accordingly render the passage, as a written scroll is rolled up."—Sale, Baidhāwī, Jalāluddīn.

(105) See Psalm xxxvii. 29. Rodwell points out that this is the only Scripture text quoted in the Qurān.

(109) *I proclaim war, &c.* "Or, *I have publicly declared unto you what I was commanded.*"—Sale. This last is the best translation. Rodwell translates, *I have warned you all alike.*

That which ye are threatened with, viz., "the losses and disgraces which ye shall suffer by the future successes of the Muslims; or, the day of judgment."—Sale.

CHAPTER XXII.

ENTITLED SURAT AL HAJJ (THE PILGRIMAGE).

Revealed at Makkah.

INTRODUCTION.

THIS chapter, which takes its title from the proclamation contained in ver. 28, is made up of a number of revelations enunciated at Makkah and Madína. A few writers, says Noéldeke, regard the whole chapter as Madínic; whereas, on the other hand, Muir seems to regard the whole as belonging to Makkah. It is difficult, indeed, to speak with much confidence in regard to the time and place of some of the passages, but there are a few, about which there can be little doubt, which may serve the purpose of landmarks; *e.g.*, vers. 25-43, compared with chap. ii. 196-200, iii. 97, and v. 95-97, none of which are Makkan, and none of which can be reckoned of earlier date than A.H. 5 or 6, must be referred to Madína. The same is true of vers. 59, 60, where reference is made to the *Muhajjarín*, and to "*those who have been killed*" in battle (Noéldeke), or "*who were afterwards slain*" (Rodwell). Again, the *animus* of the revelations in vers. 44-58 and vers. 68-79 clearly points to Makkah. This is especially true of ver. 50, where Muhammad is styled a *preacher*, and of ver. 73, where the violent opposition of the unbelievers is mentioned.

As to the matter of the revelations, the chief points of interest are—

(1.) The obstinate and violent conduct of the Quraish and others at Makkah, contrasted with the calm self-confidence of Muhammad, due to the treaty made with the people of Madína and his contemplated retirement from Makkah. The conversion of the Quraish now being considered hopeless, the Muslims are no longer to dispute with them. God will cause Islám to triumph, no matter how violent the efforts of the infidels (vers. 14, 15, 70-73). The faithful are encouraged by the hope of joy in Paradise. No matter how strait-

ened their circumstances here, they will yet wear silken garments and be adorned with jewels of gold and pearls (ver. 23).

(2.) The command to perform the pilgrimage to Makkah. It is difficult to fix the occasion of this command. The effort, manifest throughout vers. 25-43, to distinguish between what was lawful and unlawful or idolatrous in the Arab rites, would point out this to be one of the earliest revelations on this subject. To this also points the directions in reference to forbidden meats. On the contrary, the fact that the idols were still in the temple at Makkah precludes reference to the last great pilgrimage of Muhammad. Now, knowing as we do, that after the Hijra Muhammad patronised the Jews, in the hope of gaining them over to his cause, it is certain that he did not then patronise a national Arab custom so idolatrous in its character as the pilgrimage. But having been disappointed in this hope, and discovering their perfidy, he cast the Jews aside altogether, about A.H. 4. After this we find him again courting Arab favour by exalting the religion of Abraham the orthodox, who built the Kaabah, and who, with Ismaïl, dwelt in the holy place. It is, therefore, most natural to regard this command as emanating some time previous to the lesser pilgrimage, which was undertaken in A.H. 6.

(3.) The lapse of Muhammad, alluded to in vers. 53-55. Noëldke, while admitting that these verses evidently indicate a temptation which Muhammad underwent in the matter of making a concession to idolaters, yet thinks the language is too late for the incident related in the note on ver. 53 below. So far as I am aware, however, all Muslim authorities are against him. For a full account of this matter the reader is referred to Muir's *Life of Mahomet*, vol. ii. pp 149-159.

Probable Date of the Revelations.

The Makkan revelations of this chapter are contained in vers. 1-24, 44-58, 61-67, 69-76, and may be referred to the last Makkan period, shortly before the Hijra. Those contained in vers. 25-43, 59, 60, and 66, belong to Madîna. Of these, vers. 25-43 were revealed about A.H. 6. Vers. 40-43, the first, giving permission to wage open war with enemies, must be placed before the battle of Badr. Vers. 59 and 60 belong after Badr, as they speak of persons slain in battle. Ver. 66, beginning in the same way as ver. 36, is referred to the same date.

Principal Subjects.

	VERSES
The dreadful character of the judgment-day . . .	1, 2
Nudhâr Ibn al Hârith rebuked for his infidelity . . .	3, 4

	VERSES
Proofs of the doctrine of the resurrection	5-7
Abu Jahl's obstinate infidelity and its punishment	8-10
Hypocrites exposed and rebuked	11-13
God will reward the righteous	14
God will cause Muhammad and the Qurán to triumph	15, 16
God will judge between the followers of conflicting faiths	17
All creatures praise God	18
The awful fate of unbelievers contrasted with the joy of believers	19-24
Profaners of the Kaabah will be punished	25, 26
God appointed the site of the Kaabah an abode for Abraham	27
The pilgrimage to Makkah instituted for Muslims	28-32
Rites to be observed by the pilgrims	32-35
Sacrifices appointed for the professors of every religion	36
The humble believer encouraged	37
The sacrifices at Madína symbolical of obedience to God	38, 39
War against infidels permitted when in self-defence	40-43
All God's prophets have been accused of imposture	44, 45
Infidels blind to God's judgments on the ungodly	46, 47
Though God is forbearing he will punish unbelievers	48, 49
Muhammad a public preacher	50
Reward and punishment of believers and infidels	51, 52
All prophets have been subject to Satanic deception	53-55
The unbelievers incorrigible, but God will judge between them and the righteous	56-58
Blessed condition of the Muhájjarín and martyrs	59, 60
Revenge of personal injuries permitted	61
God the Creator and Preserver of all things	62-67
Professors of other religions not to dispute with Muhammad	68
How Muhammad should treat those who dispute with him	69, 70
The Omniscient God has decreed all things	71
Idolaters have no proof from God for their idolatry	72
Unbelievers (Quraish) ready to use violence towards the Muslims	73
The Makkan idols unable to keep the flies off themselves	74
Idolaters have a low estimate of the power of God	75
God chooses messengers from among men and angels	76
God knoweth all things, and all shall return to him	77
True believers exhorted to worship God and to fight in de- fence of his religion	78, 79
Muslims exhorted to be steadfast in the faith of their father Abraham	79

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

|| (1) O MEN of *Makkah*, fear your LORD. Verily the ^{NISF.} shock of the *last* hour *will be* a terrible thing. (2) On the R $\frac{1}{8}$. day whereon ye shall see it, every woman who giveth suck shall forget *the infant* which she suckleth, and every *female* that is with young shall cast her burden; and thou shalt see men *seemingly* drunk, yet they shall not be *really* drunk: but the punishment of GOD *will be* severe. (3) There is a man who disputeth concerning GOD without knowledge, and followeth every rebellious devil: (4) against whom it is written, that whoever shall take him for his patron, he shall surely seduce him, and shall lead him into the torment of hell. (5) O men, if ye be in doubt concerning the resurrection, *consider that* we *first* created you of the dust of the ground; afterwards of seed; afterwards of a little coagulated blood; afterwards of a piece of flesh, perfectly formed *in part*, and *in part* imperfectly formed; that we might make *our power* manifest unto you: and we caused that which we please to rest in the wombs, until the appointed time *of delivery*. Then we bring you forth infants; and afterwards *we permit* you to attain your age of full strength: and one of you dieth *in his youth*, and another of you is postponed to a decrepit age, so that he forgetteth whatever he knew. Thou seest the earth *sometimes* dried up and barren; but when we send down rain thereon, it is put in motion and swelleth, and produceth every kind of luxuriant *vegetables*. (6)

(1) *The shock . . . terrible.* "The earthquake which, some say, is to happen a little before the sun rises from the west, one sign of the near approach of the judgment."—*Sale*. See Prelim. Disc., p. 131.

(2) See Prelim. Disc., p. 135.

(3) *A man who disputeth.* "This passage was revealed on account of al Nudhár Ibn al Hárith, who maintained that the angels were the daughters of God, and that the Qurán was a fardel of old fables, and denied the resurrection."—*Sale*, *Baidhâwi*. Others say the person referred to was Abu Jahl. See Rodwell, *in loco*.

(4-7) Compare with chap. xvii., where see notes. The argument is that the God who has created us can as easily raise the dead.

This *showeth* that GOD is the truth, and that he raiseth the dead to life, and that he is almighty; (7) and that the hour of *judgment* will surely come (there is no doubt thereof), and that GOD will raise again those who are in the graves. (8) There is a man who disputeth concerning GOD without either knowledge, or a direction, or an enlightening book; (9) proudly turning his side, that he may seduce *men* from the way of GOD. Ignominy *shall attend* him in this world; and on the day of resurrection we will make him taste the torment of burning, *when it shall be said unto him*, (10) This *thou sufferest* because of that which thy hands have formerly committed: for GOD is not unjust towards mankind.

R $\frac{2}{3}$

|| (11) There are some men who serve GOD in a *wavering manner, standing, as it were*, on the verge of the true religion. If good befall one of them, he resteth satisfied therein, but if any tribulation befall him, he turneth himself round, with the loss *both* of this world and of the life

(8) *A man.* "The person here meant, it is said, was Abu Jahl, a principal man among the Quraish, and a most inveterate enemy of Muhammad and his religion. His true name was Amru Ibn Hashám, of the family of Makhzúm; and he was surnamed Abu al Hakím, *i.e., the father of wisdom*, which was afterwards changed into Abu Jahl, or *the father of folly*. He was slain in the battle of Badr" (see chap. viii. 49, note).—Sale.

An enlightening book. This term is applied to the revelations given by God to his prophets.

(10) *That which thy hands, &c.* See note on chap. ii. 94.

(11) *The verge.* "This expression alludes to one who being posted in the skirts of an army, if he sees the victory inclining to his own side stands his ground, but if the enemy is likely to prevail takes to his heels.

"The passage, they say, was revealed on account of certain Arabs of the desert who came to Madína, and having professed Muhammadism, were well enough pleased with it so long as their affairs prospered, but if they met with any adversity were sure to lay the blame on their new religion. A tradition of Abu Sayid mentions another accident as the occasion of this passage, viz., that a certain Jew embraced Islám, but afterwards taking a dislike to it on account of some misfortunes which had befallen him, went to Muhammad and desired he might renounce it and be freed from the obligations of it; but the prophet told him that no such thing was allowed in his religion."—Sale, *Baidhâwi*.

to come. This is manifest perdition. (12) He will call upon that besides GOD which can neither hurt him nor profit him. This is an error remote *from truth*. (13) He will invoke him who will sooner be of hurt *to his worshipper* than of advantage. *Such* is surely a miserable patron and a miserable companion. (14) But GOD will introduce those who shall believe and do righteous works into gardens through which rivers flow; for GOD doth that which he pleaseth. (15) Whoso thinketh that GOD will not assist *his apostle* in this world and in the world to come, let him strain a rope towards heaven, then let him put an end to his life, and see whether his devices can render that ineffectual for which he was angry. (16) Thus do we send down *the Qurán*, being evident signs; for GOD directeth whom he pleaseth. (17) *As to* the true believers, and those who Judaize, and the Sabians, and the Christians, and the Magians, and the idolaters, verily GOD shall judge between them on the day of resurrection, for GOD is witness of all things. (18) Dost thou not perceive that all *creatures* both in heaven and on earth adore GOD, and the sun, and the moon, and the stars, and the mountains, and the trees, and the beasts, and many men? but many are worthy of chastisement, and whomsoever GOD shall render despicable there shall be none to honour; for GOD doth that which he pleaseth. (19) These are two opposite parties who dispute concerning their LORD. And they

(12) *Neither hurt . . . nor profit.* A contemptuous term always applied in the Qurán to idols, the deities which they represented being regarded as purely imaginary.

Remote. Sale adds *from truth*, but the idea would be better expressed by the word *egregious*. Rodwell translates it *far-gone*.

(15) *Let him strain a rope, &c.* "Or, 'Let him tie a rope to the roof of his house and hang himself;' that is, let him carry his anger and resentment to ever so great a height, even to be driven to the most desperate extremities, and see whether with all his endeavours he will be able to intercept the divine assistance."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*.

(17) See notes on chap. ii. 61 and v. 73.

(18) *Adore God.* "Confessing his power and obeying his supreme command."—Sale.

(19) *Two parties, viz.,* "the true believers and the infidels. The

who believe not shall have garments of fire fitted unto them, boiling water shall be poured on their heads, (20) their bowels shall be dissolved thereby, and *also* their skins, (21) and they shall *be beaten* with maces of iron. (22) So often as they shall endeavour to get out of *hell* because of the anguish of *their torments* they shall be dragged back into the same, and *their tormentors shall say unto them*, Taste ye the pain of burning.

R $\frac{3}{10}$. || (23) God will introduce those who shall believe and act righteously into gardens through which rivers flow; they shall be adorned therein with bracelets of gold and pearls, and their vestures therein shall be silk. (24) They are directed unto a good saying, and are directed into the honourable way. (25) But they who shall disbelieve and obstruct the way of GOD and *hinder men from visiting* the holy temple of *Makkah*, which we have appointed for a

passage is said to have been revealed on occasion of a dispute between the Jews and the Muhammadans, the former insisting that they were in greater favour with God, their prophet and revelations being prior to those of the latter; and these replying that they were more in God's favour, for that they believed not only in Moses but also in Muhammad, and in all the Scriptures without exception, whereas the Jews rejected Muhammad, though they knew him to be a prophet, out of envy."—Sale, *Baidhāwi*.

(20-22) See note on chap. ii. 38.

(23) See notes on chaps. ii. 25 and iii. 15, 196, 197.

Silk. What is lawful in heaven is forbidden to Muslims on earth.

(24) *A good saying*, viz., "the profession of God's unity, or these words which they shall use at their entrance into Paradise, 'Praise be unto God, who hath fulfilled his promise unto us.'"—Sale, *Baidhāwi*.

(25) *The holy temple . . . appointed . . . unto all men*. Mr. Bosworth Smith (*Mohammed and Mohammedanism*, p. 164) expresses the opinion that the pilgrimage is "in theory and in reality" as alien to Muhammadanism as it is to Christianity. He claims it to have been "a concession, and an inconsistent concession, to natural weakness, rather than as a part of the inner belief of the Prophet, who so emphatically said, 'There is no piety in turning your faces towards the east or west, but he is pious who believeth in God.'" But, as already pointed out by Dr. Badger, the Hajj is solemnly enjoined in the Qurán; not only so, but by a multitude of traditions also. See the *Mishqāt ul Masābih*, book xi. If we add to this the example of the Prophet in performing the greater pilgrimage, with all the show of solemnity possible, shortly before his death, there

place of worship unto all men, the inhabitant thereof and the stranger *have an equal right to visit it*: (26) and whosoever shall seek impiously to profane it we will cause him to taste a grievous torment.

|| (27) *Call to mind* when we gave the site of the house R $\frac{4}{11}$.
of the *Kaabah* for an abode unto Abraham, *saying*, Do not associate anything with me, and cleanse my house for those who compass *it*, and who stand up, and who bow down to worship. (28) And proclaim unto the people a solemn pilgrimage; let them come unto thee on foot, and

cannot remain a shadow of a doubt that the Hajj is in reality a very important element of the religion of Muhammad, which is Muhammadanism. Without doubt the Hajj, with its converted heathen customs, is inconsistent with Muhammad's teaching in the earlier years of his prophetic career, but such inconsistency belongs to the whole *animus* of the Prophet. It was due not to any wish to gratify the natural weaknesses of his followers by a concession, but it was due to changed circumstances and an entire change of policy. This ancient custom was sanctified as a political measure, a compromise with Arabian custom, with a view to strengthen the new religion and bind together the newly-constructed Arabian empire. Yet it will not do to regard it in the same light as Christian pilgrimage, which is inconsistent with the teaching of our Lord, for the Hajj appeals for its sanction not only to the teaching of Muhammad, as already remarked, but claims to be one of the five principal duties of every true Muslim, as attested by the example of Muhammad himself. No Muslim can hope for a place in Paradise if he refuse to fulfil the requirements of Islām in respect to pilgrimage.

(27) *We gave the site, i.e.*, "for a place of religious worship, showing him the spot where he stood, and also the model of the old building, which had been taken up to heaven at the Flood."—*Sale*.

See Prelim. Disc., p. 182, and notes on chaps. ii. 196-200 and iii. 96, 97.

It is probable that the ceremonies of walking around the Kaabah were originally connected with Arab star-worship, and symbolised the motions of the planets. See Sharastāni, quoted by Rodwell *in loco*.

Proclaim . . . a solemn pilgrimage. "It is related that Abraham, in obedience to this command, went up to Mount Abu Qubis, near Makkah, and cried from thence, 'O men, perform the pilgrimage to the house of your Lord,' and that God caused those who were then in the loins of their fathers and the wombs of their mothers, from east to west, and who, he knew beforehand, would perform the pilgrimage, to hear his voice. Some say, however, that these words were directed to Muhammad, commanding him to proclaim the pilgrimage of valediction, according to which exposition the passage must have been revealed at Madīna."—*Sale, Bairdhāwi*.

on every lean *camel*, arriving from every distant road, (29) that they may be witnesses of the advantages *which accrue* to them *from the visiting this holy place*, and may commemorate the name of God on the appointed days, *in gratitude* for the brute cattle which he hath bestowed on them. (30) Wherefore eat thereof, and feed the needy *and the poor*. (31) Afterwards let them put an end to the neglect of their persons, and let them pay their vows

"Before the time of Muhammad the Arabians went in pilgrimage to Makkah. They went there to celebrate the memory of Abraham and of Isma'il. This was only a custom. Muhammad consecrated it by religious ceremonies, and enjoined it by a precept. Under religious motives he hid political views. He wished that Makkah should become a point of union for all the Muhammadans; that they should resort there to exchange the gold and the productions of their own countries for the aromatics of Arabia Felix. The great caravans which travel every year from Persia, Damascus, Morocco, and Cairo unite at Makkah. During the time of the pilgrimage an immense commerce is carried on in that city and at Jidda, which is the port of it."—*Savary*.

Muir (*Life of Mahomet*, vol. ii. p. 268) thinks this passage (vers. 27-39) contains a laboured defence of what to the Jews appeared to be an innovation in the reformed faith. This is probable, but for this reason it is a mistake to place the passage among the Makkan revelations, as he does. It is much more natural to regard the command and the controversy following it as Madinic.

(28) *Lean camel*. "Lean and famished from the long journey."—*Muir's Life of Mahomet*, p. 268.

(29) *The advantage*, viz., "the temporal advantage made by the great trade driven at Makkah during the pilgrimage, and the spiritual advantage of having performed so meritorious a work."—*Sale*.

See note on chap. ii. 198.

Appointed days, viz., "the ten first days of Dhu'l Hajja, or the tenth day of the same month, on which they slay the sacrifices, and the three following days."—*Sale, Jalāluddīn*.

(30) *Feed the needy*, i.e., with the flesh of the animals offered in sacrifice. See Prelim. Disc., p. 183.

(31) *Put an end to the neglect, &c.*, "by shaving their heads and other parts of their bodies, and cutting their beards and nails in the valley of Mīna, which the pilgrims are not allowed to do from the time they become Muhrim, and have solemnly dedicated themselves to the performance of the pilgrimage, till they have finished the ceremonies and slain their victims."—*Sale*.

See chaps. ii. 196 and v. 95-97.

Vows. "By doing the good works which they have vowed to do in their pilgrimage. Some understand the words only of the performance of the requisite ceremonies."—*Sale*.

and compass the ancient house. (32) *This let them do.* And whoever shall regard the sacred ordinances of God this will be better for him in the sight of his LORD. *All sorts of cattle are allowed you to eat, except what hath been read unto you in former passages of the Qurán to be forbidden.* But depart from the abomination of idols, and avoid speaking that which is false; (33) being orthodox in respect to GOD, associating *no other god* with him; for whoever associateth *any other* with GOD is like that which falleth from heaven, and which the birds snatch away, or the wind bloweth to a far-distant place. (34) *This is so.* And whoso maketh valuable offerings unto GOD verily they *proceed* from the piety of *men's* hearts. (35) Ye receive various advantages from the *cattle designed for sacrifices*, until a determined time *for slaying them*: then the place of sacrificing them *is* at the ancient house.

Compass the ancient house, i.e., "the Kaabah, which the Muhamadans pretend was the first edifice built and appointed for the worship of God. The going round this chapel is a principal ceremony of the pilgrimage, and is often repeated; but the last time of their doing it, when they take their farewell of the temple, seems to be more particularly meant in this place."—Sale.

See notes on chap. ii. 125, 142-146, and Prelim. Disc., p. 182 *seq.*

(32) *Whosoever shall regard, &c.* "By observing what he has commanded and avoiding what he has forbidden; or, as the words also signify, 'Whoever shall honour what God hath sanctified,' or commanded not to be profaned, as the temple and territory of Makkah and the sacred months, &c."—Sale.

That which is false. "Either by asserting wrong and impious things of the Deity, or by bearing false witness against your neighbours."—Sale.

(33) *Whosoever associateth . . . is like, &c.* "Because he who falls into idolatry sinketh from the height of faith into the depth of infidelity, has his thoughts distracted by wicked lusts, and is hurried by the devil into the most absurd errors."—Sale, *Baidhāwi*.

(34) *Valuable offerings.* "By choosing a well-favoured and costly victim in honour of him to whom it is destined. They say Muhammad once offered a hundred fat camels, and among them one which had belonged to Abu Jahl, having in his nose a ring of gold, and that Omar offered a noble camel for which he had been bid three hundred *dinārs*.

"The original may also be translated generally, 'Whoso regardeth the rites of the pilgrimage,' &c. But the *victims* seem to be more particularly intended in this place."—Sale, *Baidhāwi*.

R $\frac{5}{12}$.

|| (36) Unto the professors of every religion have we appointed certain rites, that they may commemorate the name of God on *slaying* the brute cattle which he hath provided for them. Your God is one God, wherefore resign yourselves *wholly* unto him. And do thou bear good tidings unto those who humble themselves, (37) whose hearts, when mention is made of God, are struck with fear; and *unto* those who patiently endure that which befalleth them, and who duly perform their prayers and give alms out of what we have bestowed on them. (38) The camels *slain for sacrifice* have we appointed for you as symbols of your obedience unto God; ye *also* receive *other* advantages from them. Wherefore commemorate the name of God over them *when ye slay them*, standing on their feet disposed in right order; and when

(36) *Every religion*. "Jaláluddín understands this passage in a restrained sense of the former nations who were true believers, to whom God appointed a sacrifice, and a fixed place and proper ceremonies for the offering of it."—Sale.

Certain rites, i.e., sacrificial rites. This statement is true, but the meaning of those rites has been totally ignored in the Qurán, and this fact affords one of the principal arguments against its claim to have attested the doctrine and plan of salvation by atonement exhibited in the former scriptures.

(38) *Standing on their feet, &c.* "That is, as some expound the word, standing on three feet, having one of their fore feet tied up, which is the manner of tying camels to prevent their moving from the place. Some copies instead of *sawáffa* read *sawáffina*, from the verb *safana*, which properly signifies the posture of a horse when he stands on three feet, the edge of the fourth only touching the ground."—Sale.

Rodwell translates "as they stand in a row."

On the subject of the wonderful purity of the text of the Qurán, suggested by the slight difference of reading noted by Sale, Muir says: "This almost incredible purity of text, in a book so widely scattered over the world, and continually copied by people of different tongues and lands, is, without doubt, owing mainly to Othman's recension and the official enforcement of his one edition. To countenance a various reading was an offence against the state, and punished as such. An instance may be found in Weil's *History of the Caliphs*, vol. ii. p. 676. Yet the various readings for which the learned Abul Hasan was persecuted appear to have been very innocent and harmless to the government. We need not wonder that, when such means were resorted to, a perfect uniformity of text has

they are fallen down *dead* eat of them, and give to eat *thereof both* unto him who is content *with what is given him, without asking*, and unto him who asketh. Thus have we given you dominion over them, that ye might return *us* thanks. (39) Their flesh is not accepted of GOD, neither their blood, but your piety is accepted of him. Thus have we given you dominion over them, that ye might magnify GOD, for *the revelations* whereby he hath directed you. And bear good tidings unto the righteous, (40) that GOD will repel *the ill designs of the infidels* from the true believers, for GOD loveth not every perfidious unbeliever.

|| (41) Permission is granted unto those who take R $\frac{6}{13}$
arms *against the unbelievers*, for that they have been unjustly persecuted *by them* (and GOD is certainly able to assist them) : (42) who have been turned out of their habitations injuriously, *and for no other reason* than because they say, Our LORD is GOD. And if GOD did not

been maintained. To compare (as the Moslems are fond of doing) *their* pure text with the various readings of our Scriptures, is to compare things between the history and essential points of which there is no analogy."—*Life of Mahomet*, Introd., vol. i. p. 15.

Unto him who is content, &c. "Or, as the words may also be rendered, 'Unto him who asketh in a modest and humble manner, and unto him who wanteth but dareth not ask.'"—*Sale*.

(39) *Neither their blood, but your piety is accepted of him.* Thus we see how carefully the vicarious element in sacrifice is eliminated by the Qurán. It is possible, however, that Muhammad wished by these words to guard his followers from the superstitious rites of the Pagan Arabs. Nevertheless he proves himself to have been either ignorant of, or an unbeliever in, the doctrine of an atonement, underlying these very superstitious practices, thereby contradicting the teaching of the former prophets. See also note on chap. ii. 82.

(41) *Sale* says : "This was the first passage of the Qurán which allowed Muhammad and his followers to defend themselves against their enemies by force, and was revealed a little before the flight to Madína ; till which time the Prophet had exhorted his Muslims to suffer the injuries offered them with patience, which is also commanded in above seventy different places of the Qurán." (Prelim. Disc., p. 83 seq.)

It is much more reasonable to suppose with Muir (*Life of Mahomet*, vol. iii. p. 78, note), that this command emanated from Madína, A.H. 1 or 2. Noëldeke also relegates this command to Madína.

repel *the violence* of some men by others, verily monasteries, and churches, and synagogues, and the temples of *the Muslims*, wherein the name of GOD is frequently commemorated, would be utterly demolished. And GOD will certainly assist him who shall be on his side : for GOD is strong and mighty.

(43) *And he will assist those* who, if we establish them in the earth, will observe prayer, and give alms, and command that which is just, and forbid that which is unjust. And unto GOD shall be the end of *all* things. (44) If they accuse thee, *O Muhammad*, of imposture; consider that, before them, the people of Noah, and *the tribes* of Ád and Thamúd, (45) and the people of Abraham, and the people of Lot, and the inhabitants of Madian, accused *their prophets* of imposture : and Moses was also charged with falsehood. And I granted a long respite unto the unbelievers : but afterwards I chastised them ; and how different was the change I made in *their condition* ! (46) How many cities have we destroyed, which were ungodly, and which *are now* fallen to ruin on their roofs ? And how many wells have been abandoned, and lofty castles ? (47) Do they not therefore journey through the land ? And have they not hearts to understand with, or ears to hear with ? Surely as to these things *their eyes* are not

(42) *If God did not repel, &c.* "That is, the public exercise of any religion, whether true or false, is supported only by force, and therefore, as Muhammad would argue, the true religion must be established by the same means."—Sale.

See note on chap. ii. p. 191.

(44, 45) *If they accuse thee . . . of imposture.* See note on chap. iii. p. 185.

(46) *And how many wells, &c.* "That is, how many spots in the deserts, which were formerly inhabited, are now abandoned ? a neglected well being the proper sign of such a deserted dwelling in those parts as ruins are of a demolished town.

"Some imagine that this passage intends more particularly a well at the foot of a certain hill in the province of Hadramaut, and a castle built on the top of the same hill, both belonging to the people of Handha Ibn Safwán, a remnant of the Thamúdites, who, having killed their prophet, were utterly destroyed by God, and their dwelling abandoned."—Sale, *Baidhâwi*.

blind, but the hearts are blind which *are* in *their* breasts. (48) They will urge thee to hasten the *threatened* punishment; but GOD will not fail to *perform* what he had threatened: and verily *one* day with thy LORD is as a thousand years of those which ye compute. (49) Unto how many cities have I granted respite, though they were wicked? Yet afterwards I chastised them! and unto me shall they come *to be judged at the last day*.

|| (50) Say, O men, verily I am only a public preacher R $\frac{7}{14}$ unto you. (51) And they who believe and do good works shall obtain forgiveness and an honourable provision. (52) But those who endeavour to make our signs of none effect *shall be* the inhabitants of hell. (53) We have sent no apostle or prophet before thee, but, when he read, Satan suggested *some error* in his reading.

(48) Comp. 2 Pet. iii. 8. This thought was borrowed from the Jews. See Rodwell on chap. xxxii. 4.

(50) *Only a preacher*. See note on chap. ii. 119.

(53) *Satan suggested some error, &c.* "The occasion of the passage is thus related. Muhammad one day reading the 53d chapter of the Qurán, when he came to this verse, 'What think ye of Al Lát, and Al Uzza, and of Mináh, the other third goddess?' the devil put the following words into his mouth, which he pronounced through inadvertence, or, as some tell us, because he was then half-asleep, viz., 'These are the most high and beauteous damsels whose intercession is to be hoped for.' The Quraish, who were sitting near Muhammad, greatly rejoiced at what they had heard, and when he had finished the chapter, joined with him and his followers in making their adoration: but the Prophet being acquainted by the Angel Gabriel with the reason of their compliance, and with what he had uttered, was deeply concerned at his mistake, till this verse was revealed for his consolation.

"We are told, however, by Al Baidháwi that the more intelligent and accurate persons reject the aforesaid story, and the verb here translated *read*, signifying also *to wish for* anything, they interpret the passage of the suggestions of the devil to debase the affections of these holy persons, or to employ their minds in vain wishes and desires."—Sale, Baidháwi, Jaláluddín, Yahya.

See also note on chap. xvi. 100.

There is no good ground for rejecting this story. Pious Muslims reject it only because of the *scandal* that their Prophet should have fallen into the great sin of making a compromise with idolatry. Muir tells us (*Life of Mahomet*, vol. ii. p. 153) that even Muhammadan orthodox writers admit "the scandal of the narrative has

But GOD shall make void that which Satan hath suggested: then shall GOD confirm his signs; for GOD is knowing *and* wise. (54) *But this he permitteth*, that he may make that which Satan hath suggested a temptation unto those in whose hearts there is an infirmity, and whose hearts are hardened (for the ungodly are certainly in a wide disagreement *from the truth*): (55) and that they on whom knowledge hath been bestowed may know that *this book* is the truth from thy LORD, and may believe therein; and that their hearts may acquiesce in the same: for GOD is surely the director of those who believe, into the right way. (56) But the infidels will not cease to doubt concerning it, until the hour of *judgment* cometh suddenly upon them; or until the punishment of a grievous day overtake them. (57) On that day the kingdom

been the cause of its rejection." He then goes on to say, "The author of the biography *Mawāhib Alladoniya* shows, in opposition to the assertion that the story is heretical, that it rests on unexceptionable tradition, and that the opposing authorities are groundless, being founded only on the *suspicion* that the facts are *unlikely*." Again he says: "It is hardly possible to conceive how the tale, if not founded on truth, could ever have been invented. The stubborn fact remains, and is by all admitted, that the first refugees did return about this time from Abyssinia, and that they returned in consequence of a rumour that Mecca was converted. To this fact the narratives of Wāckidi and Tabari afford the only intelligible clue." See Springer's note in the *Calcutta Asiatic Journal*, 1850, No. ii.

Many of the commentators, however, admit that these words, "These are the most high and beauteous damsels," &c., were proclaimed in the hearing of the idolaters, but they were spoken by the devil *after* the words, "What think ye of al Lāt," &c., had been pronounced by Muhammad. According to this explanation, Muhammad did not hear these words of Satan, and was only made aware of what had occurred when spoken to by Gabriel. See *Tafsir-i-Raufi in loco*. This explanation serves only to confirm our belief in the scandal. Does this incident in the history of Muhammad's prophetic career indicate nothing of conscious imposture? Did he resort to this compromise in the hope of gaining over his townsmen? And when he saw his mistake, did he not consciously ascribe to Satan what he had said himself? and, finally, how could he honestly say that all other apostles and prophets had been subject to like Satanic deception?

(56) *A grievous day*. "Or, a day which maketh childless; by

shall be GOD'S: he shall judge between them. And they who shall have believed, and shall have wrought righteousness, *shall be* in gardens of pleasure; (58) but they who shall have disbelieved, and shall have charged our signs with falsehood, those shall suffer a shameful punishment.

|| (59) And *as to those* who shall have fled their country R $\frac{8}{15}$ for the sake of GOD'S true religion, and afterwards shall have been slain, or shall have died; on them will GOD bestow an excellent provision; and GOD is the best provider. (60) He will surely introduce them with an introduction with which they shall be well pleased; for GOD is knowing *and* gracious. (61) *This is so.* Whoever shall take a vengeance equal to the injury which hath been done him, and shall afterwards be unjustly treated, verily GOD will assist him: for GOD is merciful

which some great misfortune in war is expressed, as the overthrow the infidels received at Badr. Some suppose the resurrection is here intended."—*Sale*.

(59) *Shall have been slain.* The translation should be "Those who have been killed." The original is "Allazina qutilu." Rodwell translates "who were slain."

(61) *Whosoever shall take a vengeance, &c.* "And shall not take a more severe revenge than the fact deserves."—*Sale*.

Be unjustly treated. "By the aggressor's seeking to revenge himself again of the person injured, by offering him some further violence."

"The passage seems to relate to the vengeance which the Muslims should take of the infidels for their unjust persecution of them."—*Sale*.

Syed Ameer Ali (*Life of Mohammed*, p. 190) apologises for precepts like this by telling us that "in Islām is joined a lofty idealism with the most rationalistic practicality. It did not ignore human nature; it never entangled itself in the tortuous pathways which lie outside the domains of the actual and the real. Its object, like that of other systems, was the elevation of humanity towards the absolute ideal of perfection; but it attained, or tries to attain, this object by grasping the truth that the nature of man is, in this existence, imperfect."

How far Islām is able to elevate the human race has been well described as follows by Professor Monier Williams in an article on Muhammadanism in the *Contemporary Review*:—"It is admitted, of course, that Islām, in the early stages of its career, was the very soul of progress, and that only in later times have senility and feebleness

and ready to forgive. (62) *This shall be done*, for that GOD causeth the night to succeed the day, and he causeth the day to succeed the night; and for that GOD *both* heareth *and* seeth. (63) This, because GOD is truth, and because what they invoke besides him is vanity; and for that GOD is the high, the mighty. (64) Dost thou not see that GOD sendeth down water from heaven and the earth becometh green? for GOD *is* gracious *and* wise. (65) Unto him *belongeth* whatsoever is in heaven and on earth: and GOD is self-sufficient, worthy to be praised.

R $\frac{9}{16}$. || (66) Dost thou not see that GOD hath subjected whatever is in the earth to your service, and *also* the ships which sail in the sea, by his command? And he withholdeth the heaven that it fall not on the earth,

crept over its vital forces. It is true, too, that Islâm still makes converts by thousands among ignorant and uncivilised tribes, and by so doing elevates them far above the pagan level. The point to be noted is that, having raised them to this higher platform, it there leaves them. There is a finality and a want of elasticity about Muhammadanism which precludes its expanding beyond a certain fixed line of demarcation. Having once reached this line, it appears to lapse backwards,—to tend again towards mental and moral slavery,—to contract within narrower and narrower circles of bigotry and exclusiveness. Whereas the Christian's course is ever onwards; his movements ever free,—he is ever tending towards wider reaches of comprehensiveness, tolerance, and charity. His Master has not tied his hands or fettered his feet by rigorous and unbending laws. He is ever advancing towards a higher life, towards higher conditions of being, where he may find infinite scope for the infinite development of all that is most pure, noble, and spiritual in his nature. And, most certainly, he can never consent to take a single retrograde step towards the beggarly elements of Judaism and worse than Mosaic yoke of bondage. He can never consent to any semblance of a compromise with a system which has not yet purged itself from the taint of sexual license, concubinage, and slavery, and still uses force in the propagation of its own creed. He can have no fellowship with a religion which, however reverently it may speak of Christ, regards the doctrine of his association with God the Father as a blasphemous fable, and the facts of his crucifixion and resurrection as dangerous deceptions. He can have no sympathy with a creed which at the best offers to its adherents a Paradise more material, more earthly, more carnal, than that from which their first parents were expelled."

(66) *That it fall not on the earth.* "Which it will do at the last day."—Sale.

unless by his permission: for GOD *is* gracious unto mankind *and* merciful. (67) It is he who hath given you life, and will hereafter cause you to die; afterwards he will *again* raise you to life, *at the resurrection*: but man *is* surely ungrateful. (68) Unto the professors of every religion have we appointed certain rites, which they observe. Let them not therefore dispute with thee concerning *this* matter; but invite *them* unto thy LORD: for thou followest the right direction. (69) But if they enter into debate with thee, answer, GOD well knoweth that which ye do: (70) GOD will judge between you on the day of resurrection, concerning that wherein ye *now* disagree. (71) Dost thou not know that GOD knoweth whatever is in heaven and on earth? Verily *this is written* in the book of *his decrees*: this is easy with GOD. (72) They worship, besides God, that concerning which he hath sent down no convincing proof, and concerning which they have no knowledge: but the unjust doers shall have none to assist them. (73) And when our evident signs are rehearsed unto them, thou mayest perceive, in the countenances of the unbelievers, a disdain *thereof*: it wanteth little but that they rush with violence on those who rehearse our signs unto them. Say, Shall I declare unto you a worse thing than this? The fire of *hell*, which GOD hath threatened unto those who believe not, *is worse*; and an unhappy journey *shall it be thither*.

|| (74) O men, a parable is propounded *unto you*; R ¹⁰/₁₇ wherefore hearken unto it. Verily *the idols* which ye invoke besides GOD can never create a single fly, although

(74) "The commentators say that the Arabs used to anoint the images of their gods with some odoriferous composition, and with honey, which the flies ate, though the doors of the temple were carefully shut, getting in at the windows or crevices.

"Perhaps Muhammad took this argument from the Jews, who pretend that the Temple of Jerusalem, and the sacrifices there offered to the true God, were never annoyed by flies; whereas swarms of those insects infested the heathen temples, being drawn thither by the steam of the sacrifices."—*Salé*.

they were *all* assembled for that *purpose*: and if the fly snatch anything from them, they cannot recover the same from it. Weak is the petitioner and the petitioned. (75) They judge not of GOD according to his due estimation: for GOD *is* powerful *and* mighty. (76) GOD chooseth messengers from among the angels and from among men: for GOD *is* he who heareth *and* seeth. (77) He knoweth that which is before them, and that which is behind them: and unto GOD shall *all* things return. (78) O true believers, bow down, and prostrate yourselves, and worship your LORD; and work righteousness, that ye may be happy: (79) and fight in defence of GOD's true religion, as it behoveth *you* to fight for the same. He hath chosen you, and hath not imposed on you any difficulty in the religion *which he hath given you*, the religion of your father Abraham: he hath named you Muslims heretofore, and in this *book*; that *our* apostle may be a witness against you *at the day of judgment*, and that ye may be witnesses against *the rest of mankind*. Wherefore be ye constant at prayer, and give alms: and adhere firmly unto GOD. He is your master; and he is the best master and the best protector.

(76) *The angels*. "Who are the bearers of the divine revelations to the prophets, but ought not to be the objects of worship."—*Sale*.

(79) *Fight in defence, &c.* See notes on chap. ii. 190-193, and iii. 170.

CHAPTER XXIII.

ENTITLED SURAT UL MUMINÚN (THE TRUE BELIEVERS).

Revealed at Makkah.

INTRODUCTION.

THERE is a great deal of similarity between this chapter and chapter vii., which is no doubt due to the fact that both chapters belong to about the same period. The unbelieving Quraish are warned and threatened by reference to the fate of those who rejected their prophets in former ages. As in chapter vii., so in this, all these prophets are facsimiles of Muhammad. Their message was his message ; their people were like his people. The charges of madness and imposture were ever raised against them, as they were made against him. Like Muhammad, they sought refuge in God against their enemies. God saved them and destroyed the infidels, and God would save Muhammad and the believers and destroy the infidels of Makkah.

In reading over this chapter, the general impression is left that Muhammad had now little or no hope of converting the Quraish. They are regarded as reprobate and given over to final destruction. Mercy and judgments have been visited upon them, but all in vain. They still scoff at the Prophet as a madman, and regard his messages concerning resurrection and judgment as so many fables. The Prophet is therefore content to warn them patiently. Avoiding strife and guarding against the temptation of the evil spirits, who seem to have suggested to him to use more violent measures to advance the true religion, he determines to render good for evil, and to guard against the suggestions of the genii or devils (vers. 94-99).

The chapter ends with a graphic description of the reward of the true believers, as it began with a description of their character. This is contrasted with the dreadful end of the unbelievers, who

will find out, when too late for repentance, that the threatenings of their Prophet were true. Though they shall then seek God with many protestations of sorrow for their unbelief, they shall be sternly rejected and spurned from the divine presence.

Probable Date of the Revelations.

Some authors (Jaláluddín as Syúti) regard this chapter as the last Makkan chapter; but for this opinion there seems to be no good reason. Those who would locate it at Madína misinterpret vers. 77, 78, as referring to the battle of Badr. The calamity alluded to in ver. 78 was the famine which afflicted Makkah shortly before the Hijra; and from ver. 76 we might infer that it was still present at the time these verses were recorded. However that may be, this date is too late for the main portion of the chapter, which affords no evidence of that violence shown by the unbelieving Quraish which characterised them during the latter period of Muhammad's mission at Makkah. The probability is that the larger part of the revelations of this chapter belong to the earlier part of the third Makkan period, B.H. 6 or 7.

Principal Subjects.

	VERSES
True believers described	1-9
Their reward hereafter	10, 11
God the creator of mankind	12-14
The dead shall be raised by him	15, 16
God created the seven heavens	17
God the author of all our blessings	18-23
Noah, sent as an apostle of God, preaches against idolatry .	24
The people reject Noah as a madman	25-27
Noah is commanded to make the ark, to save himself and true followers from the Flood	28-32
Other nations after that of Noah perish in their infidelity .	33-46
Moses and Aaron are rejected as impostors	47-50
The unbelievers are destroyed, but God gives a book to Moses for the direction of believers	50, 51
Jesus and Mary created a sign	52
Apostles exhorted to be steadfast in the true faith	53, 54
The sectarians to be left in their confusion	55-58
True believers sure of their reward	59-62
God judges men according to their ability	63
The idolatrous Quraish will not believe the Qurán	64, 65
Idolaters will cry unto God in vain when in distress . . .	66-68
The Quraish reject their Prophet as a madman	69-72

	VERSES
A gracious invitation rejected by them	73-75
God continues the calamity of the Makkans in mercy to them	76
The chastisements of the Lord rejected	77, 78
God, the author of life and intellect, can raise the dead	79-81
The Quraish persist in denying the resurrection	82-84
They are judged out of their own mouths	85-91
Angels not the offspring of God	92, 93
The Prophet takes refuge in God against every evil spirit	94-99
Repentance after death will be in vain	100, 101
The awful doom of unbelievers	102-109
They are punished for persecuting believers	110-112
Time will pass slowly in hell	113-115
Triumph of the faithful over the unbelieving idolaters	116-119

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

|| (1) Now are the true believers happy: (2) who humble themselves in their prayer, (3) and who eschew *all* vain discourse, (4) and who *are* doers of alms-deeds; (5) and who keep themselves from carnal knowledge of *any women* (6) except their wives, or the *captives* which their right hand possess (for *as to them* they shall be blameless: (7) but whosoever coveteth any *woman* beyond these, they *are* transgressors): (8) and who acquit themselves faithfully of their trust, and *justly perform* their covenant; (9) and who observe their *appointed times* of prayer: (10) these shall be the heirs, (11) who shall inherit Paradise; they shall continue therein for ever. (12) We formerly created man in a finer sort of clay; (13) afterwards we placed him *in the form of* seed in a sure receptacle: (14) afterwards we made the seed coagulated blood; and we formed the coagulated blood

EIGHTEENTH
SIPARA.

R $\frac{1}{1}$.

(3) *Vain discourse, i.e.,* lying, jesting, and foolish talk.

(6) See note on chap. iv. 3. This verse attests the position taken up there in respect to the cause of the immorality prevalent in Muslim countries.

(12) The allusion is to the creation of Adam.

(13) *Receptacle, viz.,* "the womb."—Sale.

into a piece of flesh: then we formed the piece of flesh into bones: and we clothed those bones with flesh: then we produced the same by another creation. Wherefore blessed be God, the most excellent Creator! (15) After this shall ye die: (16) and afterwards shall ye be restored to life, on the day of resurrection. (17) And we have created over you seven heavens: and we are not negligent of what we have created. (18) And we send down rain from heaven, by measure; and we cause it to remain on the earth: we are also certainly able to deprive you of the same. (19) And we cause gardens of palm-trees, and vineyards, to spring forth for you by means thereof: (20) wherein ye have many fruits, and whereof ye eat. (21) And *we also raise for you* a tree springing from Mount Sinai; which produceth oil, and a sauce for those who eat. (22) Ye have likewise an instruction in the cattle; we give you to drink of the *milk* which *is* in their bellies, and ye receive many advantages from them; and of them do ye eat; (23) and on them, and on ships, are ye carried.

R $\frac{2}{2}$. || (24) We sent Noah heretofore unto his people, and he

(14) *Another creation, i.e., "producing a perfect man, composed of soul and body."*—Sale.

Blessed be God, &c. See note on chap. vi. 94.

(17) *Seven heavens*, "literally, *seven paths*;" by which the heavens are meant, because, according to some expositors, they are the *paths* of the angels and of the celestial bodies: though the original word also signifies things which are *folded* or *placed like storeys* one above another, as the Muhammadans suppose the heavens to be."—Sale.

(21) *A tree springing from Mount Sinai*, viz., "the olive. The gardens near this mountain are yet famous for the excellent fruit-trees of almost all sorts which grow there."—Sale on authority of Thevenot's Travels, liv. ii. ch. 9.

(23) *On them . . . are ye carried*. "The beast more particularly meant in this place is the camel, which is chiefly used for carriage in the East; being called by the Arabs, the *land ship*, on which they pass those *seas of sand*, the deserts."—Sale.

Savary translates, "They carry you on the earth, as the ships bear you on the sea," but incorrectly. The idea of the original seems to be, that by means of camels and ships men could traverse both land and sea.

(24) *Noah*. See chap. vii. 60-65, and xi. 26-49, and notes there.

said, O my people, serve GOD : ye have no GOD besides him ; will ye therefore not fear *the consequence of your worshipping other gods?* (25) And the chiefs of his people, who believed not, said, This is no other than a man, as ye are : he seeketh to raise himself to a superiority over you. If GOD had pleased *to have sent a messenger unto you*, he would surely have sent angels : we have not heard this of our forefathers. (26) Verily he is no other than a man *disturbed* with frenzy : wherefore wait concerning him for a time. (27) *Noah* said, O LORD, do thou protect me ; for that they accuse me of falsehood. (28) And we revealed *our orders* unto him, *saying*, Make the ark in our sight, and *according to* our revelation. And when our decree cometh *to be executed*, and the oven shall boil and *pour forth water*, (29) carry into it of every *species of animals* one pair ; and also thy family, except such of them on whom a previous sentence of *destruction* hath passed : and speak not unto me in behalf of those who have been unjust ; for they *shall be* drowned. (30) And when thou and they who *shall be* with thee shall go up into the ark, say, Praise be unto GOD, who hath delivered us from the ungodly people ! (31) And say, O LORD, cause me to come down *from this ark* with a blessed descent ; for thou art the best able to bring me down *from the same with safety*. (32) Verily herein *were* signs of *our omnipotence* ; and we proved *mankind thereby*. (33) Afterwards we raised up another generation after them : (34) and we sent unto them an apostle from among them, *who*

(25) *A man as ye are.* This was the common objection of the Quarish to Muhammad. The history of Muhammad was invariably represented as a facsimile of the history of every other prophet. See introductions to chaps. vii. and xxi.

(28) *The oven.* Rodwell translates "earth's surface." The original is *oven*, and probably is used here of the wrath of God flaming up as a flaming oven does.

(29) *Thy family, except such, &c.* See notes on chap. xi. 41-43.

(33) *Another generation, viz., "the tribe of Ad or of Thamúd."*—*Sale.*

(34) *An apostle.* Húd or Sáliḥ. Comp. chap. xi. 50 and 61.

said, Worship GOD: ye have no GOD beside him; will ye therefore not fear *his vengeance*?

R $\frac{3}{4}$. || (35) And the chiefs of his people, who believed not, and who denied the meeting of the life to come, and on whom we had bestowed affluence in this present life, said, This is no other than a man, as ye are; he eateth of that whereof ye eat, and he drinketh of that whereof ye drink; (36) and if ye obey a man like unto yourselves, ye will surely be sufferers. (37) Doth he threaten you that after ye shall be dead, and shall become dust and bones, ye shall be brought forth *alive from your graves*? (38) Away, away with that ye are threatened with! (39) There is *no other life* besides our present life: we die, and we live; and we shall not be raised again. (40) This is no other than a man, who deviseth a lie concerning GOD: but we will not believe him. (41) *Their apostle* said, O LORD, defend me; for that they have accused me of imposture. (42) *God* answered, After a little while they shall surely repent *their obstinacy*. (43) Wherefore a severe punishment was justly inflicted on them, and we rendered them *like the refuse which is carried down by a stream*. Away therefore with the ungodly people! (44) Afterwards we raised up other generations after them. (45) No nation shall be punished before their determined time; neither

(35-43) Here, as in vers. 25-32 above, the treatment of former prophets is portrayed in the form of Muhammad's own experience. The unbelievers *rejected their prophet* as the Quraish did: they *denied the resurrection* as the Quraish did; they say their prophet is *only a man* as the Quraish did; they *scoffed at his threatenings* of Divine vengeance as the Quraish did; they charged their prophets *with imposture* as the Quraish did; they were *miserably destroyed* in unbelief; and the inference is, that such shall be the fate of the Quraish also. Let any man read the stories of the prophets, as thus given in the Qurán, with the Makkan experience of Muhammad in mind, and I venture to predict he will not fail to see the clearest evidence of fabrication, as shown in Muhammad's practice of invariably representing the prophets of the past as having been in all essential respects like himself.

(44) *Other generations*. "As the Sodomites, Midianites, &c."—*Salé*.

shall they be respited *after*. (46) Afterwards we sent our apostles, one after another. So often as their apostle came unto any nation, they charged him with imposture: and we caused them successively to follow one another *to destruction*; and we made them *only subjects of* traditional stories. Away therefore with the unbelieving nations! (47) Afterwards we sent Moses, and Aaron his brother, with our signs and manifest power, (48) unto Pharaoh and his princes: but they proudly refused *to believe on him*; for they were a haughty people. (49) And they said, Shall we believe on two men like unto ourselves, whose people are our servants? (50) And they accused them of imposture: wherefore they became of *the number* of those who were destroyed. (51) And we heretofore gave the book *of the law* unto Moses, that *the children of Israel* might be directed *thereby*. (52) And we appointed the son of Mary and his mother for a sign: and we prepared an abode for them in an elevated part of the earth, being *a place of quiet and security, and watered with running springs*.

|| (53) O apostles, eat of those things which are good, R⁴. and work righteousness; for I well know that which

(46) *Apostles, one after another.* See note on chap. xvi. 38.

Away therefore with the unbelieving nations. "As long as the Koran is believed in by Moslems, they must be at war or enmity with all nations, 'against every man, and every man against them.'" —Brinckman's *Notes on Islam*, p. 146.

(47-51) Comp. chap. xx. 27-37.

(52) *The son of Mary.* See notes on chap. ii. 86, and iii. 45.

A sign. Comp. chap. xxi. 91.

An elevated part of the earth. "The commentators tell us the place here intended is Jerusalem, or Damascus, or Ramlah, or Palestine, or Egypt.

"But perhaps the passage means the hill to which the Virgin Mary retired to be delivered, according to the Muhammadan tradition" (chap. xix. 22, note).—Sale, *Baidhawi*.

(53) *O apostles, eat, &c.* "These words are addressed to the apostles in general, to whom it was permitted to eat of all clean and wholesome food, and were spoken to them severally at the time of their respective mission. Some, however, think them directed particularly to the Virgin Mary and Jesus, or singly to the latter

ye do. (54) This your religion is one religion, and I am your LORD; wherefore fear me. (55) But *men* have rent the affair of their *religion* into various sects: every party rejoiceth in that which they follow. (56) Wherefore leave them in their confusion, until a certain time. (57) Do they think that we hasten unto them the wealth and children, (58) which we have abundantly bestowed on them, for their good? But they do not understand. (59) Verily they who stand in awe, for fear of their LORD, (60) and who believe in the signs of their LORD, (61) and who attribute not companions unto their LORD; and who give that which they give *in alms*, their hearts being struck with dread, for that they must return unto their LORD: (62) these hasten unto good, and are foremost to *obtain* the same. (63) We will not impose any difficulty on a soul, except according to its ability; with us *is* a book, which speaketh the truth; and they shall not be injured. (64) But their hearts are *drowned* in negligence as to this *matter*, and they have

(in which case the plural number must be used out of respect only), proposing the practice of the prophets for their imitation. Muhammad probably designed in this passage to condemn the abstinence observed by the Christian monks."—*Sale, Baidhāwī*.

(54) *Your religion is one religion.* See note on chap. xxi. 92.

(56) *Until a certain time, i.e.,* "till they shall be slain, or shall die a natural death."—*Sale*.

(57, 58) See note on chap. ii. 211.

(61) *Struck with dread.* The ideas of triumphing over death and of rejoicing to meet the Lord at the resurrection, so common to Christian experience, are foreign to Islām. Fear is its motive-power to piety, and hence its votaries ever call themselves the *servants* and the *slaves* of God. To think of themselves as the children of God would be regarded as blasphemy to all except a few dreamy Sūfis, who are Muslim heretics.

(63) *A book, &c., i.e.,* the preserved table on which is written the decrees of God.—*Tafsīr-i-Raufī*. The following verse, however, seems to determine the allusion to be to the Qurān. The meaning is that God will judge men by the Qurān, but yet will judge righteous judgment even in the case of infidels. Even these have had the "signs" of the Qurān revealed to them, and are therefore without excuse.

(64) *This matter.* Rodwell says *this book*, which is the better translation.

works different from those *we have mentioned*; which they will continue to do, (65) until when we chastise such of them as enjoy an affluence of fortune, by a *severe* punishment, behold, they cry aloud for help; (66) *but it shall be answered them*, Cry not for help to-day, for ye shall not be assisted by us. (67) My signs were read unto you, but ye turned back on your heels: (68) proudly elating yourselves because of *your possessing the holy temple*; discoursing together by night, *and* talking foolishly. (69) Do they not therefore attentively consider that which is spoken *unto them*; whether a *revelation* is come unto them which came not unto their forefathers? (70) Or do they not know their apostle; and therefore reject him? (71) Or do they say, He is a madman? Nay, he hath come unto them with the truth, but the greater part of them detest the truth. (72) If the truth had followed their desires, verily the heavens and the earth, and whoever therein is, had been corrupted. But we have brought them their admonition, and they turn aside from their admonition. (73) Dost thou ask of them any maintenance *for thy preaching?* since the maintenance of thy LORD is better, for he is the most bounteous provider. (74) Thou certainly invitest them to the right way, (75) and they who believe not in the life to come do surely deviate from *that* way.

(65) *A severe punishment.* "By which is intended either the overthrow at Badr, where several of the chief Qurashites lost their lives, or the famine with which the Makkans were afflicted, at the prayer of the Prophet, conceived in these words, O God, *set thy foot strongly on Mudár* (an ancestor of the Quraish), *and give them years like the years of Joseph*; whereupon so great a dearth ensued that they were obliged to feed on dogs, carrion, and burnt bones."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*.

(69) *Do they not . . . consider, &c.* See note on chap. iv. 81.

(71) *He is a madman.* See note on chap. xxi. 5.

(72) *If the truth had followed, &c.* "That is, if there had been a plurality of gods, as the idolaters contend, or if the doctrine taught by Muhammad had been agreeable to their inclinations, &c."—Sale.

See chap. xxi. 22, note.

(76) If we had had compassion on them, and taken off from them the calamity which had befallen them, they would surely have more obstinately persisted in their error, wandering *in confusion*.

RUBA. || (77) We formerly chastised them with a punishment, yet they did not humble themselves before their LORD, neither did they make supplications *unto him*; (78) until when we have opened upon them a door, from which a severe punishment *hath issued*, behold they are driven to despair thereat.

R 5. || (79) It is *God* who hath created in you *the senses of hearing and of sight, that ye may perceive our judgments, and hearts, that ye may seriously consider them: yet* how few of you give thanks! (80) It is he who hath produced you in the earth, and before him shall ye be assembled. (81) It is he who giveth life, and putteth to death, and to him *is to be attributed* the vicissitude of night and day; do ye not therefore understand? (82) But the *unbelieving Makkans* say as *their* predecessors said; (83) they say, When we shall be dead, and shall have become dust and bones, shall we really be raised to life? (84) We have already been threatened with this, and our fathers also heretofore; this is nothing but fables

(76) *The calamity, viz., "the famine.* It is said the Makkans being reduced to eat *ilhiz*, which is a sort of miserable food made of blood and camels' hair, used by the Arabs in time of scarcity, Abu Sufian came to Muhammad and said, 'Tell me, I adjure thee by God and the relation that is between us, dost thou think thou art sent as a mercy unto all creatures, since thou hast slain the father with the sword and the children with hunger?'—*Sale, Baidhawī*.

See on this passage Muir's *Life of Mahomet*, vol. ii. p. 227, and note.

(77) *We formerly chastised, &c.* The commentators think the allusion here to be to Badr, but this is an anachronism. The calamity was one which afflicted the people of Makkah at some time previous to the famine or other calamity referred to in the next verse, which occurred before the Hijra. Comp. chap. x. 22-24, and vii. 95.

(78) *A severe punishment, i.e., famine, which is more terrible than the ordinary calamities referred to in ver. 77.*

(83, 84) Compare with vers. 35-43 above, and see note there.

of the ancients. (85) Say, Whose is the earth, and whoever therein *is*, if ye know? (86) They will answer, God's. Say, Will ye not therefore consider? (87) Say, Who is the LORD of the seven heavens and the LORD of the magnificent throne? (88) They will answer, *They are God's*. Say, Will ye not therefore fear *him*? (89) Say, In whose hand is the kingdom of all things, who protecteth *whom he pleaseth*, but is himself protected of none; if ye know? (90) They will answer, *In God's*. Say, How therefore are ye bewitched? (91) Yea, we have brought them the truth; and they are certainly liars *in denying the same*. (92) God hath not begotten issue, neither is there any *other* god with him, otherwise every god had surely taken away that which he had created and some of them had exalted themselves above the others. Far be that from GOD which they affirm of *him*! (93) He knoweth that which is concealed, and that which is made public; wherefore far be it from him to *have those sharers in his honour* which they attribute to him!

|| 94 Say, O LORD, if thou wilt surely cause me to see R 6.
the vengeance with which they have been threatened; (95) O LORD, set me not among the ungodly people, (96) for we are surely able to make thee see that with which we have threatened them. (97) Turn aside evil with that which is better: we well know *the calumnies* which

(85-91) The argument in these verses is that idolaters, in admitting the existence of a Supreme Being, who is Creator, Preserver, and Lord of all, thereby condemn themselves when they worship other gods.

(92) *God hath not begotten issue*. These words are here directed against the angel-worship of the Quraish, who called the angels daughters of God. See notes on chap. ii. 116, and vi. 101.

Otherwise every god, &c., i.e., each would "set up a distinct creation and kingdom of his own."—Sale.

Some . . . exalted themselves. Comp. chap. xvii. 42-44.

(97) *Turn aside evil with that which is better*. "That is, by forgiving injuries and returning of good for them; which rule is to be qualified, however, with this proviso, that the true religion receive no prejudice by such mildness and clemency." — Sale, *Baidhawī*.

they utter *against thee*. (98) And say, O LORD, I fly unto thee for refuge, against the suggestions of the devils, (99) and I have recourse unto thee, O LORD, *to drive them away*, that they be not present with me. (100) *The gain-saying of the unbelievers ceaseth not* until, when death overtaketh any of them, he saith, O LORD, suffer me to return *to life*, (101) that I may do that which is right, in *professing the true faith* which I have neglected. By no means. Verily these are the words which ye shall speak : but behind them there shall be a bar until the day of resurrection. (102) When therefore the trumpet shall be

The circumstances of the Prophet were not such as to justify the spirited policy adopted in Madína, and now acted upon by Muslims wherever they have the power. "The practice of these noble precepts (of the Qurán) does not lie enshrined in the limbo of false sentimentalism."—Syed Amir Ali's *Life of Mohammed*, p. 191.

(98) *I fly to thee, &c.* "Contrast to Messiah, who does not need to fly for protection from Satan ; did not fly when faint in the wilderness, but vanquished Satan by his Word."—*Brinckman*.

The original word should be translated *satans* or *devils*, the beings who ever cried out in dismay at the presence of Jesus. See notes on chap. iv. 116, and vii. 200.

(99) *That they be not present with me.* "To besiege me ; or, as it may also be translated, that they hurt me not."—*Sale*.

(101) *In . . . which I have neglected.* "Or, as the word may also import, in the world which I have left ; that is, during the further term of life which shall be granted me, and from which I have been cut off."—*Sale, Baidháwi*.

A bar. "The original word, *barzakh*, here translated 'bar,' primarily signifies any partition or interstice which divides one thing from another ; but is used by the Arabs not always in the same, and sometimes in an obscure sense. They seem generally to express by it what the Greeks did by the word 'hades ;' one while using it for the place of the dead, another while for the time of their continuance in that state, and another while for the state itself. It is defined by their critics to be the interval of space between this world and the next, or between death and the resurrection, every person who dies being said to enter into *al barzakh*, or, as the Greek expresses it, *καταβῆναι εἰς ᾅδου*. One lexicographer (Ibn Máruḥ) tells us that in the Qurán it denotes the grave, but the commentators on this passage expound it 'a bar' or 'invincible obstacle,' cutting off all possibility of return into the world after death. See chap. xxv. 55, where the word again occurs.

"Some interpreters understand the words we have rendered 'behind them' to mean *before them* (it being one of those words, of which there are several in the Arabic tongue, that have direct con-

sounded, there shall be no relation between them *which shall be regarded* on that day; neither shall they ask *assistance* of each other. (103) They whose balances shall be heavy *with good works* shall be happy; (104) but they whose balances shall be light are those who shall lose their souls, *and* shall remain in hell for ever. (105) The fire shall scorch their faces, and they shall writhe their mouths therein *for anguish*: (106) *and it shall be said unto them*, Were not my signs rehearsed unto you; and did ye not charge them with falsehood? (107) They shall answer, O LORD, our unhappiness prevailed over us, and we were people who went astray. (108) O LORD, take us forth from this *fire*: if we return *to our former wickedness*, we shall surely be unjust. (109) *God* will say *unto them*, Be ye driven away with ignominy thereinto: and speak not unto me *to deliver you*. (110) Verily there were a party of my servants, who said, O LORD, we believe; wherefore forgive us, and be merciful unto us; for thou art the best of those who show mercy. (111) But ye received them with scoffs, so that they suffered you to forget my admonition, and ye laughed them to scorn. (112) I have this day rewarded them, for that they suffered *the injuries ye offered them* with patience: verily they enjoy great felicity. (113) *God* will say, What number of years have ye continued on earth? (114)

trary significations), considering *al Barzakh* as a future space, and lying before and not behind them."—Sale.

See also Prelim. Disc., p. 128.

(103) *Whose balances, &c.* See Prelim. Disc., pp. 144, 145; also note on chap. vii. 8.

(105) *They shall writhe, &c.* Rodwell translates "their lips shall quiver therein." Abdul Qádir renders it, "their countenances shall be disfigured therein," and comments thus, "The lower lips shall hang down to the navel, while the upper lips will stretch up to the top of the skull. The tongue will drag along on the ground and be trodden under foot."

(111) *They suffered you to forget, &c.* "Being unable to prevail on you by their remonstrances, because of the contempt wherein ye held them."—Sale.

They will answer, We have continued *there* a day, or part of a day : but ask those who keep account. (115) *God* will say, Ye have tarried but a while, if ye knew *it*. (116) Did ye think that we had created you in sport, and that ye should not be brought again before us ? (117) Wherefore let GOD be exalted, the King, the Truth : There is no GOD besides him, the LORD of the honourable throne. (118) Whoever together with *the true* GOD shall invoke another god, concerning whom he hath no demonstrative proof, shall surely be brought to an account for the same before his LORD. Verily the infidels shall not prosper. (119) Say, O LORD, pardon, and show mercy : for thou art the best of those who show mercy.

(114) *Part of a day.* "The time will seem thus short to them in comparison to the eternal duration of their torments, or because the time of their living in the world was the time of their joy and pleasure ; it being usual for the Arabs to describe what they like as of short, and what they dislike as of long continuance."—*Sale*.

Those who keep account. "That is, the angels, who keep account of the length of men's lives and of their works, or any other who may have leisure to compute, and not us, whose torments distract our thoughts and attention."—*Sale*.

(115) *Ye have tarried but a while, i.e.,* a very short time compared with the eternity before you.

(116) *Did ye think, &c., i.e.,* God did not create you for nothing, but that you might worship and serve him, and he had determined to reward you according to your works.—*Tafsir-i-Raufi*.

CHAPTER XXIV.

ENTITLED SURAT-UN-NÚR (THE LIGHT).

Revealed at Madína.

INTRODUCTION.

THE principal point of interest in this chapter is the reference to the adventure of Ayesha during the return of the Muslim army from the expedition against the Bani Mustaliq (for a full account of which see Muir's *Life of Mahomet*, vol. iii. pp. 244-254). This event is alluded to in vers. 4, 5, 11-26, revealed to clear Ayesha of the calumnies raised against her by her enemies.

Connected with this same event is the milder law relating to adultery, which abrogates the stern requirements of chap. iv. 14. This scandal seems to have made clear the need of stricter laws to regulate the social intercourse of the Muslims, which should have for their end the preservation of good morals. These laws occupy a considerable portion of the chapter. They relate principally to proprieties in calling upon friends and neighbours at their homes, proprieties of dress and personal adornment, and proprieties to be observed by larger children, and domestic servants, and slaves. One remarkable rule is laid down in ver. 32, which requires all marriageable women to be married if possible. Closely connected with this is the requirement that women should only appear in public when closely veiled, while at home they must remain in seclusion.

Degrading as most of these regulations to Muslim women are, none can fail to see their necessity. The low state of morality among Muslims consequent upon the system of polygamy and concubinage, sanctioned by the Qurán and the example of Muhammad, and that facility of divorce which enables men to put away their wives whenever they please, renders that freedom of social intercourse among men and women prevalent in Christian countries an impossibility.

Probable Date of the Revelations.

The expedition to attack the Bani Mustaliq was successfully accomplished in the month of Shabán A.H. 5, and as Ayesha's adventure occurred on the return, near Madína, and as the revelation clearing her character was made one month afterwards, the date of this portion of the chapter (vers. 4, 5, 11-26) may be fixed with a good deal of certainty. Vers. 6-10 seem to have been added at a later date. Vers. 1-3, 27-34, and 57-61, which relate to the proprieties of social life, were very probably connected with, if they did not grow out of, Ayesha's affair, and may therefore be relegated to the latter part of A.H. 5. As to vers. 35-45, there is nothing to indicate their date beyond their style and a possible connection in sense with ver. 46 following. As, however, this connection is very doubtful, I think the passage probably Makkan. Vers. 46-56 and 62-64 belong to a period when Muhammad was in trouble and the zeal of his followers was lukewarm. Such a period might be found almost anywhere between Ohod and the end of the battle of the Ditch; but as ver. 62 seems clearly to point to the latter event, we may fairly say these verses belong to the latter part of A.H. 5.

Principal Subjects.

	VERSE
This chapter revealed from heaven	1
Law relating to fornication	2, 3
Punishment for defaming virtuous women	4, 5
Law relating to charge of adultery when made by a husband against his wife	6-10
Ayesha's slanderers reproved, and their punishment	11-20
Believers warned against evil deeds	21
The rich to forgive the poor, and bestow charity upon them	22
False accusers of virtuous women for ever accursed	23-25
Wicked men and women condemned to each other's society	26
Manners to be observed in visiting each other's homes	27-29
Pious men and women exhorted to modest demeanour	30, 31
Marriageable women to be married if possible	32
Men-servants and maid-servants to be married when honest	32
Unmarried Muslims exhorted to continence	33
Masters to encourage slaves to purchase their freedom	33
The Qurán an admonition to the pious	34
The similitude of God's light	35
The conduct of true believers described	36-38
Infidelity likened to a desert mirage or the darkness of a stormy sea	39

	VERSE
God praised by all his creatures	40, 41
• God revealed in all the phenomena of nature	42-45
Hypocrites rebuked and warned	46-56
Regulations relating to personal and family privacy	57, 58
Exception in case of aged women, blind, lame, and sick	59, 60
Muslims commanded to salute one another	61
True believers exhorted to implicit obedience to the Apostle of God	62, 63
• The Omniscient God will judge all men	64

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

|| (1) *This Sura have we sent down from heaven ; and R 1.*
 have ratified the same ; and we have revealed evident
 signs, that ye may be warned. (2) The whore and the
 whoremonger shall ye scourge with a hundred stripes.
 And let not compassion towards them prevent you from
executing the judgment of GOD, if ye believe in GOD and
 the last day : and let some of the true believers be wit-

(1) *Sura.* See Introduction to chap. i.

(2) *A hundred stripes.* "This law is not to be understood to relate to married people who are of free condition, because adultery in such, according to the Sunnat, is to be punished by stoning (see chap. iv. 15)."

This verse certainly abrogates the law of chap. iv. 14. The law of stoning rests upon a verse of the Qurán now nowhere to be found in it (see note on chap. iii. 23), and it is fair to infer that the law was abrogated with the erasure of the letter ; but the Sunnat still awards it, accounting the spirit of the law to be in force. As a matter of fact, we do not find that stoning is now generally practised among Muslims ; nor does it appear to have ever been generally executed. The same is true of the law enunciated in this verse. Indeed, the state of morality in Muslim countries is so low as to make it difficult to find any one to cast the first stone or inflict the first stripe.

Let not compassion, &c., i.e., "be not moved by pity, either to forgive the offenders or to mitigate their punishment. Muhammad was for so strict and impartial an execution of the laws that he is reported to have said, 'If Fátima, the daughter of Muhammad, steal, let her hand be struck off.'"—*Sale, Baidhawi.*

True believers . . . witnesses. "That is, let the punishment be inflicted in public, and not in private, because the ignominy of it is more intolerable than the smart, and more likely to work a reformation on the offender. Some say there ought to be three persons

nesses of their punishment. (3) The whoremonger shall not marry *any other* than a harlot or an idolatress. And a harlot shall no *man* take in marriage, except a whoremonger or an idolater. And this *kind of marriage* is forbidden the true believers. (4) But *as to* those who accuse women of reputation of *whoredom*, and produce not four witnesses *of the fact*, scourge them with fourscore stripes, and receive not their testimony for ever; for such are infamous prevaricators; (5) excepting those who shall afterwards repent, and amend; for

present at the least, but others think two or even one to be sufficient."—*Sale, Baidhāwī*.

(3) *This is forbidden, &c.* "The preceding passage was revealed on account of the meaner and more indigent Muhájjaríns or refugees, who sought to marry the whores of the infidels taken captives in war for the sake of the gain which they made by prostituting themselves. Some think the prohibition was special, and regarded only the Muhájjaríns before mentioned, and others were of opinion it was general, but it is agreed to have been abrogated by the words which follow in this chapter, 'Marry the single women among you,' harlots being comprised under the appellation of single women.

"It is supposed by some that not *marriage* but *unlawful commerce* with such women is here forbidden."—*Sale, Baidhāwī, Jalāluddín*.

Abdul Qádir says the purport of the law is that neither a whore nor a whoremonger should be permitted to marry the pure so long as they continue their evil courses. But it is clear that the command was intended to restrain vice by making honourable marriage impossible to the criminals mentioned here.

(4) *Women of reputation.* "The Arabic word *muhsināt* properly signifies 'women of unblamable conduct;' but, to bring the chastisement after mentioned on the calumniator, it is also requisite that they be free women of ripe age, having their understandings perfect, and of the Muhammadan religion. Though the word be of the feminine gender, yet *men* are also supposed to be comprised in this law.

"Abu Hanífa was of opinion that the slanderer ought to be scourged in public as well as the fornicator, but the generality are against him."—*Sale, Baidhāwī, Jalāluddín*.

The person said to be referred to here, according to Muslim, i. 886, Tirmuzi, 523, and others, was Hilal Bin Umaiya, who had accused his wife of adultery. Others say it refers to Uwainir Ibn Al Hárith al Ajláni.

Four witnesses. See note on chap. iv. 14.

(5) *Excepting those who repent.* Muhammad was not in a position to punish all the guilty in this case, especially in the case of Abdullah Ibn Ubbai (see below on ver. 11).

unto such will GOD be gracious and merciful. (6) They who shall accuse *their wives* of adultery, and shall have no witnesses *thereof* besides themselves, the testimony *which shall be required* of one of them *shall be*, that he swear four times by GOD that he speaketh the truth; (7) and the fifth time that he *imprécate* the curse of GOD on him if he be a liar. (8) And it shall avert the punishment from *the wife* if she swear four times by GOD that he is a liar; (9) and if the fifth time she *imprecate* the wrath of GOD on her if he speaketh the truth. (10) If *it were* not for the indulgence of GOD towards you, and his mercy, and that GOD is easy to be reconciled, and wise, he would immediately discover your crimes.

|| (11) *As to the party among you who have published the falsehood concerning Ayesha*, think it not to be an evil R $\frac{2}{3}$.

(6-10) These verses seem to have been inserted here at some later period, perhaps by the compilers. They break the continuity of the subject begun in ver. 4 and continued in ver. 11.

He shall swear, &c. "In case both swear, the man's oath discharges him from the imputation and penalty of slander, and the woman's oath frees her from the imputation and penalty of adultery; but, though the woman do swear to her innocence, yet the marriage is actually void, or ought to be declared void by the judge, because it is not fit they should continue together after they have come to these extremities."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*.

No provision is made for the wife to convict her husband of adultery by this swearing process in case she should bring such a charge.

Rodwell thinks Muhammad must have been acquainted with Numb. v. 11-31.

(11) *The falsehood concerning Ayesha.* "For the understanding of this passage it is necessary to relate the following story:—Muhammad having undertaken an expedition against the tribe of Mustaliq, in the sixth year of the Hijra, took his wife Ayesha with him to accompany him. In their return, when they were not far from Madīna, the army removing by night, Ayesha, on her return, alighted from her camel and stepped aside on a private occasion, but on her return, perceiving she had dropped her necklace, which was of onyxes of Dhafār, she went back to look for it, and in the meantime her attendants, taking it for granted that she was got into her pavilion (or little tent surrounded with curtains, wherein women are carried in the East), set it again on the camel, and led it away. When she came back to the road and saw her camel was gone, she sat down there, expecting that when she was missed some would be sent back to fetch her, and in a little time she fell asleep. Early in the morning Safwān Ibn al Muattil, who had stayed behind to rest himself,

unto you : on the contrary, it is better for you. Every man of them *shall be punished* according to the injustice of which he hath been guilty ; and he among them who hath undertaken to aggravate the same shall suffer a grievous punishment. (12) Did not the faithful men and the faithful women, when ye heard this, judge in their own minds for the best, and say, This is a manifest falsehood? (13) Have they produced four witnesses thereof? where-

coming by and perceiving somebody asleep, went to see who it was, and knew it to be Ayesha ; upon which he waked her by twice pronouncing with a low voice these words, 'We are God's, and unto him must we return.' Then Ayesha immediately covered herself with her veil, and Safwán set her on his own camel and led her after the army, which they overtook by noon as they were resting.

"This accident had like to have ruined Ayesha, whose reputation was publicly called in question, as if she had been guilty of adultery with Safwan ; and Muhammad himself knew not what to think when he reflected on the circumstances of the affair, which were improved by some malicious people very much to Ayesha's dishonour ; and, notwithstanding his wife's protestations of her innocence, he could not get rid of his perplexity nor stop the mouths of the censorious, till about a month afterwards, when this passage was revealed, declaring the accusation to be unjust."—*Salé, Bairdháwi, Abúl Fida.*

Better for you. "The words are directed to the Prophet, and to Abu Baqr, Ayesha, and Safwán, the persons concerned in this false report ; since, besides the amends they might expect in the next world, God had done them the honour to clear their reputations by revealing eighteen verses expressly for that purpose."—*Salé, Bairdháwi.*

Every man of them, &c. "The persons concerned in spreading the scandal were Abdullah Ibn Ubbai (who first raised it, and inflamed the matter to the utmost, out of hatred to Muhammad), Zaid Ibn Rifáa, Hassán Ibn Thábit, Mastah Ibn Othútha, a great-grandson of Abdul Muntallib's, and Hamna Bint Jáhash ; and every one of them received fourscore stripes pursuant to the law ordained in this chapter, except only Abdullah, who was exempted, being a man of great consideration."

And he among them, &c., viz., Abdullah Ibn Ubbai. Muir says : "Mahomet did not venture to enforce the sentence against Abdallah. It was fortunate that he refrained from doing so, for a time of trial was approaching when the alienation of this powerful citizen and his adherents might have proved fatal to his cause."—*Life of Mahomet*, vol. iii. p. 251.

Brinckman remarks "that Muhammad appears to have been a spectator of persons and a contrast to John and our Lord, who seem to have reproved the 'men in power the most.'"—*Notes on Islám*, p. 149.

(13) *Have they produced four witnesses?* The author of the Notes

fore since they have not produced the witnesses, they are surely liars in the sight of GOD. (14) *Had it not been for* the indulgence of GOD towards you, and his mercy, in this world and in that which is to come, verily a grievous punishment had been inflicted on you, for the *calumny* which ye have spread: when ye published that with your tongues, and spoke that with your mouths, of which ye had no knowledge; and esteemed it to be light, whereas it was a matter of importance in the sight of GOD.

|| (15) When ye heard it, did ye say, It belongeth not unto us, that we should talk of this *matter*: GOD forbid! this is a grievous calumny. (16) GOD warneth you that ye return not to the like *crime* for ever, if ye be true believers. (17) And GOD declareth unto you *his* signs; ^{NISF.} for GOD *is* knowing *and* wise. (18) Verily they who love that scandal be published of those who believe, shall receive a severe punishment *both* in this world and in the next. (19) GOD knoweth, but ye know not. (20) *Had*

on the Roman Urdú Qurán charges Muhammad with partiality in order to shield the fair fame of his favourite wife, inasmuch as in crimes of this character it would rarely be possible to find four witnesses, especially when they must all be men. Certainly Muhammad's argument to show Ayesha's innocence, as it stands here, is frivolous enough, and this law could hardly ever operate to convict the guilty,* but the suspicion that the law was invented for the purpose of shielding Ayesha is unfounded, because this law had already been in existence for several years (see chap. iv. 14). A much more probable conjecture is that the milder law for the punishment of adultery given in ver. 2, was promulgated under the fear that Ayesha might yet be proved guilty of the crime charged against her. It is fair to suppose that during those thirty days of suspense, Muhammad's mind must have undergone much agony at the thought of the possibility of his favourite wife's being immured alive, and of the possible effect such a proceeding might have upon Abv Baqr. If, under such circumstances, he modified the law, we should not be surprised. Indeed we know that, as a matter of policy, he did not execute the law relating to libel on Abdullah Ibn Ubbai, who was the chief offender; see note above on ver. 11.

* Muir says: "The practical result of Mahomet's rule is that the Mahometan husband immures or secludes his wife, or watches her at

every turn, and with such a system is this to be wondered at?"—*Life of Mahomet*, iii. 253, note.

it not been for the indulgence of GOD towards you and his mercy, and that GOD is gracious and merciful, ye had felt his vengeance.

R $\frac{3}{8}$.

|| (21) O true believers, follow not the steps of the devil; for whosoever shall follow the steps of the devil, he will command them filthy crimes, and that which is unlawful. If *it were not for the indulgence of GOD and his mercy towards you*, there had not been so much as one of you cleansed *from his guilt* for ever; but GOD cleanseth whom he pleaseth, for GOD *both* heareth *and* knoweth. (22) Let not those among you who possess abundance of *wealth* and *have* ability swear that they will not give unto *their* kindred, and the poor, and those who have fled their country for the sake of GOD's true religion; but let them forgive and act with benevolence *towards them*. Do ye not desire that GOD should pardon you? And GOD *is* gracious *and* merciful. (23) Moreover, they who falsely accuse modest women, who behave in a negligent manner, *and are* true believers, shall be cursed in this world and *in* the world to come; and they shall suffer a severe punishment. (24) One day their own tongues shall bear witness against them, and their hands and their feet concerning that which they have done. (25) On that day shall GOD render unto them their just due, and they shall know that GOD is the

(22) "This passage was revealed on account of Abu Baqr, who swore that he would not for the future bestow anything on Mastah, though he was his mother's sister's son, and a poor Muhájir or refugee, because he had joined in scandalising his daughter Ayesha. But on Muhammad's reading this verse to him, he continued Mastah's pension."—Sale, Baidhāwi.

(23) *Behave in a negligent manner, i.e., "who may be less careful in their conduct and more free in their behaviour, as being conscious of no ill."*—Sale.

They shall suffer, &c. "Though the words be general, yet they principally regard those who should calumniate the Prophet's wives. According to a saying of Ibn Abbás, if the threats contained in the whole Qurán be examined, there are none so severe as those occasioned by the false accusation of Ayesha; wherefore he thought even repentance would stand her slanderers in no stead."—Sale, Baidhāwi.

evident truth. (26) The wicked women *should be joined* to the wicked men, and the wicked men to the wicked women; but the good women *should be married* to the good men, and the good men to the good women. These shall be cleared from *the calumnies* which *slanderers* speak of them; they shall obtain pardon, and an honourable provision.

|| (27) O true believers, enter not any houses, besides R 10⁴. your own houses, until ye have asked leave, and have saluted the family thereof; this is better for you, peradventure ye will be admonished. (28) And if ye shall find no person in the *houses*, yet do not enter them until leave be granted you; and if it be said unto you, Return back, do ye return back. This *will be* more decent for you; and GOD knoweth that which ye do. (29) It shall be no crime in you that ye enter uninhabited houses, wherein ye may meet with a convenience. GOD knoweth that which ye discover and that which ye conceal. (30) Speak unto the true believers, that they restrain their

(26) *Wicked women, &c.* See above on ver. 3.

These shall be cleared. "Al Baidhāwī observes, on this passage, that God cleared four persons by four extraordinary testimonies; for he cleared Joseph by the testimony of a child in his mistress's family (chap. xii. 26); Moses, by means of the stone which fled away with his garments (chap. xxxiii. 69); Mary, by the testimony of her infant (chap. xix. 31); and Ayesha, by these verses of the Quran."—Sale.

(27) *Until ye have asked leave.* "To enter suddenly or abruptly into any man's house or apartment is reckoned a great incivility in the East, because a person may possibly be surprised in an indecent action or posture, or may have something discovered which he would conceal. It is said that a man came to Muhammad, and wanted to know whether he must ask leave to go in to his sister; which being answered in the affirmative, he told the Prophet that his sister had nobody else to attend upon her, and it would be troublesome to ask leave every time he went in to her. 'What!' replied Muhammad, 'wouldst thou see her naked?'"—Sale, *Baidhāwī*.

(28) *More decent, i.e.,* "than to be importunate for admission or to wait at the door."—Sale.

(29) *Uninhabited houses, i.e.,* "which are not the private habitation of a family, such as public inns, shops, sheds, &c."—Sale.

(30) *That they restrain their eyes.* To illustrate the importance

eyes, and keep themselves from immodest actions; this will be more pure for them, for GOD is well acquainted with that which they do. (31) And speak unto the believing women, that they restrain their eyes and preserve their modesty, and discover not their ornaments, except what *necessarily* appeareth thereof; and let them throw their veils over their bosoms, and not show their ornaments, unless to their husbands, or their fathers, or their husbands' fathers, or their sons, or their husbands' sons, or their brothers, or their brothers' sons, or their sisters' sons, or their women, or the *captives* which their right hands shall possess, or unto such men as attend *them*, and have no need of *women*, or unto children who distinguish not the nakedness of women. And let them

of this rule in Muhammad's own case, see note on chap. xxxiii. 37.

(31) *Discover not their ornaments.* "As their clothes, jewels, and the furniture of their toilet, much less such parts of their bodies as ought not to be seen."—*Sale*.

Except what . . . appeareth. "Some think their outward garments are here meant, and others their hands and faces: it is generally held, however, that a free woman ought not to discover even those parts, unless to the persons after excepted, or on some unavoidable occasion, as their giving evidence in public, taking advice or medicines in case of sickness, &c."—*Sale*.

Veils over their bosoms. "Taking care to cover their heads, necks, and breasts."—*Sale*.

Husbands. "For whose sake it is that they adorn themselves, and who alone have the privilege to see their whole body."—*Sale*.

Sisters' sons. "These near relations are also excepted, because they cannot avoid seeing them frequently, and there is no great danger to be apprehended from them. They are allowed, therefore, to see what cannot well be concealed in so familiar an intercourse, but no other part of their body.

"Uncles not being here particularly mentioned, it is a doubt whether they may be admitted to see their nieces. Some think they are included under the appellation of *brothers*, but others are of opinion that they are not comprised in this exception, and give this reason for it, viz., lest they should describe the persons of their nieces to their sons."—*Sale, Baidhawî*.

Or their women. "That is, such as are of the Muhammadan religion, it being reckoned by some unlawful, or at least indecent, for a woman who is a true believer to uncover herself before one who is an infidel, because she will hardly refrain describing her to the men; but others suppose all women in general are here

not make a noise with their feet, that their ornaments which they hide may *thereby* be discovered. And be ye all turned unto GOD, O true believers, that ye may be happy. (32) Marry those who are single among you, and such as are honest of your men-servants and your maid-servants: if they be poor, GOD will enrich them of his abundance; for GOD is bounteous *and* wise. (33) And let those who find not a match keep themselves *from fornication*, until GOD shall enrich them of his abundance. And unto such of your slaves as desire a written instrument *allowing them to redeem themselves on paying*

excepted, for in this particular doctors differ."—*Sale, Baidhāvi, Jalāluddīn.*

Or the captives, &c. "Slaves of either sex are included in this exemption, and, as some think, domestic servants who are not slaves, as those of a different nation. It is related that Muhammad once made a present of a man-slave to his daughter Fátima; and when he brought him to her, she had on a garment which was so scanty that she was obliged to leave either her head or her feet uncovered; and that the Prophet, seeing her in great confusion on that account, told her she need be under no concern, for that there was none present besides her father and her slave."—*Sale Jalāluddīn.*

Such men as have no need, &c. "Or have no desire to enjoy them; such as decrepid old men and deformed or silly persons, who follow people as hangers-on for their spare victuals, being too despicable to raise either a woman's passion or a man's jealousy. Whether eunuchs are comprehended under this general designation is a question among the learned."—*Sale, Jalāluddīn, Yahya.*

Let them not make a noise, &c. "By shaking the rings which the women in the East wear about their ankles, and are usually of gold or silver. The pride which the Jewish ladies of old took in making a tinkling with those ornaments of their feet is (among other things of that nature) severely reprov'd by the prophet Isaiah" (Isa. iii. 16, 18).—*Sale.*

(32) *Those who are single, i.e.,* "those who are unmarried of either sex, whether they have been married before or not."—*Sale.*

The purport of the command is that marriageable women, single or widowed, are not to be allowed to remain unmarried. See *Tafsir-i-Ra'ufi in loco.*

(33) *Such of your slaves, &c.* "Of either sex."—*Sale.*

This passage clearly encourages every Muslim to free the slaves he may possess. The slaves are either captives taken in war or those born in the household. There is no express command of the Qurán wherein the slave-dealer can find any refuge for his wicked trade. Muslims are also encouraged to liberate their slaves—pre-

a certain sum, write one, if ye know good in them; and give them of the riches of God, which he hath given you. And compel not your maid-servants to prostitute themselves, if they be willing to live chastely; that ye may seek the casual *advantage* of this present life; but whoever shall compel them *thereto*, verily GOD *will be* gracious and merciful unto such women after their compul-

sumably those who have become Muslims—and in this verse it is declared to be a meritorious act to “give them of the riches of God,” in order to enable them to purchase their liberty. There is, however, something to be said on the other side of this question:—(1) Slave-holding is not a sin according to the teaching of Islām. It knows nothing of the royal law, “Love thy neighbour as thyself.” (2) Captives taken in war are lawful property for the Muslim; both the example and precept of the Prophet establish this point. (3) Slave concubinage, which is everywhere allowed in the Qurán (see note on chap. iv. 3), is perhaps the strongest reason why the curse of slavery will be perpetuated so long as Islām has power to act on its own principles; (4) and, finally, while it is certainly allowed to be meritorious to free slaves, and while Muhammad set an example to his followers on this point, there is nothing in the Qurán which can fairly be interpreted as teaching that slavery should be abolished *in toto*, as an evil inconsistent with the principles of true religion. There is, then, such inconsistency in the teaching of the Qurán on the subject of slavery as to render futile any attempt at removing this evil from Muslim practice by moral suasion.

A written instrument. “Whereby the master obliges himself to set his slave at liberty, on receiving a certain sum of money, which the slave undertakes to pay.”—*Sale*.

The slave may secure the money either by agreeing to produce so much for his master by his labour within a fixed period, or get it as alms from rich Muslims. See *Tafsir-i-Abdul Qádir*.

If ye know good in them. “That is, if ye have found them faithful, and have reason to believe they will perform their engagement.”—*Sale*.

Give them of the riches, &c. “Either by bestowing something on them of your own substance, or by abating them a part of their ransom. Some suppose these words are directed, not to the masters only, but to all Muslims in general; recommending it to them to assist those who have obtained their freedom and paid their ransom, either out of their own stock or by admitting them to have a share in the public alms.”—*Sale, Baidháwí*.

Compel not, &c. “It seems Abdullah Ibn Ubbai had six women-slaves, on whom he laid a certain tax, which he obliged them to earn by the prostitution of their bodies; and one of them made her complaint to Muhammad, which occasioned the revelation of this passage.”

sion. (34) And now have we revealed unto you evident signs, and a *history* like unto some of the *histories* of those who have gone before you, and an admonition unto the pious.

|| (35) God is the light of heaven and earth, the similitude of his light is as a niche in a wall wherein a lamp is placed, and the lamp enclosed in a case of glass; the glass appears as it were a shining star. It is lighted with the oil of a blessed tree, an olive, neither of the east nor of the west: it wanteth little but that the oil thereof would give light, although no fire touched it. *This is light added unto light.* GOD will direct unto his light whom he pleaseth. GOD propoundeth parables unto men, for GOD knoweth all things. (36) In the houses which GOD hath permitted to be raised, and that his name be commemorated therein! men celebrate his praise in the same morning and evening, (37) whom neither merchandising nor selling diverteth

God will be gracious, i.e., "he will find no fault with the slave-girls thus compelled to immorality."—*Tafsir-i-Raufi.*

(34) *A history like, &c., i.e., "the story of the false accusation of Ayesha, which resembles those of Joseph and the Virgin Mary."*—*Sale.*

(35) *God is the light.* Comp. 1 John i. 5 and 1 Tim. vi. 16.

An olive, &c. "But of a more excellent kind. Some think the meaning to be that the tree grows neither in the eastern nor the western parts, but in the midst of the world, namely, in Syria, where the best olives grow."—*Sale, Baidhawī.*

Light unto light. "Or a light whose brightness is doubly increased by the circumstances above mentioned.

"The commentators explain this allegory and every particular of it with great subtlety, interpreting the *light* here described to be the *light* revealed in the Qurán, or God's *enlightening grace* in the heart of man, and in divers other manners."—*Sale.*

(36) *The houses.* "The connection of these words is not very obvious. Some suppose they ought to be joined with the preceding words, 'Like a niche,' or 'It is lighted in the houses,' &c., and that the comparison is more strong and just by being made to the lamps in mosques, which are larger than those in private houses. Some think they are rather to be connected with the following words, 'Men praise,' &c. And others are of opinion they are an imperfect beginning of a sentence, and that the words, 'Praise ye God,' or the like, are to be understood. However, the houses here intended are those set apart for divine worship, or particularly the three principal temples of Makkah, Madina, and Jerusalem."—*Sale, Baidhawī.*

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from the remembering of God, and the observance of prayer and the giving of alms, fearing the day whereon *men's* hearts and eyes shall be troubled; (38) that GOD may recompense them according to the utmost merit of what they shall have wrought, and may add unto them of his abundance *a more excellent reward*, for GOD bestoweth on whom he pleaseth without measure. (39) But *as to* the unbelievers, their works are like the vapour in a plain, which the thirsty *traveller* thinketh to be water, until, when he cometh thereto, he findeth it *to be* nothing; but he findeth GOD with him, and he will fully pay him his account; and GOD is swift in taking an account; (40) or as the darkness in a deep sea, covered by waves *riding* on waves, above which are clouds, being *additions of* darkness one over the other; when *one* stretcheth forth his hand, he is far from seeing it. And unto whomsoever God shall not grant *his* light, he shall enjoy no light at all.

|| (41) Dost thou not perceive that all *creatures* both in heaven and earth praise God, and the birds *also* extending their wings? Every one knoweth his prayer and his praise, and GOD knoweth that which they do. (42) Unto GOD *belongeth* the kingdom of heaven and earth, and unto GOD *shall be* the return *at the last day*. (43) Dost thou not see that GOD gently driveth forward the clouds, and

(39, 40) "These verses, in which infidelity is compared to a tempestuous sea, of which the crested waves below mingle with the lowering clouds above—a scene of impenetrable darkness and despair—are to my apprehension amongst the grandest and most powerful in the whole Coran."—Muir in *Life of Mahomet*, vol. iii. p. 309.

The vapour in a plain. "The Arabic word *Sarāb* signifies that false appearance which, in the Eastern countries, is often seen in sandy plains about noon, resembling a large lake of water in motion. . . . It sometimes tempts thirsty travellers out of their way, but deceives them when they come nearer, either going forward (for it always appears at the same distance) or quite vanishing."—Sale.

He findeth God. "That is, he will not escape the notice or vengeance of God."—Sale.

(41) *All creatures . . . praise God.* "By exhibiting the proofs of his being and attributes."—*Tafsir-i-Raufi*.

gathereth them together, and then layeth them on heaps? Thou also seest the rain which falleth from the midst thereof, and *God* sendeth down from heaven *as it were* mountains, wherein there is hail; he striketh therewith whom he pleaseth, and turneth the same away from whom he pleaseth: the brightness of his lightning wanteth but little of taking away the sight. (44) *GOD* shifteth the night and the day: verily herein is an instruction unto those who have sight. And *GOD* hath created every animal of water; one of them goeth on his belly, and another of them walketh upon two feet, and another of them walketh upon four *feet*: *GOD* createth that which he pleaseth, for *GOD* is almighty. (45) Now have we sent down evident signs, and *GOD* directeth whom he pleaseth into the right way. (46) The *hypocrites* say, We believe in *GOD* and on *his* Apostle, and we obey *them*, yet a part of them turneth back after this; but these are not *really* believers. (47) And when they are summoned before *GOD* and his Apostle that he may judge between them, behold a part of them retire.

|| (48) But if the right had been on their side, they would have come and submitted themselves unto him. (49) Is there an infirmity in their hearts? Do they doubt? Or do they fear lest *GOD* and his Apostle act unjustly towards them? But themselves are the unjust doers. ULS

(44) *God hath created every animal of water.* "This assertion, which has already occurred in another place (chap. xxi. 31), being not true in strictness, the commentators suppose that by water is meant seed, or else that water is mentioned only as the chief cause of the growth of animals, and a considerable and necessary constituent part of their bodies."—*Salé*.

(46-49) Noeldeke thinks the passage beginning with ver. 46 and ending with ver. 56 belongs to a period between Ohod and the Battle of the Ditch—a time when it went hard with Muhammad.

(49) *The unjust doers.* "This passage was occasioned by Bashir the hypocrite, who, having a controversy with a Jew, appealed to Qáb Ibn al Ashraf, whereas the Jew appealed to Muhammad (see note, chap. iv. 58), or, as others tell us, by Mughaira Ibn Wáíl, who refused to submit a dispute he had with Ali to the Prophet's decision."—*Salé*.

$\frac{7}{13}$.

|| (50) The saying of the true believers, when they are summoned before GOD and his Apostle that he may judge between them, is no other than that they say, We have heard and do obey, and these are they who shall prosper. (51) Whoever shall obey GOD and his Apostle, and shall fear GOD, and shall be devout towards him, these shall enjoy great felicity. (52) They swear by GOD, with a most solemn oath, that if thou commandest them they will go forth *from their houses and possessions*. Say, Swear not to a falsehood, obedience is more requisite, and GOD is well acquainted with that which ye do. (53) Say, Obey GOD and obey the Apostle; but if ye turn back, verily *it is expected* of him *that he perform* his duty, and of you *that ye perform* your duty, and if ye obey him ye shall be directed; but the duty of *our* Apostle is only public preaching. (54) GOD promiseth unto such of you as believe and do good works that he will cause them to succeed *the unbelievers* in the earth, as he caused those who were before you to succeed *the infidels of their time*, and that he will establish for them their religion which pleaseth them, and will change their fear into security. They shall worship me, and shall not associate any *other* with me. But whoever shall disbelieve after this, they will be the wicked doers. (55) Observe prayer and give alms and obey the Apostle, that ye may obtain mercy. (56) Think not that the unbelievers shall frustrate *the designs of God* on earth, and their abode *hereafter* shall be *hell-fire*; a miserable journey *shall it be thither!*

R $\frac{8}{14}$. || (57) O true believers, let your slaves and those among you who shall not have attained the age of puberty ask

(54) *Those . . . before you, &c.* The allusion is to the Israelites, who dispossessed the Canaanites. Some authors regard this as a prophecy. The meaning seems to be, that as God had in the past destroyed the infidels who persecuted his prophets, so now he would destroy the enemies of the Muslims.

(57) *Let your slaves, &c. . . . ask leave.* "Because there are certain times when it is not convenient even for a domestic or a child

leave of you, *before they come into your presence*, three times *in the day, namely*, before the morning prayer, and when you lay aside your garments at noon, and after the evening prayer. *These are the three times for you to be private*: it shall be no crime in you, or in them, *if they go into you without asking permission* after these times, while ye are in frequent attendance, the one of you on the other. Thus GOD declareth *his signs* unto you; for GOD is knowing and wise. (58) And when your children attain the age of puberty, let them ask leave *to come into your presence at all times*, in the same manner as those who have attained that age before them ask leave. Thus GOD declareth his signs unto you; and GOD is knowing and wise. (59) *As to such women as are past child-bearing, who hope*

to come in to one without notice. It is said that this passage was revealed on account of Asma Bint Murthad, whose servant entered suddenly upon her at an improper time; but others say it was occasioned by Mudráj Ibn Amru, then a boy, who being sent by Muhammad to call Omar to him, went directly into the room where he was, without giving notice, and found him taking his noon's nap, and in no very decent posture; at which Omar was so ruffled that he wished God would forbid even their fathers and children to come in to them abruptly at such times."—Sale, *Baidháwi*.

"The ancient authority of the father of a family, the first which was known to man, is still preserved entire in the East. The Qurán did not establish it. It only rendered it more sacred. There a father of a family still enjoys all the rights conferred on him by nature. He is the judge and high priest. His servants, his children, do not come into his presence without his permission. They are bound to go at morning, noon, and at evening to offer their services to him and receive his blessing. He decides on the disputes which arise between them, and sacrifices the victims of the Bairám (the festival of the Turks). It is there that objects capable of exciting affecting emotions may be seen. Under the same roof often reside four generations. Extreme old age, robust manhood, and tender infancy may there be seen united together by sacred and cherished ties."—Savary.

Three times in the day, i.e., "morning prayer," which is the time of people's rising from their beds; "noon," when ye take off your upper garments to sleep, which is a custom common in the East and all warm countries; and evening prayer, "when ye undress yourselves to prepare for bed." Al Baidháwi adds a fourth season when permission to enter must be asked, viz., at night: but this follows of course."—Sale.

(59) See above on vers. 27-31.

not to marry *again because of their advanced age*, it shall be no crime in them if they lay aside their *outer* garments, not showing *their* ornaments; but if they abstain *from this*, it will be better for them. GOD *both* heareth and knoweth. (60) It shall be no crime in the blind, nor shall it be any crime in the lame, neither shall it be any crime in the sick, or in yourselves, that ye eat in your houses, or in the houses of your fathers, or the houses of your mothers, or in the houses of your brothers, or the houses of your sisters, or the houses of your uncles on the father's side, or the houses of your aunts on the father's side, or the houses of your uncles on the mother's side, the houses of your aunts on the mother's side, or *in those houses* the keys whereof ye have in your possession, or *in the house* of your friend. It shall not be any crime in you whether ye eat together or separately. (61) And when ye enter any houses, salute one another

(60) *That they eat in your houses, i.e., "where your wives or families are; or in the houses of your sons, which may be looked on as your own.*

"This passage was designed to remove some scruples or superstitions of the Arabs in Muhammad's time, some of whom thought their eating with maimed or sick people defiled them; others imagined they ought not to eat in the house of another, though ever so nearly related to them, or though they were intrusted with the key and care of the house in the master's absence, and might therefore conclude it would be no offence; and others declined eating with their friends though invited, lest they should be burthensome. The whole passage seems to be no more than a declaration that the things scrupled were perfectly innocent. However, the commentators say it is now abrogated, and that it related only to the old Arabs in the infancy of Muhammadanism."—Sale, *Baidāhwi*, *Jalāluddīn*.

Muir interprets this passage as simply exempting these classes from the prohibition of dining familiarly in each other's apartments (see *Life of Mahomet*, vol. iii. p. 234).

Eat together or separately. "As the tribe of Laith thought it unlawful for a man to eat alone, and some of the Ansārs, if they had a guest with them, never ate but in his company, so there were others who refused to eat with any, out of a superstitious caution lest they should be defiled, or out of a hoggish greediness."—Sale, *Baidāhwi*.

(61) *Salute one another.* "Literally, yourselves; that is, accord-

on the part of GOD with a blessed and a welcome salutation. Thus GOD declareth his signs unto you, that ye may understand.

¶ (62) Verily they only *are* true believers who believe R 15⁹. in GOD and his Apostle, and when they are assembled with him on any affair, depart not until they have obtained leave of him. Verily they who ask leave of thee are those who believe in GOD and his Apostle. When therefore they ask leave of thee *to depart*, on account of any business of their own, grant leave unto such of them as thou shalt think fit, and ask pardon for them of GOD; for GOD *is* gracious *and* merciful. (63) Let not the calling of the Apostle be esteemed among you, as your calling the one to the other. GOD knoweth such of you as privately withdraw themselves *from the assembly*, taking shelter behind one another. But let those who withstood his command take heed lest some calamity befall them *in this world*, or a grievous punishment be inflicted on them *in the life to come*. (64) *Doth* not what-

ing to al Baidhāwi, the people of the house, to whom ye are united by the ties of blood, and by the common bond of religion. 'And if there be nobody in the house,' says Jalāluddīn, 'salute yourselves, and say, Peace be on us, and on the righteous servants of God: for the angels will return your salutation.'—*Sale*.

(62) *Any affair*. "As at public prayers, or a solemn feast, or at council, or on a military expedition."—*Sale*.

Ask pardon for them. "Because such departure, though with leave and on a reasonable excuse, is a kind of failure in the exact performance of their duty, seeing they prefer their temporal affairs to the advancement of the true religion."—*Sale, Baidhāwi*.

(63) *Let not the calling of the apostles, &c.* "These words are variously interpreted: for their meaning may be, either, Make not light of the Apostle's summons, as ye would of another person's of equal condition with yourselves, by not obeying it, or by departing out of, or coming into, his presence without leave first obtained; or, Think not that when the Apostle calls upon God in prayer, it is with him, as with you, when ye prefer a petition to a superior, who sometimes grants, but as often denies, your suit; or, Call not to the Apostle, as ye do to one another, that is, by name, or familiarly and with a loud voice; but make use of some honourable compellation, as, O apostle of God, or, O prophet of God; and speak in an humble, modest manner."—*Sale, Baidhāwi, Jalāluddīn*.

ever is in heaven and on earth *belong* unto GOD? He well knoweth what ye are about: and on a certain day they shall be assembled before him; and he shall declare unto them that which they have done; for GOD knoweth all things.

CHAPTER X V.

ENTITLED SURAT AL FURQÁN (THE ILLUMINATION).

Revealed at Makkah.

INTRODUCTION.

THE object of the revelations of this chapter is to rebuke the unbelief of the Quraish. They had charged Muhammad with being an impostor. His Qurán was stigmatised as a jumble of old stories, which he had learned from certain informants during the day, and wrote down in the night. The only reply given to these accusations is a denial, accompanied by a threatening of Divine judgment upon their unbelief. The fate of those who opposed the former prophets is recounted as a warning to the unbelieving people of Makkah, while the rewards of true believers are detailed as a comfort to the Prophet and his followers.

Here, as elsewhere, Muhammad is more successful in his arguments against idolatry than in defence of his prophetic claims. The passages setting forth the reasons why God alone should be worshipped are very noble and beautiful.

This chapter, while showing the stolid indifference and confident opposition of the Quraish, nowhere indicates any violence towards Muhammad or his followers. The idolaters are simply unbelievers, given over to their lusts, and utterly irreligious. The only thing noticeable beyond this in their opposition is their charging Muhammad with being an impostor. It was probably owing to this that Muhammad began to despair of their conversion (ver. 46), when he spoke of the infidels as "brute cattle," though he at the same time expressed himself as earnestly desiring their conversion (ver. 59).

Probable Date of the Revelations.

The most that can be said of the date of the revelations of this chapter is, that they belong to an early period in Muhammad's ministry at Makkah.

This is evident from the absence of any allusion to persecution on the part of the Quraish. Their opposition, however, had assumed a somewhat decided form, as we find that the unbelievers are called by hard names, as already remarked above. However, the Prophet still pleads with them in hope of their conversion. The revelations may therefore be assigned a place near the end of the first Makkan stage.

Some have imagined that vers. 43 and 44 were revealed at Tayif, but without reason. Others have fixed ver. 70 *seq.* at Madîna, supposing the person alluded to there to be Wahshi, who slew Hamza at the battle of Ohod; but that verse is better understood as having a general reference.

Principal Subjects.

VERSES

God praised for the Qurán	1
The one God a sovereign Creator and Ruler	2
The idolaters worship gods that are helpless	3, 4
The Qurán said to be Muhammad's own forgery	5, 6
Muhammad protests that the Qurán is from God	7
Unbelievers reject Muhammad because he is like other men	8, 9
Muhammad said to be a madman	9
God comforts Muhammad on account of these calumnies	10
Unbelievers doomed to hell-fire	11-16
The reward of the pious in Paradise	16, 17
Even the false gods will desert their worshippers in the judgment-day	18-21
The former prophets were all like Muhammad	22
The blasphemous unbelief of the Quraish	23
They shall be punished and their works demolished	24, 25
Relative condition of the faithful and the unbelievers in the resurrection	26-32
Former prophets had their enemies among unbelievers	33
The Qurán sent down by piecemeal a stumbling-stone to infidels, but a comfort to believers	34-36
Those who accused Moses and Aaron of imposture were destroyed	37, 38
Noah's calumniators drowned	39
Adites, Thamúdites, and Sodomites destroyed for infidelity	40-42
The Quraish warned in vain by these examples	43-45
God's works testify to his being	46-52
God could have sent a preacher to every city	53
Muhammad not to obey the will of infidels	54
God the Creator and Ruler of all things	55, 56
Unbelievers worship idols and assist Satan	57

	VERSES
Muhammad sent to be a preacher and a warner	58
Muhammad only desires the conversion of his people	59
He is exhorted to trust the merciful Creator and Ruler of heaven and earth	60
The infidels refuse to worship the God of Muhammad	61
God praised for his benevolent works	62, 63
The servants of God described	64-68
Wicked men saved by repentance and good works	69-71
True penitents described	72-74
Their reward in Paradise	75, 76
God reprobates the Quraish	77

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

|| (1) BLESSED be he who hath revealed the *Furqán* unto R $\frac{1}{16}$
his servant, that he may be a preacher to all creatures ;
(2) unto whom *belongeth* the kingdom of heaven and of
earth : who hath begotten no issue ; and hath no partner
in *his* kingdom : *who* hath created all things, and disposed
the same according to his determinate will. (3) Yet have
they taken *other* gods besides him ; which have created
nothing, but are themselves created : (4) and are able
neither to avert evil from, nor to procure good unto them-
selves ; and have not the power of death, or of life, or of
raising *the dead*. (5) And the unbelievers say, This *Qurán*
is no other than a forgery which he hath contrived ; and
other people have assisted him therein : but they utter an

(1) *The Furqán*. The *Qurán*. See Prelim. Disc., p. 97 ; also note on chap. xxi. 49, where the Pentateuch is called by this name.

(2) *Begotten no issue*. See note on chap. xxiii. 92.

(3) *Themselves created*. "Being either the heavenly bodies or idols, the works of men's hands."—*Salé*. What follows rather points to dumb idols only.

(5) *Other people have assisted him*. "See chap. xvi. 105. It is supposed the Jews are particularly intended in this place, because they used to repeat passages of ancient history to Muhammad, on which he used to discourse and make observations."—*Salé, Baidhāwī*.

See also notes on chaps. iii. 185, xi. 36, and xii. 103.

unjust thing and a falsehood. (6) They also say, *These are fables of the ancients, which he hath caused to be written down; and they are dictated unto him morning and evening.* (7) Say, He hath revealed it who knoweth the secrets in heaven and earth: verily he is gracious *and* merciful. (8) And they say, What *kind* of apostle is this? He eateth food and walketh in the streets, *as we do*: unless an angel be sent down unto him, and become a *fellow*-preacher with him; (9) or *unless* a treasure be cast down unto him; or he have a garden, *of the fruit* whereof he may eat, *we will not believe.* The ungodly also say, Ye follow no other than a man who is distracted. (10) Behold what they liken thee unto. But they are deceived; neither can they *find a just occasion to reproach thee.*

2 17² || (11) Blessed be he who, if he pleaseth, will make for thee a better *provision* than this *which they speak of; namely,* gardens through which rivers flow: and he will provide thee palaces. (12) But they reject the belief of the hour *of judgment* as a falsehood: and we have prepared for him who shall reject the belief of *that* hour burning fire; (13) when it shall see them from a distant place, they shall hear it furiously raging and roaring. (14) And when they shall be cast, bound together, into a strait place thereof, they shall there call for death; (15) *but it shall be answered them,* Call not this day for

(6) These charges were never fairly refuted. The only answer is the assertion of the following verse.

(8) *He eateth food, &c.* "Being subject to the same wants and infirmities of nature, and obliged to submit to the same low means of supporting himself and his family, with ourselves. The Makkans were acquainted with Muhammad and with his circumstances and ways of life too well to change their old familiarity into the reverence due to the messenger of God: for a prophet hath no honour in his own country."—Sale.

Unless an angel. See notes on chap. vi. 109–III.

(9) These words were probably said with reference to the Prophet's description of Paradise. Compare with verses 11 and 12 following.

(14) *A strait place.* Strait by reason of the number of them. See note on chap. ii. 38.

one death, but call for many deaths. (16) Say, Is this better, or a garden of eternal duration, which is promised unto the pious? It shall be *given* unto them for a reward and a retreat: (17) therein shall they have whatever they please, continuing *in the same* for ever. *This* is a promise to be demanded at the hands of thy LORD. (18) On a certain day he shall assemble them, and whatever they worship, besides God; and shall say *unto the worshipped*, Did ye seduce these my servants; or did they wander of *themselves* from the *right* way? (19) They shall answer, God forbid! It was not fitting for us that we should take any protectors besides thee: but thou didst permit them and their fathers to enjoy abundance; so that they forgot *thy* admonition and became lost people. (20) *And God shall say unto their worshippers*, Now have these convinced you of falsehood in that which ye say; they can neither avert *your punishment* nor *give you* any assistance. (21) And whoever of you shall be guilty of injustice, him will we cause to taste a grievous torment. (22) We have sent no messengers before thee, but they ate food, and walked through the streets: and we make some of you an occasion of trial unto others. Will ye persevere with patience? since the LORD regardeth *your perseverance*.

|| (23) They who hope not to meet us *at the resurrection* say, Unless the angels be sent down unto us, or we see our LORD *himself*, *we will not believe*. Verily they behave themselves arrogantly, and have transgressed with an enormous transgression. (24) The day *whereon* they shall see

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(17) See note on chap. iii. 15.

(18) *Did ye seduce, &c.* The objects of worship intended here seem to be the angels or holy men. The passage condemns the worship of *walis* and *pirs* or saints, so prevalent among the Muslims of the present day.

(22) *An occasion of trial.* "Giving occasion of envy, repining, and malice; to the poor, mean, and sick, for example, when they compare their own condition with that of the rich, the noble, and those who are in health; and trying the people to whom prophets are sent, by those prophets."—Sale, *Baidhāwi*, *Jalāluddīn*.

(24) *They shall see the angels.* "At their death or at the resurrection."—Sale.

the angels, there shall be no glad tidings on that day for the wicked; and they shall say, *Be this removed far from us?* and we will come unto the work which they shall have wrought, (25) and we will make it *as* dust scattered abroad. (26) On that day shall they who are destined to Paradise be more happy in an abode, and have a preferable place of repose at noon. (27) On that day the heaven shall be cloven in sunder by the clouds, and the angels shall be sent down, descending *visibly therein*. (28) On that day the kingdom shall of right belong wholly unto the Merciful; and that day shall be grievous for the unbelievers. (29) On that day the unjust person shall bite

(26) *At noon.* "For the business of the day of judgment will be over by that time; and the blessed will pass their noon in Paradise, and the damned in hell."—*Sale, Baidhāwi.*

(27) *The heavens shall be cloven, i.e.,* "they shall part and make way for the clouds which shall descend with the angels bearing the books wherein every man's actions are recorded."—*Sale.*

(29) *The unjust person.* "It is supposed by some that these words particularly relate to Utbā Ibn Abi Muīt, who used to be much in Muhammad's company, and having once invited him to an entertainment, the Prophet refused to taste of his meat unless he would profess Islām, which accordingly he did. Soon after, Utbā meeting Ubbā Ibn Kḥalf, his intimate friend, and being reproached by him for changing his religion, assured him that he had not, but had only pronounced the profession of faith to engage Muhammad to eat with him, because he could not for shame let him go out of his house without eating. However, Ubbā protested that he would not be satisfied unless he went to Muhammad and set his foot on his neck and spit in his face, which Utbā, rather than break with his friend, performed in the public hall, where he found Muhammad sitting; whereupon the Prophet told him that if ever he met him out of Makkah he would cut off his head. And he was as good as his word; for Utbā being afterwards taken prisoner at the battle of Badr, had his head struck off by Ali at Muhammad's command. As for Ubbā, he received a wound from the Prophet's own hand at the battle of Ohod, of which he died at his return to Makkah."—*Sale, Baidhāwi.*

Tradition relates a story to the effect that, after the battle of Badr, when the dead were being buried in a common grave, and Abu Baqr read out their names as they were cast in, Muhammad exclaimed, "Utbā! Shaiba! Umeyya! Abu Jahl! have you now found that which your Lord promised you true? What my Lord promised me that verily have I found to be true. Woe unto this people! Ye have rejected me, your Prophet! Ye cast me forth, and others gave me refuge; ye fought against me, and others came to my help!"—*Muir's Life of Mohamet*, vol. iii. p. 114.

his hand *for anguish and despair*, and shall say, Oh that I had taken the way of *truth* with the Apostle! (30) Alas for me! Oh that I had not taken such a one for *my* friend! (31) He seduced me from the admonition of *God* after it had come unto me: for the devil is the betrayer of man. (32) And the Apostle shall say, O LORD, verily my people esteemed this Qurán *to be a vain composition*. (33) In like manner did we ordain unto every prophet an enemy from among the wicked: but thy LORD is a sufficient director and defender. (34) The unbelievers say, Unless the Qurán be sent down unto him entire at once, *we will not believe*. But in this manner *have we revealed* it, that we might confirm thy heart thereby, and we have dictated

(30) *Such an one*. "According to preceding note, this was Utbá Ibn Khalf."—*Sale*.

(33) *In like manner*. See note on chap. xxiii. 35-43.

(34) *Unless the Qurán, &c.* "As were the Pentateuch, Psalms, and Gospel, according to the Muhammadan notion; whereas it was twenty-three years before the Qurán was completely revealed. See Prelim. Disc., p. 107."—*Sale*.

That we might confirm thy heart thereby. "Both to infuse courage and constancy into thy mind, and to strengthen thy memory and understanding. For, say the commentators, the Prophet's receiving the divine directions from time to time how to behave and to speak on any emergency, and the frequent visits of the Angel Gabriel, greatly encouraged and supported him under all his difficulties; and the revealing of the Qurán by degrees was a great, and to him a necessary help for his retaining and understanding it, which it would have been impossible for him to have done with any exactness had it been revealed at once; Muhammad's case being entirely different from that of Moses, David, and Jesus, who could all read and write, whereas he was perfectly illiterate."—*Sale, Baidhāwī*. But see note on chap. vii. 158.

Distinct parcels. See Prelim. Disc. p. 108. "It is interesting to watch the gradual lengthening of the Suras. . . . The twenty-two Suras first revealed contain an average of only *five lines* each. The next twenty suras *sixteen lines*; while some of them comprise nearly *two pages*, each of twenty-two lines. From this period to the Hegira the average length of the fifty suras revealed is three pages and nine lines, some being seven and eight, and one nearly twelve pages long. The average length of the twenty-one suras given forth after the Hegira is five pages; the longest is Sura Bacr (II.), which has twenty-two and a half pages."—*Muir's Life of Mohamet*, vol. ii. p. 136, note.

it gradually, by distinct parcels. (35) They shall not come unto thee with any strange question; but we will bring thee the truth *in answer*, and a most excellent interpretation. (36) They who shall be dragged on their faces into hell shall be in the worst condition, and shall stray most widely from the way of *salvation*.

R⁴. 2. || (37) We heretofore delivered unto Moses the book of *the law*; and we appointed him Aaron his brother for a counsellor. (38) And we said *unto them*, Go ye to the people who charge our signs with falsehood. And we destroyed them with a *signal* destruction. (39) *And remember* the people of Noah, when they accused *our* apostles of imposture; we drowned them, and made them a sign unto mankind. And we have prepared for the unjust a painful torment. (40) *Remember* also Ád and Thamúd, and those who dwelt at al Rass, and many *other* generations within this *period*. (41) Unto each of *them* did we propound examples *for their admonition*; and each of *them*

(35) *We will bring thee the truth in answer.* The theory of inspiration here announced was just suited to Muhammad's purposes. Did he require divine sanction for any measure? A new revelation could easily be obtained according to custom. Did he need time to give a considerate reply to his enemies? Such reply could be given after consultation with Gabriel. Did any command prove impracticable or impolitic under new circumstances? A divine message abrogating it could be easily obtained. Can any reader of the Qurán fail to see that such use was made of his claim to inspiration? If so, how can we be expected to believe Muhammad to be guiltless of the charge of imposture so constantly brought against him?

(40, 41) See note on chap. xxiii. 35-43.

Al Rass. "The commentators are at a loss where to place al Rass. According to one opinion, it was the name of a well (as the word signifies) near Midian, about which some idolaters having fixed their habitations, the Prophet Shuaib was sent to preach to them; but they not believing on him, the well fell in, and they and their houses were all swallowed up. Another supposes it to have been a town in Yamáma, where a remnant of the Thamúdités settled, to whom a prophet was also sent; but they slaying him, were utterly destroyed. Another thinks it was a well near Antioch, where Habíb al Najjár (whose tomb is still to be seen there, being frequently visited by the Muhammadans, chap. xxxvi. 12) was martyred. And a fourth takes al Rass to be a well in Hadhramaut, by which dwelt some idolatrous Thamúdités, whose prophet was Handha or Khantala (for I find the

did we destroy with an *utter* destruction. (42) *The Quraish* have passed *frequently* near the city which was rained on by a fatal rain; have they not seen *where* it once stood? Yet have they not dreaded the resurrection. (43) When they see thee they will receive thee only with scoffing, *saying*, Is this he whom God has sent *as his* apostle? (44) Verily he had almost drawn aside from *the worship* of our gods, if we had not firmly persevered *in our devotion* towards them. But they shall know hereafter, when they shall see the punishment *prepared for them*, who hath strayed more widely from the *right* path. (45) What thinkest thou? He who taketh his lust for his god; canst thou be his guardian? (46) Dost thou imagine that the greater part of them hear or understand? They are no other than like the *brute* cattle; yea, they stray more widely from the *true* path.

|| (47) Dost thou not consider *the works* of thy LORD, R $\frac{5}{3}$ how he stretcheth forth the shadow *before sunrise*? If he had pleased he would have made it immovable *for ever*. Then we cause the sun to *rise*, and to show the same, (48) and afterwards we contract it by an easy and gradual contraction. (49) It is he who hath ordained the night to *cover* you as a garment, and sleep to *give you* rest, and hath ordained the day for waking. (50) It is he who sendeth the winds, driving abroad the pregnant clouds, as the forerunners of his mercy: and we send down pure water from

name written both ways) Ibn Safwán (chap. xxii. 46). These people were first annoyed by certain monstrous birds, called *anká*, which lodged in the mountain above them, and used to snatch away their children when they wanted other prey; but this calamity was so far from humbling them, that on their prophet's calling down a judgment upon them, they killed him, and were all destroyed."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*, *Jalāluddīn*.

(42) *The city*. Sodom, passed on the way to Syria.

(45) *Canst thou be his guardian?* i.e., "dost thou expect to reclaim such an one from idolatry and infidelity?"—Sale.

(50) *Forerunners of his mercy*. "See chap. vii. 58. There is the same various reading here as is mentioned in the notes to that passage."—Sale.

Pure water. "Properly, *purifying* water; which epithet may

heaven, (51) that we may thereby revive a dead country, and give to drink thereof unto what we have created, both of cattle and men, in great numbers, (52) and we distribute the same among them at various times, that they may consider; but the greater part of men refuse to consider, only out of ingratitude. (53) If we had pleased we had sent a preacher unto every city; (54) wherefore, do not thou obey the unbelievers, but oppose them herewith with a strong opposition. (55) It is he who hath let loose the two seas; this fresh and sweet, and that salt and bitter; and hath placed between them a bar, and a bound which cannot be passed. (56) It is he who hath created man of water, and hath made him to bear the double relation of consanguinity and affinity; for thy LORD is powerful. (57) They worship, besides GOD, that which can neither profit them nor hurt them; and the unbeliever is an

probably refer to the cleansing quality of that element, of so great use both on religious and on common occasions.”—Sale.

(51) *And give to drink.* “That is, to such as live in the dry deserts, and are obliged to drink rain-water, which the inhabitants of towns and places well watered have no occasion to do.”—Sale.

(52) *Out of ingratitude.* “Or out of infidelity; for the old Arabs used to think themselves indebted for their rains, not to God, but to the influence of some particular stars.” See Prelim. Disc., p. 36.—Sale.

(53) *A preacher unto every city.* “And had not given thee, O Muhammad, the honour and trouble of being a preacher to the whole world in general.”—Sale.

This interpretation contradicts chap. xiv. 4. The statement of the text probably has reference to some objection of the Quraish, having relation to the cities of Arabia only.

(54) *Herewith, i.e., with the Qurán.* Brinckman says, “It may have been this verse which made Muáwiyah think of tying the Qurán to a lance at his battle with Ali.”—*Notes on Islám*, p. 151.

(55) *Two seas.* Some suppose the allusion is to the division of salt and fresh water at the mouths of rivers like the Euphrates, Nile, &c.—*Tafstr-i-Raufi*.

A bar. The original word is *barzakh*. See chap. xxiii. 101.

(56) *Of water.* See note on chap. xxiv. 44.

(57) *An assistant of the devil.* “Joining with him in his rebellion and infidelity. Some think Abu Jahl is particularly struck at in this passage. The words may also be translated, ‘The unbeliever is contemptible in the sight of his Lord.’”—Sale.

assistant of the devil against his LORD. (58) We have sent thee to be no other than a bearer of good tidings and a denouncer of threats. (59) Say, I ask not of you any reward for this *my preaching*, besides the conversion of him who shall desire to take the way unto his LORD. (60) And do thou trust in him who liveth and dieth not, and celebrate his praise; (he is sufficiently acquainted with the faults of his servants;) who hath created the heavens and the earth, and whatever is between them, in six days, and then ascended his throne: the Merciful. Ask now the knowing concerning him. (61) When it is said unto the unbelievers, Adore the Merciful, they reply, And who is the Merciful? Shall we adore that which thou commandest us? And this precept causeth them to fly the faster from the faith. (62) Blessed be he who hath placed the twelve signs in the heavens, and hath placed therein a lamp by day, and the moon which shineth by night!

|| (63) It is he who hath ordained the night and the day to succeed each other, for the observation of him who will consider, or desireth to show his gratitude. (64) The servants of the Merciful are those who walk meekly on the earth, and when the ignorant speak unto them, answer, Peace; (65) and who pass the night adoring their LORD, and standing up to pray unto him, (66) and who say, O LORD, avert from us the torment of hell, for the torment thereof is perpetual; verily the same is a miserable abode

R 6.

(59) *Who shall desire, &c.* "Seeking to draw near unto him, by embracing the religion taught by me his Apostle, which is the best return I expect from you for my labours. The passage, however, is capable of another meaning, viz., that Muhammad desires none to give but him who shall contribute freely and voluntarily towards the advancement of God's true religion."—Sale, *Baidhāwi*.

(60) *Six days.* See notes on chaps. vii. 55, x. 3, and comp. chap. xli. 8–11.

(62) This is the prayer of Muhammad, but Muslims understand it to be introduced by the word *say* understood. See introduction to chap. i.

(64) *Place.* "Not a salutation, but a waiving all further intercourse."—Sale.

and a *wretched* station, (67) and who, when they bestow, are neither profuse nor niggardly, but *observe* a just medium between these; (68) and who invoke not another god together with *the true* GOD; neither slay the soul which GOD hath forbidden *to be slain*, unless for a just cause, and who are not guilty of fornication. But he who shall do this shall meet the reward of *his* wickedness; (69) *his* punishment shall be doubled unto him on the day of resurrection, and he shall remain therein covered with ignominy *for ever*: (70) except him who shall repent and believe, and shall work a righteous work, unto them will GOD change their *former* evils into good; for GOD is ready to forgive *and* merciful. (71) And whoever repenteth and doth that which is right, verily he turneth unto GOD with an *acceptable* conversion. (72) And they who do not bear false witness, and when they pass by vain discourse, pass by the same with decency; (73) and who, when they are admonished by the signs of their LORD, fall not down *as if they were* deaf and blind, *but stand up and are attentive* thereto, (74) and who say, O LORD, grant us of our wives and our offspring such as may be the satisfaction of *our* eyes, and make us patterns unto those who fear *thee*. (75) These shall be rewarded with the highest apartments *in Paradise*, because they have persevered with constancy, and they shall meet therein with greeting and salutation; (76) they shall remain in the same for ever; it shall be an excellent abode and a *delightful* station. (77) Say, My LORD is not solicitous on your account, if ye do not invoke him; ye have already charged *his Apostle* with imposture, but hereafter shall there be a lasting punishment *inflicted on you*.

(67) See chap. xvii. 29.

(70) *Change former evils into good.* "Blotting out their former rebellion, on their repentance, and confirming and increasing their faith and obedience."—Sale, *Baidhāwi*.

(71–76) This passage teaches that salvation is to be attained by repentance and good works. See note on chap. iii. 31.

CHAPTER XXVI.

ENTITLED SURAT AL SHU'ARÁ (THE POETS).

Revealed at Makkah.

INTRODUCTION.

THIS chapter, like the seventh chapter, is taken up entirely with Muhammad's defence of his prophetic claims against the objections of the Quraish. The character of these objections may be learned from the words put into the mouths of those who rejected the former prophets. Those prophets were called impostors, liars, and madmen by those rejecting them, and we may certainly conclude that these same epithets were applied by the Quraish to Muhammad. Again, the replies attributed to the former prophets reflect the answer of Muhammad to his maligners: that he was a prophet of the true God; that he had no motive to deceive them, inasmuch as he took no reward from his people for his services; that God would visit dire punishment upon them unless they should repent.

In the concluding verses we find mention made of certain poets, to which the chapter owes its title. These poets seem to have been a special source of annoyance to Muhammad at this time. It is possible that they were the ringleaders of the opposition to his prophetic pretensions. It does not speak very highly of "the incomparable verses of the Qurán" when it is said that several poets were employed by Muhammad to meet the satire of these "*rovers through every valley.*" See note on ver. 228.

Probable Date of the Revelations.

Some writers, supposing that every reference to Jews points necessarily to Madína, have thought this chapter to be Madinic. But this notion being ill founded, there is nothing left to give countenance to such an opinion.

On the other hand, some have thought ver. 214 *seq.*, or at least

ver. 214, to be the first verse or portion of the Qurán, but they need not be interpreted to mean more than that Muhammad had received a new command to preach to his near relatives. Vers. 215-219 show that there was already a band of worshippers, who were no doubt true believers. Rodwell, following Noëldeke, fixes the chapter in the seventh year of Muhammad's ministry at Makkah. Judging from the fulness of the stories taken from Old Testament history, the date could not be much earlier, while the absence of any reference to violent persecution precludes our making it later.

Some have thought that ver. 224 *seq.* belong to Madína, but without good reason : the style is decidedly Makkan.

Principal Subjects.

	VERSES
Muhammad is grieved at the unbelief of the Quraish	1, 2
God will grant them no miracle save the Qurán	3, 4
The Quraish regard the Qurán as a forgery	5
God will send a grim messenger whom they shall respect	5-8
The story of Moses :—	
He is sent to Pharaoh and his people	9, 10
Fearing that he will be called an impostor, Moses asks that Aaron be sent with him	11, 12
Moses being assured that he will not be put to death for murder, is sent to demand release of the Israelites	13-16
Pharaoh charges Moses with ingratitude	17, 18
Moses apologises to Pharaoh for killing the Egyptian	19, 21
Moses is charged with being a madman	22, 27
Pharaoh threatens Moses if he do not worship him	28
Moses performs miracles before Pharaoh	29-32
Egyptian magicians called to compete with Moses	33-41
Moses contests with the magicians, who are converted	42-47
Pharaoh, enraged, threatens to crucify the magicians	48, 49
The magician converts put their trust in God	50, 51
Moses commanded to take Israelites forth from Egypt	52
Pharaoh and his people pursue them	53-60
The Red Sea is divided by Moses, and Israelites pass over	61-65
The Egyptians are drowned, and become a warning to all unbelievers	66-68
The story of Abraham :—	
He preaches against idolatry	69-82
Abraham prays for himself and his father	83-92

	VERSES
He warns his people of the vain repentance of idolaters in hell	93-102
Most of his people rejected him	103, 104
The story of Noah :—	
His people accused him of imposture	105
Noah exhorts them to have faith in God	106-110
Unbelievers desire Noah to reject his poor followers	111-115
Refusing, they threaten him with violence	116
Noah takes refuge in God, and is saved in the ark	117-119
The unbelievers are drowned	120-122
The story of Ád :—	
They charge God's messengers with imposture	123
Húd claims the prophetic office, and preaches to the Ádites	124-135
They reject his warnings and charge him with im- posture	136-139
The unbelieving Ádites are destroyed	139-140
The story of the Thamúdites :—	
They charge the prophets with imposture	141
Sálih, declaring himself a prophet, preaches to them	142-152
The Thamúdites reject Sálih and call him a madman	153
They demand a sign, and a she-camel is given for a sign	154-156
They slay the she-camel, and are destroyed for in- fidelity	157-159
The story of Lot :—	
The Sodomites accuse their prophets with imposture	160
Lot proclaims himself a prophet, and preaches to them	161-166
The Sodomites threaten him with violence	167
God saves Lot from Sodom, but Lot's wife is destroyed	168-171
The unbelievers destroyed by a shower of stones	172-174
The story of the Midianites :—	
They call God's messengers impostors	175
Shuaib proclaims himself a prophet, and preaches to them	176-184
They call him a madman and a liar, and challenge him to cause the heavens fall on them	185-187
They are destroyed in their unbelief	188-191
The Qurán given to Muhammad, through Gabriel, in the Arabic language	
The Qurán attested as God's Word by the former Scriptures	192-195
The hearts of the Quraish are hardened by the Qurán	196, 197
The hearts of the Quraish are hardened by the Qurán	198-203
The Quraish scorn Muhammad's threatenings	204

VERSES

God's mercy deepens the condemnation of impenitent infidels	205-207
God never destroys a people without first warning them	208-209
The Devil did not assist in revealing the Qurán	210-212
Muhammad warned against idolatry, and admonished to preach Islám to his relatives	213, 214
True believers to be treated meekly, and unbelievers to be treated with forbearance	215-220
Devils descend on the hearts of unbelievers	221-223
Unbelieving poets are mad ; believing poets commended	224-228
The unjust will speedily be punished	228

FIFTH
MUNZIL.
RUBA.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

R $\frac{1}{5}$.

|| (1) T. S. M. THESE *are* the signs of the perspicuous book. (2) Peradventure thou afflictest thyself unto death, lest *the Makkans* become not believers. (3) If we pleased, we could send down unto them a *convincing* sign from heaven, unto which their necks would humbly submit. (4) But there cometh unto them no admonition from the Merciful, being newly revealed *as occasions require*, but they turn aside from the same ; (5) and they have charged *it* with falsehood : but a message shall come unto them, which they shall not laugh to scorn. (6) Do they not behold the earth, how many *vegetables* we cause to spring up therein, of every noble species ? (7) Verily herein is a sign : but the greater part of them do not believe. (8) Verily thy LORD is the mighty, the merciful *God*.

R $\frac{2}{6}$.

|| (9) *Remember* when thy LORD called Moses, *saying*, Go to the unjust people, (10) the people of Pharaoh ; will they not dread *me* ? (11) *Moses* answered, O LORD, verily I fear lest they accuse me of falsehood, (12) and lest my breast become straitened, and my tongue be not ready *in*

(1) T. S. M. See Prelim. Disc., p. 101.

(2-5) See notes on chap. xxv. 5-10.

(6) A sign, viz., that they should worship God alone.

speaking: send therefore unto Aaron, to be *my assistant*.

(13) Also they have a crime *to object* against me; and I fear they will put me to death. (14) *God* said, *They shall* by no means *put thee to death*: wherefore go ye with our signs; for we *will be* with you, and *will hear what passes between you and them*. (15) Go ye therefore unto Pharaoh, and say, Verily we are the apostle of the LORD of all creatures: (16) send away with us the children of Israel. (17) *And when they had delivered their message, Pharaoh* answered, Have we not brought thee up among us *when* a child; and hast thou not dwelt among us for *several* years of thy life? (18) Yet hast thou done thy deed which thou hast done, and thou art an ungrateful person. (19) *Moses* replied, I did it indeed, and I was *one* of those who erred, (20) wherefore I fled from you, because I feared you: but my LORD hath bestowed on me wisdom, and hath appointed me *one* of *his* apostles. (21) And this is the favour which thou hast bestowed on me, that thou hast enslaved the children of Israel. (22) Pharaoh said, And who is the LORD of all creatures? (23) *Moses* answered, The LORD of heaven and earth, and whatever is between them: if ye are men of sagacity. (24) *Pharaoh* said unto those who were about him, Do ye not hear? (25) *Moses* said, Your LORD, and the LORD of your fore-

(11-69) Compare this whole section with chap. xx. 8-98.

(12) *My tongue, &c.* See note on chap. xx. 28.

(13) *A crime.* Having killed an Egyptian. See chap. xx. 41.

(15) *We are the Apostle.* "The word is in the singular number in the original; for which the commentators give several reasons."
—Sale.

The text is certainly defective. Rodwell translates, "We are the messengers."

(17) *Several years.* "It is said that Moses dwelt among the Egyptians thirty years, and then went to Midian, where he stayed ten years; after which he returned to Egypt, and spent thirty years in endeavouring to convert them; and that he lived after the drowning of Pharaoh fifty years."—Sale, Baidhāwi.

(19) *One of those who erred.* "Having killed the Egyptian undesignedly."—Sale. This interpretation, as well as the text, contradicts the former Scriptures. This text is a proof text against those Muslims who hold that the prophets were sinless from their birth.

fathers. (26) *Pharaoh* said unto those who were present, Your apostle, who is sent unto you, is certainly distracted. (27) *Moses* said, The LORD of the east and of the west, and of whatever is between them; if ye are men of understanding. (28) *Pharaoh* said unto him, Verily if thou take any god besides me, I will make thee one of those who are imprisoned. (29) *Moses* answered, What! although I come unto you with a convincing miracle? (30) *Pharaoh* replied, Produce it therefore, if thou speakest truth. (31) And he cast down his rod, and behold, it became a visible serpent: (32) and he drew forth his hand out of his bosom; and behold, it appeared white unto the spectators.

R $\frac{3}{4}$ || (33) *Pharaoh* said unto the princes who were about him, Verily this man is a skilled magician: (34) he seeketh to dispossess you of your land by his sorcery; what therefore do ye direct? (35) They answered, Delay him and his brother by good words for a time; and send through the cities men to assemble (36) and bring unto thee every skilful magician. (37) So the magicians were

(26) *Your apostle . . . is distracted.* Sale, on the authority of Baidhāwī, says:—"Pharaoh, it seems, thought Moses had given but wild answers to his question; for he wanted to know the person and true nature of the God whose messenger Moses pretended to be; whereas he spoke of his works only. And because this answer gave so little satisfaction to the king, he is therefore supposed by some to have been a Dahrite, or one who believed the eternity of the world."

The true reason for this statement, so contrary to Scripture and tradition, was Muhammad's habit of representing all the prophets as undergoing the same kind of opposition and contumely he was called to endure himself. See *Introd.*, chap. vii., and note on chap. xxiii. 35-43.

(28) *Any god besides me.* "From this and a parallel expression in chap. xxviii. 38, it is inferred that Pharaoh claimed the worship of his subjects as due to his supreme power."—Sale.

Imprisoned. "These words, says al Baidhāwī, were a more terrible menace than if he had said, 'I will imprison thee;' and gave Moses to understand that he must expect to keep company with those wretches whom the tyrant had thrown, as was his custom, into a deep dungeon, where they remained till they died."—Sale.

(30-47) See notes on chap. xx. 58-73, and chap. vii. 109-136.

assembled at an appointed time on a solemn day. (38) And it was said unto the people, Are ye assembled together? (39) Perhaps we may follow the magicians, if they do get the victory. (40) And when the magicians were come, they said unto Pharaoh, Shall we certainly receive a reward if we do get the victory? (41) He answered, Yea; and ye shall surely be of those who approach *my person*. (42) Moses said unto them, Cast down what ye are about to cast down. (43) Wherefore they cast down their ropes and their rods, and said, By the might of Pharaoh, verily we *shall be* the conquerors. (44) And Moses cast down his rod, and behold, it swallowed up that which they had *caused* falsely to *appear* changed *into serpents*. (45) Whereupon the magicians prostrated themselves, worshipping, (46) *and* said, We believe in the LORD of all creatures, (47) the LORD of Moses and of Aaron. (48) *Pharaoh* said *unto them*, Have ye believed on him before I have given you permission? Verily he is your chief who hath taught you magic: but hereafter ye shall surely know *my power*. (49) I will cut off your hands and your feet on the opposite sides, and I will crucify you all. (50) They answered, *It will be* no harm *unto us*; for we shall return unto our LORD. (51) We hope that our LORD will forgive us our sins, since we are the first who have believed.

¶ (52) And we spake by revelation unto Moses, *saying*, R $\frac{4}{8}$
March forth with my servants by night; for ye will be pursued. (53) And Pharaoh sent *officers* through the cities to assemble *forces*, (54) *saying*, Verily these are a small company; (55) and they are enraged against us: (56) but we are a multitude well provided. (57) So we caused them to quit *their* gardens, and fountains, (58) and treasures, and fair dwellings: (59) thus *did we do*;

(48) *Who hath taught you magic*. "But has reserved the most efficacious secrets to himself."—*Sale, Baidhāvi*.

(49–58) See notes on chap. vii. 125–137, and xx. 74–83.

and we made the children of Israel to inherit the same. (60) And they pursued them at sunrise. (61) And when the two armies were come in sight of each other, the companions of Moses said, We shall surely be overtaken. (62) *Moses* answered, By no means; for my LORD *is* with me, who will surely direct me. (63) And we commanded Moses by revelation, *saying*, Smite the sea with thy rod. And *when he had smitten it*, it became divided *into twelve parts, between which were as many paths*, and every part was like a vast mountain. (64) And we drew thither the others; (65) and we delivered Moses and all those who were with him; (66) then we drowned the others. (67) Verily herein was a sign; but the greater part of them did not believe. (68) Verily thy LORD is the mighty *and* the merciful.

R $\frac{5}{9}$. || (69) And rehearse unto them the story of Abraham: (70) when he said unto his father and his people, What do ye worship? (71) They answered, We worship idols, and we constantly serve them all the day long. (72) *Abraham* said, Do they hear you when ye invoke *them*? (73) or do they either profit you or hurt you? (74) They answered, But we found our fathers do the same. (75) He said, What think ye? *The gods* which ye worship, (76) and your forefathers *worshipped*, (77) are my enemy: except only the LORD of all creatures, (78) who hath created me and directeth me; (79) and who giveth me to eat and to drink, (80) and when I am sick healeth me; (81) and who will cause me to die, and will afterwards restore me to life; (82) and who, I hope, will

(59) *We made the children of Israel to inherit.* Sale says:—"Hence some suppose the Israelites, after the destruction of Pharaoh and his host, returned to Egypt, and possessed themselves of the riches of that country."—*Jalāluddīn, Yahya*. "But others are of opinion that the meaning is no more than that God gave them the like possessions and dwellings in another country."—*Zamakhshari*.

But compare notes on chap. vii. 137, where the anachronism is clearly established.

(69) *The story of Abraham.* See notes on chap. xxi. 52-71.

forgive my sins on the day of judgment. (83) O LORD, grant me wisdom; and join me with the righteous: (84) and grant that I may be spoken of with honour among the latest *posterity*; (85) and make me an heir of the garden of delight: (86) and forgive my father, for that he hath been *one* of those who go astray. (87) And cover me not with shame on the day of resurrection; (88) on the day *in which* neither riches nor children shall avail, (89) unless unto him who shall come unto GOD with a sincere heart: (90) *when* Paradise shall be brought near to *the view of* the pious, (91) and hell shall appear plainly to those who shall have erred: (92) and it shall be said unto them, Where *are your deities* which ye served (93) besides GOD? will they deliver you *from punishment*, or will they deliver themselves? (94) And they shall be cast into the same, *both* they, and those who have been seduced *to their worship*; (95) and all the host of Eblis, (96) The *seduced* shall dispute therein *with their false gods*. (97) saying, By GOD, we were in a manifest error, (98) when we equalled you with the LORD of all creatures: (99) and none seduced us but the wicked. (100) We have *now* no intercessors, (101) nor any friend who careth *for us*. (102) If we were allowed to return once more *into the world*, we would certainly become true believers. (103) Verily herein was a sign; but the greater part of them believed not. (104) The LORD is the mighty, the

(82) *Forgive my sins.* Abraham was a sinner, though *called* to be a prophet. This is a proof text against the Muslim claim that all prophets were sinless after the prophetic call. Comp. ver. 19 above, and see note on chap. ii. 253, and vi. 147.

(85) *Forgive my father, &c.* "By disposing him to repentance, and the receiving of the true faith. Some suppose Abraham pronounced this prayer after his father's death, thinking that possibly he might have been inwardly a true believer, but have concealed his conversion for fear of Nimrod, and before he was forbidden to pray for him."—*Sale*.

See chap. ix. 115, and xiv. 38.

(94) *They both.* That is, the worshippers and the deities worshipped, which clearly contradicts chap. xxv. 18. That dumb idols are not meant is evident from what follows in the text.

merciful. (105) The people of Noah accused *God's* messengers of imposture.

R $\frac{6}{10}$.

|| (106) When their brother Noah said unto them, Will ye not fear *God*? Verily (107) I am a faithful messenger unto you; (108) wherefore fear GOD and obey me. (109) I ask no reward of you for *my preaching unto you*; *I expect* my reward from no other than the LORD of all creatures: (110) wherefore fear GOD and obey me. (111) They answered, Shall we believe on thee when *only* the most abject *persons* have followed thee? (112) *Noah* said, I have no knowledge of that which they did; (113) it *appertaineth* unto my LORD alone to bring them to account, if ye understand; (114) wherefore I will not drive away the believers: (115) I am no more than a public preacher. (116) They replied, Assuredly, unless thou desist, O Noah, thou shalt be stoned. (117) He said, O LORD, verily my people take me for a liar;

NISF.

|| (118) Wherefore judge publicly between me and them; and deliver me and the true believers who are with me. (119) Wherefore we delivered him, and those who were with him, in the ark filled *with men and animals*; (120) and afterwards we drowned the rest. (121) Verily herein was a sign; but the greater part of them believed not. (122) Thy LORD is the mighty, the merciful.

R $\frac{7}{11}$.

|| (123) *The tribe of Ad* charged *God's* messengers with falsehood: (124) when their brother Húd said unto them, Will ye not fear *God*? (125) Verily I am a faithful messenger unto you; (126) wherefore fear GOD and obey me. (127) I demand not of you any reward for *my preaching unto you*: *I expect* my reward from no other than the LORD of all creatures. (128) Do ye build a landmark on

(105) *Noah*. See notes on chap. vii. 61-65.

(106-109) *Their brother, &c.* This is another illustration of what is said under ver. 26 above.

(112) *I have no knowledge, i.e., "whether they have embraced the faith which I have preached out of the sincerity of their hearts, or in prospect of some worldly advantage."*—*Sale*.

(114) See note on chap. xi. 30.

(123-140) *Ad*. See notes on chap. vii. 66-73.

every high place to divert yourselves? (129) And do ye erect *magnificent* works, *hoping* that ye may continue in *their possession* for ever? (130) And when ye exercise your power, do ye exercise it with cruelty and rigour? (131) Fear God, *by leaving these things*; and obey me. (132) And fear him who hath bestowed on you that which ye know: (133) he hath bestowed on you cattle, and children, (134) and gardens, and springs of water. (135) Verily I fear for you the punishment of a grievous day. (136) They answered, It is equal unto us whether thou admonish us or dost not admonish *us*: (137) this *which thou preachest* is only a device of the ancients; (138) neither shall we be punished *for what we have done*. (139) And they accused him of imposture: wherefore we destroyed them. Verily herein was a sign: but the greater part of them believed not. (140) Thy LORD is the mighty, the merciful.

|| (141) *The tribe of Thamúd also* charged the messengers of God with falsehood. (142) When their brother Sálîh said unto them, Will ye not fear God? (143) Verily I am a faithful messenger unto you: (144) wherefore fear God and obey me. (145) I demand no reward of you for *my preaching unto you*: I expect my reward from no other than the LORD of all creatures. (146) Shall ye be left *for ever* secure in the possession of the things which are here? (147) among gardens, and fountains, (148) and corn, and palm-trees, whose branches sheathe their flowers.

R ^s 12

(127-131) These verses are wanting in Savary's translation.

(128) *A landmark, &c.* "Or to mock the passengers, who direct themselves in their journeys by the stars, and have no need of such buildings."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*. The landmarks were pillars erected to show the way of travel through the desert. See chap. lxxxix. 6, and compare chap. vii. 75.

(130) *Cruelty and rigour.* "Putting to death, and inflicting other corporal punishments without mercy, and rather for the satisfaction of your passion than the amendment of the sufferer."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*.

(141-159) *Thamúd*. See notes on chap. vii. 74-80.

(149) And will ye *continue to* cut habitations *for yourselves* out of the mountains, behaving with insolence? (150) Fear GOD and obey me; (151) and obey not the command of the transgressors, (152) who act corruptly in the earth, and reform not *the same*. (153) They answered, Verily thou art distracted: (154) thou art no *other* than a man like unto us: produce now some sign, if thou speakest truth. (155) *Sálih* said, This she-camel *shall be a sign unto you*: she shall have *her* portion of water, and ye shall have *your* portion of water *alternately*, on a *several* day appointed *for you*; (156) and do her no hurt, lest the punishment of a terrible day be inflicted on you. (157) But they slew her; and were made to repent of *their impiety*: (158) for the punishment *which had been threatened* overtook them. Verily herein was a sign; but the greater part of them did not believe. (159) Thy LORD is the mighty, the merciful.

R $\frac{9}{13}$

|| (160) The people of Lot *likewise* accused God's messengers of imposture. (161) When their brother Lot said unto them, Will ye not fear *God*? (162) Verily I am a faithful messenger unto you: (163) wherefore fear GOD and obey me. (164) I demand no reward of you for *my preaching*: I expect my reward from no other than the LORD of all creatures. (165) Do ye approach unto the males among mankind, (166) and leave your wives which your LORD hath created for you. Surely ye are people who transgress. (167) They answered, Unless thou desist, O Lot, thou shalt certainly be expelled *our city*. (168) He said, Verily I am *one* of those who abhor your doings:

(149) *Behaving with insolence*. Sale says the word may be rendered *showing art and ingenuity*.

(153) See note above on ver. 26.

(155) *Her portion . . . and . . . your portion*. "That is, they were to have the use of the water by turns, the camel drinking one day and the Thamúdítes drawing the other day; for when this camel drank, she emptied the wells or brooks for that day. See chap. vii. 74."—Sale.

(160-174) *Lot*. See notes on chap. vii. 81-85.

(169) O LORD, deliver me and my family from that which they act. (170) Wherefore we delivered him and all his family, (171) except an old woman, *his wife, who perished* among those who remained behind; (172) then we destroyed the rest; (173) and we rained on them a shower of stones; and terrible was the shower *which fell on* those who had been warned *in vain*. (174) Verily herein was a sign; but the greater part of them did not believe. (175) Thy LORD is the mighty, the merciful.

|| (176) The inhabitants of the wood *also* accused God's R $\frac{10}{14}$ messengers of imposture. (177) When Shuaib said unto them, Will ye not fear *God*? (178) Verily I am a faithful messenger unto you: (179) wherefore fear God and obey me. (180) I ask no reward of you for *my preaching*: I *expect* my reward from no other than the LORD of all creatures. (181) Give just measure, and be not defrauders; (182) and weigh with an equal balance; (183) and diminish not unto men *ought* of their matters; neither commit violence in the earth, acting corruptly. (184) And fear him who hath created you, and *also* the former generations. (185) They answered, Certainly thou art distracted; (186) thou art no more than a man, like unto us: and we do surely esteem thee to be a liar. (187) Cause now a part of the heaven to fall upon us, if thou speakest truth. (188) *Shuaib* said, My LORD best knoweth that which ye do. (189) And they charged him with falsehood: wherefore the punishment of the day of the shadowing cloud overtook them; *and* this was the punish-

(171) This verse contradicts the Bible statement in Gen. xix. 14.

(176-191) See notes on chap. vii. 86-94.

(176) *The inhabitants of the wood*. "See chap. xv. 38. Shuaib being not called the *brother* of these people, which would have preserved the conformity between this passage and the preceding, it has been thought they were not Midianites, but of another race: however, we find the prophet taxes them with the same crimes as he did those of Midian."—*Sale*.

(189) *The shadowing cloud*. "God first plagued them with such intolerable heat for seven days that all their waters were dried up; and then brought a cloud over them, under whose shade they ran,

ment of a grievous day. (190) Verily herein was a sign ; but the greater part of them did not believe. (191) Thy LORD is the mighty, the merciful.

R $\frac{11}{15}$

|| (192) This *book* is certainly a revelation from the LORD of all creatures, (193) which the faithful spirit hath caused to descend (194) upon thy heart, that thou mightest be a preacher *to thy people*, (195) in the perspicuous Arabic tongue, (196) and it is *borne witness to* in the scriptures of former ages. (197) Was it not a sign unto them that the wise men among the children of Israel knew it? (198) Had we revealed it unto any of the foreigners, (199) and he had read the same unto them, yet they would not have believed therein. (200) Thus have we caused *obstinate infidelity* to enter the hearts of the wicked; (201) they shall not believe therein until they see a painful punishment. (202) It shall come suddenly upon them, and they shall not foresee it, (203) and they shall say, Shall we be respited? (204) Do they therefore desire our punishment to be hastened? (205) What thinkest thou? If we suffer them to enjoy *the advantage of this life* for several years, (206) and afterwards that with which they are

and were all destroyed by a hot wind and fire which proceeded from it.”—*Sale, Baidhāwī*.

(193) *The faithful spirit, i.e., “Gabriel, who is intrusted with the divine secrets and revelations.”—Sale.*

The original word, *Rūh-ul-Amin*, and the word *Shadīd-ul-Quā*, or “one terrible in power,” are, in the opinion of the commentators, always to be applied to the Angel Gabriel, who, according to chap. ii. 96, is the medium through which Muhammad received the revelations of the Qurān. The Qurān is, therefore, purely an objective revelation, and Muhammad merely a passing medium of communication. See Sell’s *Faith of Islām*, p. 41.

(197) This verse is said by Jalāluddīn as Syūtī (Itqān, 34) to be Madīnic. The allusion here is to Jewish converts to Islām, who no doubt applied the Messianic prophecies of the Old Testament to Muhammad, and thus confirmed Muhammad’s claim to be a prophet bringing a new revelation. See notes on chaps. ii. 40, 90, iii. 80, and v. 72.

(204) *Do they therefore desire, &c.* “The infidels were continually defying Muhammad to bring some signal and miraculous destruction on them, as a shower of stones,” &c.—*Sale.*

threatened come upon them, (207) what will that which they have enjoyed profit them? (208) We have destroyed no city, but preachers *were first sent* unto it (209) to admonish *the inhabitants thereof*; neither did we treat *them* unjustly. (210) The devils did not descend with the *Qurán, as the infidels give out*; (211) it is not for their purpose, neither are they able to *produce such a book*, (212) for they are far removed from hearing *the discourse of the angels in heaven*. (213) Invoke no other god with *the true GOD*, lest thou become *one* of those who are doomed to punishment. (214) And admonish thy more near relations. (215) And behave thyself with meekness towards the true believers who follow thee, (216) and if they be disobedient unto thee, say, Verily I am clear of that which ye do. (217) And trust in the most mighty, the merciful *God*, (218) who seeth thee when thou risest up, (219) and thy behaviour among those who worship, (220) for he *both*

(212) *Fear removed from hearing, &c.* See chap. xv. 17.

(214) *Admonish, &c.* "The commentators suppose the same command to have been virtually contained in the seventy-fourth chapter, which is prior to this in point of time (Prelim. Disc., p. 76). It is said that Muhammad, on receiving the passage before us, went up immediately to Mount Safá, and having called the several families to him, one by one, when they were all assembled, asked them whether if he should tell them that mountain would bring forth a smaller mountain they would believe him, to which they answering in the affirmative, 'Verily,' says he, 'I am a warner sent unto you before a severe chastisement.'"—*Sale, Baidhāwī*.

Muir says the tradition that this passage was the first call to preach appears entirely erroneous, being contained in a late sura, in which there is evidence of persecutor and numerous disciples. He also says the stories related above by Sale are apocryphal, and owe their origin to this or other similar passages of the Qurán which it was desired to illustrate. See *Life of Mohamet*, vol. ii. pp. 113 and 114, note.

(215) *Behave thyself with meekness, &c.* "Literally, 'lower thy wings,'"—*Sale*. See the same expression in chap. xv. 88. The passage belongs to the time when Muhammad was shut up with his followers in the *Sheb*. See *Muir's Life of Mohamet*, vol. ii. p. 180.

(219) *Thy behaviour, &c., i.e.,* "who seeth thee when thou risest up to watch and spend the night in religious exercises, and observeth thy anxious care for the Muslims' exact performance of their duty. It is said that the night on which the precept of watching was abrogated Muhammad went privately from one house to another to see

heareth *and* knoweth. (221) Shall I declare unto you upon whom the devils descend? (222) They descend upon every lying *and* wicked person; (223) they learn what is heard, but the greater part of them *are* liars. (224) And those who err follow the *steps of the* poets; (225) dost thou not see that they rove *as bereft of their senses* through every valley, (226) and that they say that which they do not? (227) except those who believe, and do good works, and remember God frequently, (228) and who defend themselves after they have been unjustly

how his companions spent the time, and that he found them so intent in reading the Qurán and repeating their prayers that their houses, by reason of the humming noise they made, seemed to be so many nests of hornets. Some commentators, however, suppose that by the Prophet's *behaviour* in this place is meant the various postures he used in praying at the head of his companions, as standing, bowing, prostration, and sitting."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*, *Jaláluddín*.

(222) *Every lying and wicked person.* "The Prophet, having vindicated himself from the charge of having communication with the devils, by the opposition between his doctrine and their designs, and their inability to compose so consistent a book as the Qurán, proceeds to show that the persons most likely to a correspondence with those evil spirits were liars and slanderers, that is, his enemies and opposers."—Sale.

But Muhammad confessed that Satan could suggest errors to him, and declared that all prophets were open to this influence. See chap. xxii. 53 and notes there.

(223) *Learn what is heard, i.e.,* "they are taught by the secret inspiration of the devils, and receive their idle and inconsistent suggestions for truth. It being uncertain whether the *slanderers* or the *devils* be the nominative case to the verb, the words may also be rendered, 'They impart what they hear;' that is, the devils acquaint their correspondents on earth with such incoherent scraps of the angels' discourse as they can hear by stealth."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*, &c.

(224, 225) *The poets . . . rove, &c.* "Their compositions being as wild as the actions of a distracted man, for most of the ancient poetry was full of vain imaginations, as fabulous stories and descriptions, love verses, flattery, excessive commendations of their patrons, and as excessive reproaches of their enemies, incitements to vicious actions, vainglorious vauntings, and the like."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*, &c.

(228) *Who defend themselves, &c.* "That is, such poets as had embraced Muhammadism, whose works, free from the profaneness of the former, run chiefly on the praises of God and the establishing his unity, and contain exhortations to obedience and other religious and moral virtues, without any satirical invectives, unless against such as have given just provocations, by having first attacked them

treated. And they who act unjustly shall know hereafter with what treatment they shall be treated.

or some others of the true believers with the same weapons. In this last case Muhammad saw it was necessary for him to borrow assistance from the poets of his party to defend himself and religion from the insults and ridicule of the others, for which purpose he employed the pens of Lábíd Ibn Rábia, Abdullah Ibn Rawáha, Hassán Ibn Thábit, and the two Qábs. It is related that Muhammad once said to Qáb Ibn Málík, 'Ply them with satires, for, by him in whose hand my soul is, they wound more deeply than arrows.'—*Sale, Baidháwi.*

In Muhammad's mind the poets who wrote satires against him were mad, while those who defended him by their satire were not only in their right mind but eminently pious Muslims. It is worthy of notice that one of the most common charges brought against Muhammad was that he was a poet and a madman. See chap. xxi. 5, and ver. 26 above.

CHAPTER XXVII.

ENTITLED SURAT-UN-NAMAL (THE ANT).

Revealed at Makkah.

INTRODUCTION.

THIS chapter owes its title to a peculiar story of an ant, found in vers. 18, 19. Nothing could better illustrate the arbitrary character of the names prefixed to the chapters of the Qurán.

The revelations of this chapter are distinctively Makkan in style and matter. It contains the usual round of self-assertion of prophetic claims, of invective against the unbelieving Quraish, and of threats of divine judgment, illustrated by reference to the fate of infidels in former ages. Perhaps the most noticeable feature of the chapter is the *positiveness* of Muhammad's claim that he is a prophet of God, and that the Qurán is God's word revealed to him by Gabriel. We find him ascribing to God the following words :—"Thou hast certainly received the Qurán from the presence of a wise and knowing God" (ver. 6) ; "Verily this Qurán . . . is certainly a direction and a mercy unto the true believers," &c. (vers. 78-80) ; "And I am commanded to be a Muslim, and to rehearse the Qurán" (vers. 93, 94). Notwithstanding this positive assertion of personal inspiration, we find in this very chapter a foolish story of the Rabbins, embellished and clothed in Muslim habiliments, presented as a portion of this revelation.

The attitude of the Quraish and of their prophet respectively, as seen in this chapter, is that of persistent opposition on the part of the former and of patient defiance on the part of the latter. Whether the plotting mentioned in ver. 72, which had been alluded to in vers. 46-53, refers to that active opposition of the Quraish which culminated in the final withdrawal from Makkah is doubtful. The general tone of the chapter is against such an opinion. That violent opposition is referred to I think to be indisputable, but would refer it to some of the earlier acts of Quraishite hatred ; perhaps the com-

bination against the Hášhimites. This would also account for the reference to *two parties* attributed to the people of Sálîh, who is here the *facsimile* of Muhammad, while the Thamúðites or people of Sálîh correspond to the Quraish. This explanation would also account for the reference to the *family of Sálîh* (ver. 50), which corresponds to the family and relatives of Muhammad, shut up in the Sheb or quarter of Abu Tálib.

Probable Date of the Revelations.

All authorities agree that the entire chapter is Makkan. The date, judging from what has already been said above, would be about the eighth year of Muhammad's ministry at Makkah.

Principal Subjects.

	VERSES
The Qurán is a direction of good tidings to the faithful	1-3
Unbelievers are losers here and hereafter	4, 5
The Qurán certainly given by God to Muhammad	6
The story of Moses at the burning bush	7-12
Moses rejected by Pharaoh and the Egyptians as an impostor	13, 14
David and Solomon praise God for their wisdom	15
Solomon's dominion over genii, men, and birds	16, 17
The wise ant pleases Solomon	18, 19
The story of the Queen of Sabá and her conversion to Islám	20-45
Thamúd rejects Sálîh their prophet	46-48
Nine men plot the destruction of Sálîh and his family	49-51
The Thamúðites and their plotters destroyed, but Sálîh and his followers are saved	52-54
The story of Lot and the destruction of Sodom	55-59
God, the creator and preserver, more worthy of praise than false gods	60-68
The unbelievers scoff at the warnings of Muhammad	69, 70
They shall certainly be destroyed as were those who rejected the prophets of old	71, 72
Judgment on the wicked delayed through the mercy of God	73-77
The Qurán decides the points of controversy among the children of Israel	78-80
Muhammad comforted by the assurance of his integrity	81
Reprobate infidels blind to the error of their ways	82, 83
Signs of judgment and doom of unbelievers	84-90
The righteous secure from the terror of judgment	91
The wicked shall be punished	92
Muhammad commanded to worship God, to be a Muslim, and to proclaim the Qurán	93, 94
God will show his signs to true believers	95

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

R $\frac{1}{16}$. || (1) T. S. These *are* the signs of the Qurán and of the perspicuous book, (2) a direction and good tidings unto the true believers, (3) who regularly perform *their* prayer, and give alms, and firmly believe in the life to come. (4) *As to* those who believe not in the life to come, we have prepared their works for them, and they shall be struck with astonishment *at their disappointment when they shall be raised again*; (5) these *are* they whom an evil punishment *awaiteth in this life*, and in that which is to come they shall be the greatest losers. (6) Thou hast certainly received the Qurán from the presence of a wise, a knowing God.

SULS.

|| (7) Remember when Moses said unto his family, Verily I perceive fire; I will bring you tidings thereof, or I will bring you a lighted brand that ye may be warmed. (8) And when he was come near unto it *a voice* cried unto him, *saying*, Blessed be he who is in the fire, and whoever is about it, and praise be unto GOD, the LORD of all crea-

(4) *We have prepared their works, &c., i.e., "by rendering them pleasing and agreeable to their corrupt natures and inclinations."*—Sale.

(6) *From the presence, &c.* That is, through the medium of the Angel Gabriel. See notes on chap. ii. 96 and xxvi. 193.

(7) *That ye may be warmed.* Compare chap. xx. 10 and chap. xxviii. 29.

(8) *A voice cried . . . saying, &c.* Those Muslims who are ever ready to carp at the Gospels by pointing out the discrepancies in verbal statements to be found therein, may be silenced by asking them to compare statements made in the various chapters containing detailed accounts of the sayings of God and of the former prophets. For instance, compare the words said to have been uttered by God to Moses from the burning bush here with the account given in chapter xx. 11-25, xxviii. 29-33. The same result may be secured by comparing the accounts of the conversations of Moses and Pharaoh as given in these same chapters. If then it may be argued the Gospels are to be regarded as spurious, interpolated, and unworthy of credit because of such discrepancies, occurring as they do in the writings of different persons, recorded at different times and under varied circumstances—where indeed differences of statement should be ex-

tures! (9) O Moses, verily I am GOD, the mighty, the wise; (10) cast down now thy rod. And when he saw it that it moved as though it *had been* a serpent, he retreated and fled, and returned not. *And God said*, O Moses, fear not, for *my* messengers are not disturbed with fear in my sight; (11) except he who shall have done amiss, and shall have afterwards substituted good in lieu of evil, for I am gracious *and* merciful. (12) Moreover, put thy hand into thy bosom, it shall come forth white, without hurt; *this shall be one* among the nine signs unto Pharaoh and his people, for they are a wicked people. (13) And when our visible signs had come unto them they said, This is a manifest sorcery. (14) And they denied them, although their souls certainly knew them *to be from God*, out of iniquity and pride; but behold what was the end of the corrupt doers.

|| (15) We heretofore bestowed knowledge on David R $\frac{2}{17}$ and Solomon: and they said, Praise be unto GOD, who hath made us more excellent than many of his faithful servants! (16) And Solomon was David's heir; and he

pected—what are we to say of the Qurán, which is said to contain *the very words of God*, who never forgets or makes mistakes, seeing it contains such discrepancies in greater abundance than the much-despised Gospels?

Who is in the fire, and whoever is about it. "Some suppose God to be intended by the former words, and by the latter the angels who were present; others think Moses and the angels are here meant, or all persons in general in this holy plain and the country round it."—*Sale, Jaláluddín, Baidháwi.*

(10) *My messengers are not disturbed, &c.* This passage contradicts Scripture, where it is said Moses, Isaiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, and John feared and trembled in the divine presence.

(11) *Except he, &c.* "This exception was designed to qualify the preceding assertion, which seemed too general, for several of the prophets have been subject to sins, though not great ones, before their mission, for which they had reason to apprehend God's anger, though they are here assured that their subsequent merits entitle them to his pardon. It is supposed that Moses's killing the Egyptian undesignedly is hinted at."—*Sale, Jaláluddín.*

See also note on chap. xxvi. 82.

(12) *The nine signs.* See note on chap. xvii. 103.

(15) *David and Solomon.* See notes on chap. xxi. 79.

(16) *David's heir.* "Inheriting not only his kingdom, but also

said, O men, we have been taught the speech of birds, and have had all things bestowed on us; this is manifest excellence. (17) And his armies were gathered together unto Solomon, *consisting* of genii, and men, and birds; and they were led in distinct bands, (18) until they came unto the valley of ants. *And an ant, seeing the hosts approaching*, said, O ants, enter ye into your habitations, lest Solomon and his army tread you under foot, and perceive it not. (19) And *Solomon* smiled, laughing at her words, and said, O LORD, excite me that I may be thankful for thy favour wherewith thou hast favoured me, and my parents; and that I may do that which is right *and* well-pleasing unto thee: and introduce me, through thy mercy, *into Paradise*, among thy servants the righteous. (20) And he viewed the birds, and said, What is the reason that I see not the lapwing? Is she absent? (21) Verily I will

the prophetic office, preferably to his other sons, who were no less than nineteen."—Sale, *Jaláludín*, *Baidháwi*.

Speech of birds. "That is, the meaning of their several voices, though not articulate; of Solomon's interpretation whereof the commentators give several instances."—Sale.

(17) *Armies . . . of genii, &c.* "For this fancy, as well as the former, Muhammad was obliged to the Talmudists (Midrash, Yalkut Shemuni, p. 11, f. 29), who, according to their manner, have interpreted the Hebrew words of Solomon (Eccl. ii. 8), which the English version renders, *I get men-singers and women-singers*, as if that prince had forced *demons* or *spirits* to serve him at his table, and in other capacities; and particularly in his vast and magnificent buildings, which they could not conceive he could otherwise have performed."—Sale.

(18) *Valley of ants.* "The valley seems to be so called from the great number of ants which are found there. Some place it in Syria and others in Tayif."—Sale, *Baidháwi*, *Jaláludín*.

The story seems to be connected with Prov. vi. 6.

(20) *The lapwing.* Sale, on the authority of *Baidháwi*, gives the following:—

"The Arab historians tell us that Solomon, having finished the temple of Jerusalem, went in pilgrimage to Makkah, where, having stayed as long as he pleased, he proceeded towards Yaman; and leaving Makkah in the morning, he arrived by noon at Sanaa, and being extremely delighted with the country, resided there; but wanting water to make the ablution, he looked among the birds for the lapwing, called by the Arabs *al Hudhud*, whose business it was to find it; for it is pretended she was sagacious or sharp-sighted

chastise her with a severe chastisement, or I will put her to death; unless she bring me a just excuse. (22) And she tarried not long *before she presented herself unto Solomon*, and said, I have viewed *a country* which thou hast not viewed; and I come unto thee from Sabá, with a certain piece of news. (23) I found a woman to reign over them, who is *provided with everything requisite for a prince*, and hath a magnificent throne. (24) I found her and her people to worship the sun, besides God: and Satan hath prepared their works for them, and hath turned them aside from the way of *truth* (wherefore they are not *rightly*

enough to discover water underground, which the devils used to draw, after she had marked the place by digging with her bill: they add, that this bird was then taking a tour in the air, whence seeing one of her companions alighting, she descended also, and having had a description given her by the other of the city of Sabá, whence she was just arrived, they both went together to take a view of the place, and returned soon after Solomon had made the inquiry which occasioned what follows.

"It may be proper to mention here what the Eastern writers fable of the manner of Solomon's travelling. They say that he had a carpet of green silk, on which his throne was placed, being of a prodigious length and breadth, and sufficient for all his forces to stand on, the men placing themselves on his right hand, and the spirits on his left; and that when all were in order, the wind, at his command, took up the carpet, and transported it, with all that were upon it, wherever he pleased; the army of birds at the same time flying over their heads, and forming a kind of canopy to shade them from the sun."

(21) *Severe chastisement.* "By plucking off her feathers, and setting her in the sun to be tormented by the insects; or by shutting her up in a cage."—Sale, *Baidhávi*.

(23) *A woman, &c.* "This queen the Arabs name Balqís: some make her the daughter of Al Hudhád Ibn Sharhabíl, and others of Sharabíl Ibn Máliq; but they all agree she was a descendant of Yárab Ibn Kahtán. She is placed the twenty-second in Dr. Pocock's list of the kings of Yaman."—Sale, *Pocock, Spec.* p. 59.

A magnificent throne. "Which the commentators say was made of gold and silver, and crowned with precious stones. But they differ as to the size of it; one making it fourscore cubits long, forty broad, and thirty high; while some say it was fourscore, and others thirty cubits every way."—Sale.

(24–26) These verses again illustrate Muhammad's habit of putting his own discourse into the mouths of others. Here it is put in the mouth of a bird! Comp. chap. xxiii. 93, 117, and ii. 255, and verse 76 of this chapter.

directed), (25) lest they should worship GOD, who bringeth to light that which is hidden in heaven and earth, and knoweth whatever they conceal, and whatever they discover. (26) GOD! there is no GOD but he; the LORD of the magnificent throne. (27) *Solomon* said, We shall see whether thou hast spoken the truth, or whether thou art a liar. (28) Go with this my letter, and cast it down unto them; then turn aside from them, and wait to *know* what *answer* they will return. (29) *And when the Queen of Sabá had received the letter*, she said, O nobles, verily an honourable letter hath been delivered unto me; (30) it is from Solomon, and *this is the tenor thereof*: In the name of the most merciful GOD, (31) Rise not up against me: but come and surrender yourselves unto me.

R³. 18. || (32) *She* said, O nobles, advise me in my business: I will not resolve on anything until ye be witnesses *and approve* thereof. (33) *The nobles* answered, We are endued with strength, and *are* endued with great prowess in war; but the command *appertaineth* unto thee: see therefore what thou wilt command. (34) *She* said, Verily kings, when they enter a city *by force*, waste the same, and abase the most powerful of the inhabitants thereof: and so will *these* do *with us*. (35) But I will send gifts

(29) "Jaláluddín says that the queen was surrounded by her army when the lapwing threw the letter into her bosom; but al Baidháwi supposes she was in an apartment of her palace, the doors of which were shut, and that the bird flew in at the window. The former commentator gives a copy of the epistle somewhat more full than that in the text, viz., 'From the servant of God, Solomon, the son of David, unto Balqís, queen of Sabá. In the name of the most merciful God. Peace be on him who followeth the true direction. Rise not up against me, but come and surrender yourselves unto me.' He adds that Solomon perfumed the letter with musk, and sealed it with his signet."—*Salé*.

(31) *Surrender yourselves, &c.* "Or, come unto me, and resign yourselves unto the divine direction, and profess the true religion which I preach."—*Salé*.

The meaning is that she and her people should become Muslims.

(33) *See therefore what thou wilt command, i.e.,* "whether thou wilt obey the summons of Solomon, or give us orders to make head against him."—*Salé*.

unto them; and will wait for what *farther information* those who shall be sent shall bring back. (36) And when *the queen's ambassador* came unto Solomon, *that prince* said, Will ye present me with riches? Verily that which God hath given me is better than that which he hath given you: but ye do glory in your gifts. (37) Return unto *the people of Sabá*. We will surely come unto them with forces, which they shall not be able to withstand; and we will drive them out from *their city*, humbled; and they *shall become* contemptible. (38) And *Solomon* said, O nobles, which of you will bring unto me her throne, before they come and surrender themselves unto me? (39) A terrible genius answered, I will bring it unto thee before thou arise from thy place: for I am able to *perform* it, and may be trusted. (40) *And one* with whom was the knowledge of the Scriptures said, I will bring it unto thee

(36) *When the . . . ambassador came.* "Bearing the presents, which they say were five hundred young slaves of each sex, all habited in the same manner, five hundred bricks of gold, a crown enriched with precious stones, besides a large quantity of musk, amber, and other things of value. Some add, that Balqis, to try whether Solomon was a prophet or no, dressed the boys like girls, and the girls like boys, and sent him, in a casket, a pearl not drilled, and an onyx drilled with a crooked hole; and that Solomon distinguished the boys from the girls by the different manner of their taking water (when taking water to wash hands and face, the girls poured it from one hand upon the other—*Tafsir-i-Raufi*), and ordered one worm to bore the pearl, and another to pass a thread through the onyx. They also tell us, that Solomon, having notice of this embassy by means of the lapwing, even before they set out, ordered a large square to be enclosed with a wall built of gold and silver bricks, wherein he ranged his forces and attendants to receive them."—*Sale, Baidhawi, Jalál-uddin.*

Thy place, i.e., "from thy seat of justice. For Solomon used to sit in judgment every day till noon."—*Sale.*

(39) *A terrible genius.* This was an *Ifrit*, or one of the wicked or rebellious genii; and his name, says al Baidhawi, was Dhaqwan or Sakhr."—*Sale.*

Lane tells us that the Ifrits differ from the genii in that they are always malicious, whereas the genii may be good as well as evil.—*Modern Egyptians*, i. 285–289.

(40) *And one with whom, &c.* "This person, as is generally supposed, was Asaf the son of Barachia, Solomon's Wasir (or Visir), who knew the great or ineffable name of God, by pronouncing of which he

in the twinkling of an eye. And when *Solomon* saw the throne placed before him, he said, This is a favour of my LORD, that he may make trial of me, whether I will be grateful, or whether I will be ungrateful; and he who is grateful is grateful to his own *advantage*, but if any shall be ungrateful, verily my LORD is self-sufficient and munificent. (41) And *Solomon* said unto his servants, Alter her throne, that she may not know it, to the end we may see whether she be *rightly* directed, or whether she be *one* of those who are not *rightly* directed. (42) And when she was come unto *Solomon*, it was said unto her, Is thy throne like this? She answered, As though it were the same. And we have had knowledge bestowed on us before this, and have been resigned unto God. (43) But that which she worshipped besides GOD had turned her aside from the truth; for she was of an unbelieving people. (44) It was said unto her, Enter the palace. And when she saw

performed this wonderful exploit. Others, however, suppose it was al Khidhr, or else Gabriel, or some other angel; and some imagine it to have been Solomon himself.—*Sale, Baidhāwi.*

Twinkling of an eye. “The original is, ‘Before thou canst look at any object and take thy eye off it.’ It is said that Solomon, at Asaf’s desire, looked up to heaven, and before he cast his eye downwards, the throne made its way underground, and appeared before him.”—*Sale.*

(42) And when she was come. “For, on the return of her ambassador, she determined to go and submit herself to that prince; but before her departure she secured her throne, as she thought, by locking it up in a strong castle, and setting a guard to defend it; after which she set out, attended by a vast army.”—*Sale, Baidhāwi.*

Resigned unto God. “It is uncertain whether these be the words of Balqis acknowledging her conviction by the wonders she had already seen, or of Solomon and his people acknowledging the favour of God in calling them to the true faith before her.”—*Sale.*

Rodwell understands these words to be Solomon’s, which is certainly right. See on ver. 45. Nöldeke thinks some words preceding this have been omitted.

(44) Enter the palace. “Or, as some understand the word, the court before the palace, which Solomon had commanded to be built against the arrival of Balqis; the floor or pavement being of transparent glass, laid over running water, in which fish were swimming. Fronting the pavement was placed the royal throne, on which Solomon sat to receive the queen.”—*Sale, Baidhāwi.*

This story has probably originated from 1 Kings vii. 23.

it, she imagined it to be a great water; and she discovered her legs *by lifting up her robe to pass through it*. Whereupon Solomon said unto her, Verily this is a palace evenly floored with glass. (45) Then said the queen, O LORD, verily I have dealt unjustly with my own soul; and I resign myself, together with Solomon, unto GOD the LORD of all creatures.

|| (46) Also we heretofore sent unto the tribe of Thamúd R₁₉⁴ their brother Sálîh, who said unto them, Serve ye GOD. And behold, they were divided into two parties, who disputed among themselves. (47) Sálîh said, O my people, why do ye hasten evil rather than good? Unless ye ask pardon of GOD, that ye may obtain mercy, ye are lost. (48) They answered, We presage evil from thee, and from those who are with thee. Sálîh replied, The evil which ye presage is with GOD: but ye are a people who are proved

She discovered her legs. "Some Arab writers tell us Solomon had been informed that Balqis's legs and feet were covered with hair, like those of an ass, of the truth of which he had hereby an opportunity of being satisfied by ocular demonstration."—Sale.

(45) *I resign myself.* "The queen of Sabá having by these words professed Islâm and renounced idolatry, Solomon had thoughts of making her his wife; but could not resolve to do it till the devils had by a depilatory taken off the hair from her legs. Some, however, will have it that she did not marry Solomon, but a prince of the tribe of Hamdân."—Sale, Jaláluddîn, Baidhâwî.

The commentators account for this peculiar phenomenon of the hairy legs by telling us that her mother was a fairy! This story Muhammad must have learnt from his Jewish informants. The Muslim embellishment of the text is his own. How can it be imagined that all this is consistent with a sincere belief in personal inspiration, a belief that he "received the Qurán from the presence of a wise and a knowing God" (ver. 6) through the medium of the Angel Gabriel? (chap. ii. 96).

(46) *Thamúd.* See chaps. vii. 74 and xxxi. 141.

Two parties. "Concerning the doctrine preached by Sálîh, one party believing on him, and the other treating him as an impostor."—Sale.

(47) *Why . . . hasten evil, i.e.,* "Why do ye urge and defy the divine vengeance with which ye are threatened, instead of averting it by repentance?"—Sale.

(48) *The evil . . . is with God.* Compare chap. vii. 132, "where Egyptians in the same manner accuse Moses as the cause of their calamities."—Sale.

by a vicissitude of prosperity and adversity. (49) And there were nine men in the city who acted corruptly in the earth, and behaved not with integrity. (50) And they said unto one another, Swear ye reciprocally by God, that we will fall upon *Sálih* and his family by night: and afterwards we will say unto him who hath right to avenge his blood, We were not so much as present at the destruction of his family; and we certainly speak the truth. (51) And they devised a plot against him: but we devised a plot against them; and they perceived it not. (52) And see what was the issue of their plot, we utterly destroyed them and their whole people; (53) and these their habitations remain empty, because of the injustice which they committed. Verily herein is a sign unto people who understand. (54) And we delivered those who believed and feared God. (55) And remember Lot; when he said unto his people, Do ye commit a wickedness, though ye see the heinousness thereof? (56) Do ye approach lustfully unto men, leaving the women? Ye are surely an ignorant people. (57) But the answer of his people was no other than that they said, Cast the family of Lot out of your city: for they are men who preserve themselves pure from the crimes of which ye are guilty. (58) Wherefore we delivered him and his family, except his wife, whom we decreed to be one of those who remained behind to be destroyed. (59) And we rained on them a shower of stones: and dreadful was the shower which fell

(52) *The issue of their plot.* "It is related that *Sálih* and those who believed on him, usually meeting to pray in a certain narrow place between the mountains, the infidels said, 'He thinks to make an end of us after three days, but we will be beforehand with him;' and that a party of them went directly to the straits above mentioned, thinking to execute their design, but were terribly disappointed; for, instead of catching the prophet, they were caught themselves, their retreat being cut off by a large piece of rock which fell down at the mouth of the straits, so that they perished there in a miserable manner."—*Sale*. The destruction referred to here is no doubt that mentioned chap. vii. 79.

(55) *Lot.* See chaps. vii. 81-85, xi. 76-82, and xxvi. 160-175.

on those who had been warned *in vain* ! (60) Say, Praise *be* unto God ; and peace *be* upon his servants whom he hath chosen ! Is GOD more worthy, or the *false gods* which they associate *with him* ?

|| (61) *Is not he to be preferred* who hath created the heavens and the earth, and sendeth down rain for you from heaven, whereby we cause delicious groves to spring up ? It is not in your power to cause the trees thereof to shoot forth. Is there *any other god partner with the true GOD* ? Verily these are a people who deviate from the truth. (62) *Is not he more worthy to be adored* who hath established the earth, and hath caused rivers to flow through the midst thereof, and placed thereon immovable mountains, and set a bar between the two seas ? Is there *any other god equal with the true GOD* ? Yet the greater part of them know it not. (63) *Is not he more worthy* who heareth the afflicted when he calleth upon him, and taketh off the evil which distressed him ; and who hath made you the successors of your forefathers in the earth ? Is there *any other god who can be equalled with the true GOD* ? How few consider these things ! (64) *Is not he more worthy* who directeth you in the dark paths of the land and of the sea ; and who sendeth the winds driving abroad the clouds, as the forerunners of his mercy ? Is there *any other god who can be equalled with the true GOD* ? Far be GOD from having those partners in his power which ye associate *with him*. (65) *Is not he more worthy* who produceth a creature, and after it hath been dead restoreth it to life ; and who giveth you food from heaven and earth ? Is there *any other god with the true GOD who doth this* ? Say, Produce your proof thereof, if ye speak truth. (66) Say, None either in heaven or earth knoweth that which is hidden, besides GOD : (67) neither do they

TWENTIETH
SIPARA.

R 5.

(59) *Warned in vain.* See chaps. vii. 82 and xi. 80.

(62) *A bar between the two seas.* See chap. xxv. 55. "The word *barzakh* is not used here, but another of equivalent import."—Sale.

(64) *Forerunners of his mercy.* See chaps. vii. 58 and xxv. 50.

(66, 67) By both these texts Christ is proved to be God.

understand when they shall be raised. (68) However, their knowledge attaineth *some notion* of the life to come : yet they are in an uncertainty concerning the same ; yea, they are blind as to *the real circumstances* thereof.

R ½. || (69) And the unbelievers say, When we and our fathers shall have been *reduced to dust*, shall we be taken forth *from the grave* ? (70) Verily we have been threatened with this, *both we* and our fathers, heretofore. This is no other than fables of the ancients. (71) Say *unto them*, Pass through the earth, and see what hath been the end of the wicked. (72) And be not thou grieved for them ; neither be thou in any concern on account of *the plots* which they are contriving *against thee*. (73) And they say, When *will this threat be accomplished*, if ye speak true ? (74) Answer, Peradventure some part of that *punishment* which ye desire to be hastened may follow close behind you ; (75) verily thy LORD is endued with indulgence towards mankind ; but the greater part of them are not thankful. (76) Verily thy LORD knoweth what their breasts conceal, and what they discover ; (77) and there is nothing hidden in heaven or on earth, but it is *written* in a clear book. (78) Verily this Qurán declareth unto the children of Israel most of those *points* concerning which they disagree : (79) and it is certainly a direction and a mercy unto the true believers. (80) Thy LORD will decide the controversy between them by his definitive sentence : and he *is* the mighty, the wise. (81) Therefore put thy trust in God ; for thou art in the manifest truth. (82) Verily thou shalt not make the dead to hear, neither shalt thou make the deaf to hear *thy call to the true faith*,

(68) *Their knowledge, &c.* "Or the words may be translated thus : 'Yea, their knowledge faileth as to the life to come ; yea, &c.'"—Sale.

(70) See chap. vii. 24, note.

(78) *This Qurán declareth, &c.* "Such as the comparing of God to sensible things, or to created beings ; the removing all imperfections from the description of the Divine Being ; the state of paradise and hell ; the stories of Ezra and Jesus Christ, &c."—Sale, *Baidhāwi*.

when they retire and turn their backs; (83) neither shalt thou direct the blind to *extricate themselves* out of their error. Thou shalt make none to hear *thee* except him who shall believe in our signs: and they are *wholly* resigned unto us. (84) When the sentence shall *be ready* to fall upon them, we will cause a beast to come forth unto them from out of the earth, which shall speak unto them: verily men do not firmly believe in our signs.

|| (85) On the day of *resurrection* we will assemble, out of every nation, a company of those who shall have charged our signs with falsehood; and they shall be prevented from mixing together, (86) until they shall arrive at the place of judgment. And God shall say unto them, Have ye charged my signs with falsehood, although ye comprehended them not with *your* knowledge? Or what is it that ye were doing? (87) And the sentence of *damnation* shall fall on them, for that they have acted unjustly: and they shall not speak in *their own* excuse. (88) Do they not see that we have ordained the night, that they may rest therein, and the day giving open light? Verily herein *are* signs unto people who believe. (89) On *that* day the trumpet shall be sounded; and whoever are in heaven and on earth shall be struck with terror, except those whom GOD shall please to exempt therefrom: R 7.

(84) *A beast, &c.* "The Muhammadans call this a beast, whose appearance will be one sign of the approach of the day of judgment, al Jásúsa, or the Spy. I have given the description of her elsewhere (Prelim. Disc., p. 131), to which should be added that she is to have two wings."—Sale. Comp. Rev. xiii.

Which shall speak unto them. "Or, according to a different reading (viz., *tuklimuhum*, instead of *tukallimuhum*), 'who shall wound them.'"—Sale.

(85) *Charged our signs with falsehood.* See chap. iii. 185, and note there.

(89) *Except those . . . exempt.* "See the Prelim. Disc., p. 135, &c. Some say the persons exempted from this general consternation will be the angels Gabriel, Michael, Israfil, and Israil; others suppose them to be the virgins of Paradise, and the angels who guard that place and carry God's throne; and others will have them to be the martyrs."—Sale, Ibn Abbás, Baidháwi.

and all shall come before him in humble guise. (90) And thou shalt see the mountains, and shalt think them firmly fixed; but they shall pass away, even as the clouds pass away. *This will be* the work of GOD, who hath rightly disposed all things: and he is well acquainted with that which ye do. (91) Whoever shall have wrought righteousness shall receive *a reward* beyond the desert thereof; and they shall be secure from the terror of that day: (92) but whoever shall have wrought evil shall be thrown on their faces into *hell-fire*. Shall ye receive the reward of *any other* than of that which ye shall have wrought? (93) Verily I am commanded to worship the LORD of this territory of *Makkah*, who hath sanctified the same: unto him *belong* all things. And I am commanded to be a Muslim, (94) and to rehearse the Qurán: he who shall be directed *thereby* will be directed to his own *advantage*; and to him who shall go astray, say, Verily I am a warner *only*. (95) And say, Praise *be* unto GOD! he will show you his signs, and ye shall know them: and thy LORD is not regardless of that which they do.

(92) *From the terror, &c.* "That is, from the fear of damnation and the other terrors which will disturb the wicked; not from the general terror or consternation before mentioned."—Sale.

(93, 94) *I am commanded to be a Muslim.* See note on chap. vi. 14. The word *say* must be understood here. Nöldeke thinks it has been inadvertently dropped.

To rehearse the Qurán. Comp. with ver. 6. Muhammad distinctly claims to be a prophet of God, but as yet only *a warner*. See note on chaps. ii. 119, xi. 13, and xiii. 8, &c.

(95) *He will show you signs, viz.,* "the successes of the true believers against the infidels, and particularly the victory of Badr."—Sale.

The *signs* are either the verses of the Qurán, or the signs of the judgment-day, referred to in ver. 84 *seq.*

CHAPTER XXVIII.

ENTITLED SURAT AL QASAS (THE STORY).

Revealed at Makkah.

INTRODUCTION.

THE object of this chapter, as we are informed in ver. 2, was to instruct the faithful by a rehearsal of the history of Moses and Pharaoh. This history, which occupies a considerable portion of the chapter, is related with considerable detail up to the point of Moses's visit to Pharaoh. The account of Moses's rejection and of Pharaoh's destruction occupies but a very few verses, in which the story of Haman and his destruction seems to be mixed up with that of Pharaoh. From this it may fairly be inferred that Muhammad had as yet received but little information concerning the latter part of the history of Moses and Pharaoh. This is confirmed by the story of Korah and his rebellion, as related in vers. 76-82, where both the place and the cause of rebellion are misrepresented in a way that leaves the impression that the writer is retailing the substance of a story learned from some ignorant Jewish informer.

So far as the story of Moses and the Egyptians is concerned, it is fair to say that it furnished Muhammad with a model prophet he ever afterwards strove to imitate. Indeed, such imitation is plainly visible in this chapter. The Quraish are represented as rejecting both Moses and Muhammad—both the Pentateuch and the Qurán—on the ground that they, *i.e.*, Moses and Muhammad, assisted one another. Muhammad accepts the companionship of Moses, and challenges the Quraish to produce a book as good as either that of Moses or his own Qurán, thereby very clearly attesting the credibility of the Pentateuch *then extant* among the Jews, which may account for the fact that certain Jews became his followers about this time (vers. 52, 53).

The latter portion of the chapter is occupied with the usual Makkan discourse of the preacher. Idolaters are warned and

threatened with destruction, while the joys of Paradise are held up for the encouragement of the humble and penitent believer.

Probable Date of the Revelations.

It is generally agreed that this chapter belongs to Makkah. One writer, Umar Bín Muhammad, thinks it was written on the journey from Makkah to Madína. This opinion is based upon a mistaken interpretation of ver. 85.

The opinion of those who regard vers. 52 and 53 as Madínic is unworthy of serious consideration, because Muhammad's experience at Madína would have prevented his declaring that the Jews and Christians believed the Qurán to be the Word of God.

Vers. 76-82 are not a misplaced interpolation, as some have thought, but simply illustrate the fate of those who are mentioned in vers. 74, 75, as is evident by reference to ver. 83 *seq.*

The chapter being Makkan, the next point is to fix its place there. Believing, as we may, that the story of Moses and Pharaoh here reflects the condition of the Muslims at the time it was enunciated, we may gather that there were two parties (ver. 3); that efforts were made to crush the weaker party (vers. 3, 4); that Muhammad was regarded as a sorcerer and deceiver (ver. 36); that Muhammad and his Qurán were treated with great contempt, because of the opposition made to the national idolatry (vers. 38, 39); that Muhammad was charged with forging the Qurán, but received encouragement from certain Jewish, and perhaps Christian, converts (vers. 48-53), and that the opposition to the Muslims was led by some powerful person at Makkah, probably Abu Lahab, as appears from the story of Qárún (vers. 76-82). To this may be added the allusion (in vers. 85-88) to the lapse of Muhammad, and to the Quraishite hatred of Muslims in ver. 69. These circumstances of the Muslims fit in very well with the history of Islám about the beginning of the fifth year of Muhammad's ministry, *i.e.*, B.H. 9.

Principal Subjects.

	VERSES
Muhammad receives the story of Moses for the benefit of believers	1, 2
Pharaoh oppresses the Israelites	3
God determines to befriend the weak and to destroy oppressors	4, 5
Moses's mother directed to commit her child to the river	6
Pharaoh's family take up the infant Moses	7, 8
The anxiety of Moses's mother—his sister watches him	9, 10
Moses refuses the Egyptian nurse, and his mother is employed	11, 12

	VERSES
God bestows on him wisdom and strength	13
He slays an Egyptian and flies to Madian	14-20
By divine direction he reaches the wells of Madian	21, 22
He waters the flocks of the daughters of Shuaib (Jethro)	23, 24
Meeting Shuaib, he relates his history	25
Shuaib gives him one of his daughters in marriage	26-28
Fulfilling the marriage contract, Moses journeys towards Egypt	29
He sees the burning bush, and receives prophetic commission and power to perform miracles	29-32
Moses, fearing Pharaoh, asks the help of Aaron	33-35
Egyptians regard Moses and Aaron as sorcerers	36
Moses threatens them with God's judgment	37
Pharaoh, claiming to be a god, asks Hámán to build a tower up to heaven	38
Pharaoh and his princes blaspheme God	38, 39
God drowns Pharaoh and his princes in the sea	40
They shall be rejected of God in the resurrection	41, 42
Moses receives the Pentateuch for a direction to his people	43
Muhammad inspired to preach to the Arabs	44-46
His preaching renders unbelievers inexcusable	47
The Quraish reject both Pentateuch and Qurán	48
They are challenged to produce a better book than these	49
The Makkans warned by the faith of certain Jews	50-53
Reward of converted Jews and Christians	54
Character of true converts to Islám	55
Men are only directed to true faith by God	56
The Quraish fear to follow Muhammad lest they be expelled from Makkah	57
Cities destroyed for unbelief in, and persecution of, God's true prophets	58, 59
Present prosperity no sign of God's favour	60, 61
False gods will desert their votaries in judgment-day	62, 64
The idolaters shall be speechless then, but penitents shall be saved	65-67
God, the only true God, produces the recurrence of day and night	70-73
God shall produce a witness against every nation at the judg- ment	74, 75
The story of Qárún	76-82
Pardon granted to the humble and obedient	83-85
Muhammad received the Qurán unexpectedly	86
Muhammad exhorted to steadfastness in the faith of Islám	86-88

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

R ¼. || (1) T. S. M. THESE *are* the signs of the perspicuous book. (2) We will dictate unto thee, *O Muhammad, some parts* of the history of Moses and Pharaoh, with truth; for *the sake of* people who believe. (3) Now Pharaoh lifted himself up in the land of *Egypt*; and he caused his subjects to be divided into parties; he weakened one party of them by slaying their male children and preserving their females alive; for he was an oppressor. (4) And we were minded to be gracious unto those who were weakened in the land, and to make them models of religion; and to make them the heirs of *the wealth of Pharaoh and his people*, (5) and to establish a place for them in the earth; and to show Pharaoh and Hámán and their forces that *destruction of their kingdom and nation* by them, which they sought to avoid. (6) And we directed the

(1) T. S. M. See Prelim. Disc., p. 100.

(2) This verse would seem to indicate that this chapter contains the earliest account of Moses and Pharaoh given by Muhammad in his Qurán. With this view agrees the custom of Muhammad to give first a detailed account and afterwards a more cursory statement of the Scripture history he picked up from his Jewish informants.

(3) *In parties, i.e.*, "either into companies, that they might the better attend his order and perform the services he exacted of them; or into opposite factions, to prevent their attempting anything against them, to deliver themselves from his tyranny."—Sale, *Baidháwí*.

The two parties were the Israelites and the native Egyptians, as appears from what follows.

(4) *Heirs*. See notes on chaps. vii. 137 and xxvi. 59.

(5) *Hámán*. "This name is given to Pharaoh's chief minister; from whence it is generally inferred that Muhammad has here made Haman, the favourite of Ahasuerus, king of Persia, and who indisputably lived many ages after Moses, to be that prophet's contemporary. But how probable soever this mistake may seem to us, it will be very hard, if not impossible, to convince a Muhammadan of it; for, as has been observed in a parallel case (see chap. iii. 35), two very different persons may bear the same name."—Sale.

Which they sought to avoid. "For Pharaoh had either dreamed, or been told by some diviners, that one of the Hebrew nation should be the ruin of his kingdom; which prophecy is supposed to have

mother of Moses by revelation, *saying*, Give him suck; and if thou fearest for him, cast him into the river; and fear not, neither be afflicted; for we will restore him unto thee, and will appoint him *one of our apostles*. (7) And *when she had put the child in the ark, and had cast it into the river*, the family of Pharaoh took him up; *providence designing* that he should become an enemy and a sorrow unto them. Verily Pharaoh and Hámán and their forces were sinners. (8) And the wife of Pharaoh said, *This child is a delight of the eye to me and to thee: kill him not; peradventure it may happen that he may be serviceable unto us; or we may adopt him for our son. And they perceived not the consequence of what they were doing.* (9) And the heart of the mother of Moses became oppressed *with fear*; and she had almost discovered him, had we not armed her heart with constancy, that she might be *one of those who believe the promises of God*. (10) And she said unto his sister, Follow him. And she watched him at a distance; and they perceived it *not*. (11) And we suffered him *not to take the breasts of the nurses who were provided before his sister came up; and*

been the occasion of his cruelty to them. This circumstance is owing to the invention of the Jews (*vide* Shalshel, *Hakkab*, p. 11, et R. Eliez., *Pirke*, c. 48).—*Sale*.

See note on chap. vii. 128.

(6) *One of our apostles*. "It is related that the midwife appointed to attend the Hebrew woman, terrified by a light which appeared between the eyes of Moses at his birth, and touched with an extraordinary affection for the child, did not discover him to the officers, so that his mother kept him in her house, and nursed him three months; after which it was impossible for her to conceal him any longer, the king then giving orders to make the searches more strictly."—*Sale*, *Baidháwí*.

See also note on chap. xx. 39.

(8) *Kill him not*. "This sudden affection or admiration was raised in them either by his uncommon beauty, or by the light which shone on his forehead, or because, when they opened the ark, they found him sucking his thumb, which supplied him with milk."—*Sale*, *Jaláluddín*.

(9) *The mother of Moses*. Comp. chap. xx. 40, 41, and Exod. chap. ii.

(11) *We suffered him not . . . the breasts, &c.* See note on chap.

she said, Shall I direct you unto some of his nation, who will nurse him for you, and will be careful of him? *And, at their desire, she brought his mother to them.* (12) So we restored him to his mother, that her mind might be set at ease, and that she might not be afflicted; and that she might know that the promise of GOD *was* true: but the greater part of *mankind* know not *the truth*.

RUBA.

R $\frac{2}{5}$.

|| (13) And when *Moses* had attained his age of full strength, and was become a perfect man, we bestowed on him wisdom and knowledge: and thus do we reward the upright. (14) And he went into the city at a time when the inhabitants thereof observed not *what passed in the street*: and he found therein two men fighting; the one *being* of his own party, and the other of his enemies. And he who *was* of his party begged his assistance against him who *was* of the contrary party; and *Moses* struck him with his fist, and slew him: *but being sorry for what had happened*, he said, This is of the work of the devil; for he is a seducing *and* an open enemy. (15) *And* he said, O LORD, verily I have injured my own soul: wherefore forgive me. So *Góð* forgave him; for he *is* ready to forgive, *and* merciful. (16) He said, O LORD, by the *favours* with which thou hast favoured me, I will not be an assistant to the wicked *for the future*. (17) And the next morning he was afraid in the city, and looked about him, *as one apprehensive of danger*: and behold he whom he had assisted the day before cried out unto him *for help a second time*. *But* *Moses* said unto him, Thou art plainly

xx. 41. Muhammad is indebted for this to the Jews. See Arnold's *Islám and Christianity*, p. 138.

(14) *A time when, &c.*, viz., "at noon, at which time it is usual, in those countries, for people to retire to sleep; or, as others rather suppose, a little within night."—*Sale*.

Two men, &c., i.e., "the one being an Israelite, of his own religion and nation, and the other an idolatrous Egyptian."—*Sale*.

The work of the devil. "Muhammad allows that Moses killed the Egyptian wrongfully; but, to excuse it, supposes that he struck him without designing to kill him."—*Sale*.

(15, 16) See notes on chaps. xx. 41 and xxvii. 19.

a quarrelsome fellow. (18) And when he sought to lay hold on him who was an enemy unto them both, he said, O Moses, dost thou intend to kill me, as thou killedst a man yesterday? Thou seekest only to be an oppressor in the earth, and seekest not to be a reconciler of quarrels.

(19) And a certain man came from the farther part of the city, running hastily, and said, O Moses, verily the magistrates are deliberating concerning thee, to put thee to death: depart therefore; I certainly advise thee well.

(20) Wherefore he departed out of the city in great fear, looking this way and that, lest he should be pursued. And he said, O LORD, deliver me from the unjust people.

|| (21) And when he was journeying towards Madian, he said, Peradventure my LORD will direct me in the right way. (22) And when he arrived at the water of Madian, he found about the well a company of men who were watering their flocks. (23) And he found, besides them, two women, who kept off their sheep at a distance. And he said unto them, What is the matter with you? They answered, We shall not water our flock until the shepherds shall have driven away theirs; for our father is an

(18) *Dost thou intend to kill me, &c.* "Some suppose these words to have been spoken by the Israelite, who, because Moses had reprimanded him, imagined he was going to strike him; and others, by the Egyptian, who either knew or suspected that Moses had killed his countryman the day before."—Sale.

(19) *A certain man, &c.* "This person, says the tradition, was an Egyptian, and Pharaoh's uncle's son, but a true believer, who finding that the king had been informed of what Moses had done, and designed to put him to death, gave him immediate notice to provide for his safety by flight."—Sale.

(21) *The Lord will direct, &c.* "For Moses knew not the way, and coming to a place where three roads met, committed himself to the guidance of God, and took the middle road, which was the right; Providence likewise so ordering it that his pursuers took the other two roads, and missed him. Some say he was led by an angel in the appearance of a traveller."—Sale, Baidhāwī, Jalāluddīn.

(23) *Two women.* Comp. Exod. ii. 16, 17, where the daughters are said to be seven. It is probable that Muhammad here confounds this story with that of Jacob and the two daughters of Laban (Gen. xxix. 16-30). This view seems to be confirmed by the conditions of marriage mentioned in ver. 27.

old man, stricken in years. (24) So *Moses* watered *their sheep* for them, and afterwards retired in the shade, saying, O LORD, verily I stand in need of the good which thou shalt send down unto me. (25) And one of the *damsels* came unto him, walking bashfully, and said, My father calleth thee, that he may recompense thee for the *trouble which thou hast taken in watering our sheep* for us. And when he was come unto *Shuaib*, and had told him the story of *his adventures*, he said unto him, Fear not: thou hast escaped from unjust people. (26) And one of the *damsels* said, My father, hire him for *certain wages*: the best *servant* thou canst hire is an able and trusty person. (27) And *Shuaib* said unto *Moses*, Verily I will give thee one of these my two daughters in marriage, on condition

(24) *Moses watered their sheep for them.* "By rolling away a stone of a prodigious weight, which had been laid over the mouth of the well by the shepherds, and required no less than seven men (though some name a much larger number) to remove it."—*Salé, Jaláluddín, Yahya.*

The good, i.e., a wife.

(25) *One of the damsels.* "This was *Sifúra* (or *Zipporah*) the elder, or, as others suppose, the younger daughter of *Shuaib*, whom *Moses* afterwards married."—*Salé.*

And when he was come, &c. "When *Moses* arrived at the residence of *Shuaib*, says *Jaláluddín*, he found the dinner ready. 'Be seated and eat with us,' said the old man. 'I will not accept thy offer,' replied *Moses*, 'as a reward for the service which I have rendered to thy daughters. To do good without receiving a recompense for it, is an inviolable law in my family.' 'And it is my custom,' answered *Shuaib*, 'and was that of my ancestors, to give a kind reception to shy guests, and to supply them with food.' Hospitality is still held in respect by the Turks. If a stranger introduces himself at meal-times, he is made to sit down, and is treated like the rest. No one asks whence he comes, whither he is going, or what he is; questions which are so painful to the unfortunate. He is a man who is come at the hour of repast; he is received as if he were one of the family, and is treated with the same kindness."—*Savary.*

(26) *Trusty person.* "The girl, being asked by her father how she knew *Moses* deserved this character, told him that he had removed the vast stone above mentioned without any assistance; and that he looked not in her face, but held down his head till he had heard her message, and desired her to walk behind him, because the wind ruffled her garments a little, and discovered some part of her legs."—*Salé, Baidháwi, Jaláluddín.*

(27) See above on ver. 23.

that thou serve me for hire eight years; and if thou fulfil ten *years*, it is in thine own breast; for I seek not to impose a hardship on thee: *and* thou shalt find me, if God please, a man of probity. (28) *Moses* answered, *Let this be the covenant* between me and thee: whichsoever of the two terms I shall fulfil, let it be no crime in me *if I then quit thy service*; and God is witness of that which we say.

|| (29) And when Moses had fulfilled the term, and was journeying with his family *towards Egypt*, he saw fire on the side of Mount *Sinai*. *And* he said unto his family, Tarry ye *here*; for I see fire: peradventure I may bring you thence some tidings *of the way*, or at least a brand out of the fire, that ye may be warmed. (30) And when he was come thereto, a voice cried unto him from the right side of the valley, in the sacred bottom, from the tree, *saying*, O Moses, verily I am God, the LORD of all creatures: (31) cast down now thy rod. And when he saw it that it moved, as though it *had been* a serpent, he retreated and fled, and returned not. *And God said unto him*, O Moses, draw near, and fear not; for thou art safe. (32) Put thy hand into thy bosom, *and* it shall come forth white, without any hurt: and draw back thy hand unto thee *which thou stretchest forth* for fear. These shall be two evident signs from thy LORD, unto Pharaoh and his

(29) *When Moses had fulfilled the term, &c.*, viz., "the longest term of ten years. The Muhammadans say, after the Jews, that Moses received from Shuaib the rod of the prophets (which was a branch of a myrtle of Paradise, and had descended to him from Adam) to keep off the wild beasts from his sheep, and that this was the rod with which he performed all those wonders in Egypt."—Sale.

He was journeying towards Egypt. This contradicts Exod. iii., which makes this journey consequent upon the command received at the burning bush.

He saw fire. See note on chap. xx. 9.

(32) *Draw back thy hand, &c.* "Literally, *thy wing*; the expression alludes to the action of birds, which stretch forth their wings to fly away when they are frightened, and fold them together again when they think themselves secure."—Sale.

princes ; for they are a wicked people. (33) *Moses* said, O LORD, verily I have slain one of them ; and I fear they will put me to death : (34) but my brother Aaron is of a more eloquent tongue than I *am* ; wherefore send him with me for an assistant, that he may gain me credit ; for I fear lest they accuse me of imposture. (35) *God* said, We will strengthen thine arm by thy brother, and we will give each of you *extraordinary* power, so that they shall not come up to you, in our signs. Ye two, and whoever shall follow you, *shall be* the conquerors. (36) And when Moses came unto them with our evident signs, they said, This *is* no other than a deceitful piece of sorcery : neither have we heard of *anything like* this among our forefathers. (37) And Moses said, My LORD best knoweth who cometh with a direction from him, and who shall have success in this life *as well as the next* : but the unjust shall not prosper. (38) And Pharaoh said, O princes, I did not know that ye had any *other* god besides me. Wherefore do thou, O Hámán, burn me clay *into bricks* ; and build me a high tower, that I may ascend unto the God of Moses : for I verily believe him to be a liar. (39) And both he and his forces behaved themselves insolently and unjustly in the earth ; and imagined that they should not be brought before us *to be judged*. (40) Wherefore we took him and his forces, and cast them into the sea. Behold, therefore, what was the end of the unjust. (41) And we

(33-37) See on chaps. xx. 26-34 and xxvi. 11-22.

(38) *Any other god, &c.* See chap. xxvi. 28.

O Hámán . . . build me a high tower. "It is said that Hámán, having prepared bricks and other materials, employed no less than 50,000 men, besides labourers, in the building ; which they carried to so immense a height that the workmen could no longer stand on it : that Pharaoh, ascending this tower, threw a javelin towards heaven, which fell back again stained with blood, whereupon he impiously boasted that he had killed the God of Moses ; but at sunset God sent the Angel Gabriel, who, with one stroke of his wing, demolished the tower, a part whereof falling on the king's army, destroyed a million of men."—*Sale, Zamakhshari.* See above on ver. 5.

made them *deceitful* guides, inviting *their followers* to hell-fire; and on the day of resurrection they shall not be screened *from punishment*. (42) We pursued them with a curse in this *life*; and on the day of resurrection they *shall be* shamefully rejected.

|| (43) And we gave the book of the law unto Moses, R^{5/8} after we had destroyed the former generations, to enlighten the minds of men, and for a direction and a mercy; that peradventure they might consider. (44) Thou, O Prophet, wast not on the west side of Mount Sinai when we delivered Moses his commission: neither wast thou one of those who were present at his receiving it: (45) but we raised up several generations after Moses; and life was prolonged unto them. Neither didst thou dwell among the inhabitants of Madian, rehearsing unto them our signs; but we have sent thee fully instructed in every particular. (46) Nor wast thou present on the side of the mount when we called unto Moses; but thou art sent as a mercy from thy LORD; that thou mightest preach unto a people to whom no preacher hath come before thee, that peradventure they may be warned.

|| (47) And lest, if a calamity had befallen them, for N^{18p}. that which their hands had previously committed, they should have said, O LORD, since thou hast not sent an apostle unto us, that we might follow thy signs and become true believers, are we not excusable? (48) Yet when the truth is come unto them from before us, they say, Unless he receive the same power to work miracles as Moses re-

(44-46) Thou . . . wast not, &c., i.e., these facts have been made known to thee by inspiration. Yet, as Arnold (*Islām and Christianity*, chap. iv.) so conclusively shows, this information was obtained from Jewish sources. See note in Muir's *Life of Mohamet*, vol. ii. p. 189.

(46) A people to whom no preacher hath come, &c. "That is, to the Arabians, to whom no prophet had been sent, at least since Ismail."—Sale. See chap. xiv. 4, and note there. The allusion is probably to the "generation" of Arabs living in Muhammad's time.

(48) Unless he receive the same power, &c. See notes on chaps. ii. 118, 119, and iii. 184, and references there.

ceived, *we will not believe*. Have they not likewise rejected the *revelation* which was heretofore given unto Moses? They say, Two cunning impostures have mutually assisted one another: and they say, Verily we reject them both. (49) Say, Produce therefore a book from GOD which is more right than these two, that I may follow it; if ye speak truth. (50) But if they return thee no answer, know that they only follow their own desires: and who erreth more widely *from the truth* than he who followeth his own desire, without a direction from GOD? Verily GOD directeth not the unjust people.

R $\frac{6}{9}$. || (51) And now have we caused *our* word to come unto them, that they may be admonished. (52) They unto whom we have given the Scriptures *which were revealed* before it believe in the same; (53) and when it is read unto them say, We believe therein; it is certainly the truth from our LORD: verily we were Muslims before this. (54) These shall receive their reward twice, because they have persevered, and repel evil by good, and distribute

Two cunning impostures, viz., “the Pentateuch and the Qurán. Some copies read, ‘two impostors,’ meaning Moses and Muhammad.”—Sale.

Mutually assist. The allusion is doubtless to the habit of Muhammad to appeal to the Pentateuch for the stories of Adam, Noah, Abraham, &c., whereby he threatened his townspeople. Thus he made it appear that, while he attested the truth of these Scriptures, they also bore testimony, by prophecy and by analogy of teaching, to the Qurán.

(49) *Produce . . . a book . . . more right than these two, i.e.,* than the Pentateuch and the Qurán. This passage very clearly attests the genuineness of the Pentateuch extant in Muhammad’s day. Indeed, we are here told that there is no difference between its inspired character and that of the Qurán.

(52) See note on chap. vi. 20.

(53) *We were Muslims before this*. “Holding the same faith in fundamentals, before the revelation of the Qurán, which we receive because it is consonant to the Scriptures, and attested to by them. The passage intends those Jews and Christians who had embraced Muhammadism.”—Sale.

(54) *These shall receive their reward twice, i.e.,* Jews and Christians who become Muslims receive a double reward, because they accept, both the former Scriptures and the Qurán. As a matter of fact

alms out of that which we have bestowed on them ; (55) and when they hear vain discourse, avoid the same, saying, We have our works, and ye have your works ; peace be on you ; we covet not the acquaintance of the ignorant. (56) Verily thou canst not direct whom thou wilt : but GOD directeth whom he pleaseth ; and he best knoweth those who will submit to be directed. (57) *The Makkans* say If we follow the *same* direction with thee, we shall be forcibly expelled our land. Have we not established for them a secure asylum, to which fruits of every sort are brought, as a provision for our bounty ? but the greater part of them do not understand. (58) How many cities have we destroyed *whose inhabitants* lived in ease and plenty ? and these their dwellings are not inhabited after them, unless for a little while ; and we were the inheritors of *their wealth*. (59) But thy LORD did not destroy *those* cities until he had sent unto their capital an apostle to rehearse our signs unto them : neither did we destroy *those* cities unless their inhabitants *were* injurious to *their*

however, no man can intelligently receive both, and for this reason Muslims reject the Bible, though thereby guilty of transgressing the precept taught here.

(55) *Peace be on you.* "This is intended here not as a salutation, but as a waiving all further discourse and communication with the idolaters."—Sale.

(57) *We shall be forcibly expelled, &c.* - "This objection was made by Al Hārith Ibn Ōthmān Ibn Naufal Ibn Abd Manāf, who came to Muhammad and told him that the Quarish believed he preached the truth, but were apprehensive that, if they made the Arabs their enemies by quitting their religion, they would be obliged likewise to quit Makkah, being but a handful of men in comparison to the whole nation."—Sale, *Baidhāwi*.

Have we not established . . . an asylum, &c. "By giving them for their habitation the sacred territory of Makkah, a place protected by God and revered by men."—Sale.

(58) *A little while.* "That is, for a day, or a few hours only, while travellers stay there to rest and refresh themselves ; or, as the original may also signify, *unless by a few inhabitants*; some of those ancient cities and dwellings being utterly desolate, and others thinly inhabited."—Sale

We were the inheritors. "There being none left to enjoy it after them."—Sale.

apostle. (60) The things which are given you are the provisions of this present life, and the pomp thereof; but that which is with GOD is better and more durable: will ye not therefore understand?

R $\frac{7}{10}$. || (61) Shall he, then, unto whom we have promised an excellent promise *of future happiness*, and *who* shall attain the same, *be* as he on whom we have bestowed the provision of this present life, and who, on the day of resurrection, *shall be one* of those who are delivered up to *eternal punishment*? (62) On *that* day God shall call unto them, and shall say; Where are my partners, which ye imagined *to be so*? (63) And they upon whom the sentence of *damnation* shall be justly pronounced shall answer, These, O LORD, *are* those whom we seduced: we seduced them as we *also* had been seduced: *but now* we clearly quit them, and *turn* unto thee. They did not worship us, *but their own lusts*. (64) And it shall be said *unto the idolaters*, Call now upon those whom ye associated *with God*: and they shall call upon them, but they shall not answer them; and they shall see the punishment *prepared for them*, and *shall wish* that they had submitted to be directed. (65) On *that* day God shall call unto them, and shall say, What answer did ye return to *our* messengers? (66) But they shall not be able to give an account *thereof* on that day; neither shall they ask one another *for information*. (67) Howbeit whoso shall repent and believe, and shall do that which is right, may expect to be happy. (68) Thy LORD createth what he pleaseth; and chooseth freely: *but* they have no free choice. Praise be unto GOD; and far be he removed from *the idols* which they associate *with him*! (69) Thy LORD knoweth *both the secret malice* which their breasts conceal, and *the open*

(63-66). See chap. x. 29-32, and xxv. 18-20.

(66) *But they shall not . . . give an account.* Literally, "The account thereof shall be dark unto them;" for the consternation they shall then be under will render them stupid, and unable to return an answer."—*Sale*.

(69) *Conceal . . . discover, i.e.,* of hatred and contempt for Muhammad, and the believers, and the Qurán.—*Tafsir-i-Raufi*.

hatred which they discover. (70) He is GOD : there is no GOD but he. Unto him *is* the praise *due*, both in this life and *in* that which is to come : unto him *doth* judgment *belong* ; and before him shall ye be assembled *at the last day*. (71) Say, What think ye ? If GOD should cover you with perpetual night until the day of resurrection, what god besides GOD would bring you light ? Will ye not therefore hearken ? (72) Say, What think ye ? If GOD should give you continual day until the day of resurrection, what god besides GOD would bring you night, that ye might rest therein ? Will ye not therefore consider ? (73) Of his mercy he hath made for you the night and the day, that ye may rest in the one, and may seek to obtain provision for yourselves of his abundance by your industry in the other ; and that ye may give thanks. (74) On a certain day God shall call unto them, and shall say, Where are my partners which ye imagined to share the divine power with me ? (75) And we will produce a witness out of every nation, and will say, Bring hither your proof of what ye have asserted. And they shall know that the right is GOD's alone ; and the deities which they have devised shall abandon them.

|| (76) Qárún was of the people of Moses ; but he be- R $\frac{8}{11}$
haved insolently towards them : for we had given him so

(75) *A witness out of every nation.* A witness is a prophet like unto Muhammad sent to testify against idolaters and preach the faith of Islám. According to the teaching of vers. 47 and 59, God cannot justly condemn a people until such prophets have appeared among them. See note on chap. xvi. 86-91.

(76) *Qárún.* "The commentators say Qárún was the son of Yashar (or Izhár), the uncle of Moses, and consequently make him the same with the Korah of the Scriptures. This person is represented by them as the most beautiful of the Israelites, and so far surpassing them all in opulency, that the riches of Qárún have become a proverb. The Muhammadans are indebted to the Jews for this last circumstance, to which they have added several other fables : for they tell us that he built a large palace overlaid with gold, the doors thereof were of massy gold : that he became so insolent, because of his immense riches, as to raise a sedition against Moses ; though some pretend the occasion of his rebellion to have

much treasure, that his keys would have loaded several strong men. When his people said unto him, Rejoice not *immoderately*; for GOD loveth not those who rejoice in their riches *immoderately*: (77) but seek to attain by means of *the wealth* which GOD hath given thee, the future mansion of *paradise*. And forget not thy portion in this world; but be thou bounteous *unto others*, as GOD hath been bounteous unto thee; and seek not to act corruptly in the earth, for GOD loveth not the corrupt doers. (78) He answered, I have received *these riches*, only because of

been his unwillingness to give alms, as Moses had commanded; that one day when that prophet was preaching to the people, and, among other laws which he published, declared that adulterers should be stoned, Qárún asked him, What if he should be found guilty of the same crime? to which Moses answered, that in such case he would suffer the same punishment; and thereupon Kárún produced a harlot whom he had hired to swear that Moses had lain with her, and charged him publicly with it; but on Moses adjuring the woman to speak the truth, her resolution failed her, and she confessed that she was suborned by Qárún to accuse him wrongfully; that then God directed Moses, who had complained to him of this usage, to command the earth what he pleased, and it should obey him; whereupon he said, 'O earth, swallow them up!' and that immediately the earth opened under Qárún and his confederates, and swallowed them up, with his palace and all his riches. There goes a tradition that as Qárún sunk gradually into the ground, first to his knees, then to his waist, then to his neck, he cried out four several times, 'O Moses, have mercy on me!' but that Moses continued to say, 'O earth, swallow them up,' till at last he wholly disappeared: upon which God said to Moses, 'Thou hadst no mercy on Qárún, though he asked pardon of thee four times; but I would have had compassion on him, if he had asked pardon of me but once.'—Sale, *Baidhāwī*, *Jalāluddīn*.

The Quraishite facsimile of Qárún, against whom this revelation is directed, is most likely Abu Lahab, the rich and influential and defiant opposer of Muhammad.

Several strong men. "The original word properly signifies any number of persons from ten to forty. Some pretend these keys were a sufficient load for seventy men; and Abul Fida says forty mules used to be employed to carry them."—Sale.

(77) *By means of the wealth, &c.* "For some say he was the most learned of all the Israelites, and the best versed in the law, after Moses and Aaron; others pretend he was skilled in chemistry, or in merchandising, or other arts of gain, and others suppose (as the Jews also fable) that he found out the treasures of Joseph in Egypt."—Sale, *Jalāluddīn*.

the knowledge which is with me. Did he not know that GOD had already destroyed, before him, several generations, who were mightier than he in strength, and had amassed more abundance *of riches*? And the wicked shall not be asked *to discover* their crimes. (79) And Qárún went forth unto his people in his pomp. And they who loved this present life said, Oh that we had the like *wealth* as hath been given unto Qárún? verily he is master of a great fortune. (80) But those on whom knowledge had been bestowed answered, Alas for you! the reward of GOD *in the next life* will be better unto him who shall believe and do good works: but none shall attain the same except those who persevere with constancy. (81) And we caused the ground to cleave in sunder, and to swallow up him and his palace: and he had no forces to defend him besides GOD; neither was he rescued *from punishment*. (82) And the next morning those who had coveted his condition the day before said, Aha! verily GOD bestoweth abundant provision on such of his servants as he pleaseth, and he is sparing *unto whom he pleaseth*. Unless GOD had been gracious unto us, certainly *the earth* had swallowed us up *also*. Aha! the unbelievers shall not prosper.

|| (83) *As to this future mansion of Paradise*, we will R $\frac{9}{12}$. give it unto them who seek not to exalt themselves in the earth or to do wrong, for the *happy* issue shall attend the pious. (84) Whoso doth good shall receive a reward which shall exceed the merit thereof; but *as to him* who doth evil, they who work evil shall be rewarded *according to the merit* only of that which they shall have wrought. (85) Verily he who hath given thee the Qurán for a rule

(79) *Qárún went . . . in his pomp*. "It is said he rode on a white mule adorned with trappings of gold, and that he was clothed in purple, and attended by four thousand men, all well mounted and richly dressed."—Sale.

(85) "This verse, some say, was revealed to Muhammad when he arrived at Juhsa, in his flight from Makkah to Madína, to comfort him and still his complaints."—Sale.

The allusion is most probably to Paradise. Those who consider

of faith and practice will certainly bring thee back home unto *Makkah*. Say, My LORD best knoweth who cometh with a *true* direction and who is in a manifest error. (86) Thou didst not expect that the book *of the Qurán* should be delivered unto thee, but *thou hast received it* through the mercy of thy LORD. Be not therefore assisting to the unbelievers, (87) neither let them turn thee aside from the signs of GOD, after they have been sent down unto thee, and invite *men* unto thy LORD. And be not thou an idolater, (88) neither invoke any other god together with the *true* GOD: there is no god but he. Everything shall perish except himself: unto him *belongeth* judgment, and before him shall ye be assembled *at the last day*.

the verse a prophecy must admit that the most important word of that prophecy is not in the text.

(86) *Thou didst not expect, &c.* This verse presents Muhammad's claim to inspiration under a new aspect. He is called unexpectedly as Moses was. See notes on vers. 44-46.

(87) *Neither let them turn thee aside, &c.* This probably refers to the lapse of Muhammad. See note on chap. xxii. 53.

CHAPTER XXIX.

ENTITLED SURAT AL ANQUBÚT (THE SPIDER).

Revealed at Makkah.

INTRODUCTION.

THIS chapter owes its title to the mention of the spider in ver. 40. The matter differs little from that of several other Makkan chapters. There is strong indication of decided antipathy for the Prophet on the part of his Arab hearers. This was probably due to certain Jews having espoused the cause of Muhammad by becoming his disciples. These had said, "We believe in the revelation which hath been sent down unto us, and also in that which hath been sent unto you. Our God and your God is one, and unto him are we resigned." So elated was Muhammad with this confession that he could say, "Of these Arabians also there are who believe therein, and none reject our signs except the obstinate infidels." These he likens to the followers of Noah, Lot, and Moses, who would be destroyed in their sin and unbelief.

Two points are worthy of special mention. First, Muhammad indubitably accepted the Jewish Scriptures as genuine and uncorrupted. His Jewish disciples claimed to believe in their own Scriptures as well as in the Qurán, and their acceptance of the latter seems to have been due to a belief that it was attested by the former. This fact no doubt accounts for the numerous allusions to Scripture history in those chapters of the Qurán enunciated at this period in Muhammad's ministry.

The second point to be noted here is the fact that Muhammad, though challenged by both Jewish and Arab unbelievers to perform miracles like those wrought by the former prophets to whom he likened himself, yet ever declined to do so, alleging that the Qurán was itself a sufficient miracle, which, with his ability to read and write, though taught by no one, should be sufficient to convince any

one. Beyond this he could only say, "Signs are in the power of God alone, and I am no more than a public preacher" (ver. 49).

The latter verses of the chapter teach the folly of idolatry and the certainty of the resurrection and judgment, the final reward of true believers and the awful punishment of the infidels.

Probable Date of the Revelations.

According to Nöldeke, vers. 1-10 belong to Madīna, and were revealed subsequent to the battle of Badr, and perhaps also of Ohod. Their present position he ascribes to Muhammad himself. Vers. 7 and 8 are by some supposed to be Makkan, but this opinion rests upon a misinterpretation of them (see note on ver. 7 below). Nöldeke also places ver. 45 among the Madīnic revelations, but in order to do so he misinterprets the words "Dispute not against those who have the Scriptures unless in the mildest manner," *i.e.*, by the sword. But the passage plainly forbids the sword to be used except in self-defence.

The remainder of the chapter is generally admitted to belong to Makkah. As to the date, the only verse giving any clue to it is ver. 56, which exhorts to flight. Now as there were several flights of the Muslims, the question as to which is here alluded to must be decided by internal evidence drawn from the style and animus of the revelations themselves. The absence of any allusion to violent treatment of the Muslims would point to a comparatively early date, but the exhortation to flight implies persecution of some kind. Still from the fact that the withdrawal of the Prophet himself does not seem to be intended, we may fix the date with some probability at about the time of the first Abyssinian emigration.

Principal Subjects.

	VERSES
Religious faith is proved by trials	1, 2
Evil deeds will surely be punished	3
The righteous shall be rewarded for their good deeds	4-6
Parents not to be obeyed when they oppose God's law	7
Salvation by faith and good works	8
Hypocrites exposed and rebuked	9, 10
Unbelievers shall be punished for deceiving others by false promises	11, 12
The enemies of Noah drowned for their unbelief	13, 14
Abraham preached against idolatry	15, 16
Abraham accused of being an impostor	17
He shows the idolaters how God's power is manifested in nature	18, 19

	VERSES
He declares that none shall escape the judgment of God . . .	20-22
His people attempt to burn him, but God saves him . . .	23
He discourses against the idolatry of his people . . .	24
Lot believes in Abraham, who determines to fly his country . . .	25
God gives Abraham descendants who possess the gift of prophecy and the Scriptures . . .	26
The story of Lot and his ministry in Sodom . . .	27-34
Shuaib's ministry to the unbelieving Madianites . . .	35, 36
Ád and Thamúd destroyed in unbelief . . .	37
Qárún, Pharaoh, and Hámán destroyed in unbelief . . .	38
Various means by which God destroyed infidels . . .	39
Idolatry likened to a spider's web . . .	40
God knoweth the idols worshipped by men . . .	41
God's works and signs only understood by true believers . . .	42, 43
Muhammad is commanded to recite the Qurán and to give himself to prayer . . .	44
Muslims not to fight against Jews and Christians except in self-defence . . .	45
The Qurán and the former Scriptures one revelation . . .	45, 46
The miracle of Muhammad's reading and writing a proof of the inspiration of the Qurán . . .	47
Unbelievers only reject the Qurán . . .	48
Muhammad challenged to work a miracle . . .	49
The Qurán itself a sufficient miracle . . .	50
God will judge between Muhammad and the infidels . . .	51, 52
The infidels call for judgment, and it will find them unprepared . . .	53-55
Believers exhorted to fly from persecution . . .	56
The reward of the righteous dead . . .	57-59
God's works in creation and providence witness his being . . .	60-63
The present life a vain show . . .	64
Unbelievers are ungrateful . . .	65, 66
The ingratitude of the Arab idolaters . . .	67, 68
God will reward the faithful . . .	69

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

SULS.

|| (1) A. L. M. Do men imagine that it shall be sufficient for them to say, We believe; will they not be proved? R_{13}^1

(1) A. L. M. See Prelim. Disc., p. 101, and note on chap. ii. 1.

(2) We heretofore proved those who *were* before them, for GOD will surely know them who are sincere, and he will surely know the liars. (3) Do they who work evil think that they shall prevent us *from taking vengeance on them*? An ill judgment do they make. (4) Whoso hopeth to meet GOD, verily GOD's appointed time will certainly come, and he *both* heareth *and* knoweth. (5) Whoever striveth *to promote the true religion* striveth for the *advantage* of his own soul, for GOD needeth not any of *his* creatures; (6) and *as to those* who believe and work righteousness, we will expiate their evil deeds from them, and we will give them a reward according to the utmost merit of their actions. (7) We have commanded man *to show* kindness towards his parents, but if they endeavour to prevail with thee to associate with me that concerning which thou hast no knowledge, obey them not. Unto me shall ye return, and I will declare unto you what ye have done. (8) Those who shall believe and shall work righteousness we will surely introduce *into Paradise* among the upright. (9) There are some men who say, We believe

(2) "This passage reprehends the impatience of some of the Prophet's companions under the hardships which they sustained in defence of their religion, and the losses which they suffered from the infidels, representing to them that such trials and afflictions were necessary to distinguish the sincere person from the hypocrite, and the steady from the wavering. Some suppose it to have been occasioned by the death of Mahja, Omar's slave, killed by an arrow at the battle of Badr, which was deeply lamented and laid to heart by his wife and parents."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*.

(7) *Obey them not.* "That is, if they endeavour to pervert thee to idolatry. The passage is said to have been revealed on account of Saad Ibn Abi Waqqas and his mother Hamna, who, when she heard that her son had embraced Muhammadism, swore that she would neither eat nor drink till he returned to his old religion, and kept her oath for three days."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*.

Nöldeke points out that this reference to Saad is impossible, as he was one of Muhammad's earliest converts, while the passage here belongs to Madīna. The reference is to those Muslims who, owing to the opposition of parents, refrained from joining the expeditions of Muhammad against the unbelievers.

(8) See notes on chap. ii. 25, and iii. 15, 31, 196.

(9) See notes on chap. iii. 168, and iv. 70-75.

in GOD; but when *such a one* is afflicted for GOD's sake, he esteemeth the persecution of men *to be as grievous* as the punishment of GOD. Yet if success cometh from thy LORD, they say, Verily we are with you. Doth not GOD well know that which is in the breasts of *his* creatures? (10) Verily GOD well knoweth the true believers, and he well knoweth the hypocrites. (11) The unbelievers say unto those who believe, Follow our way and we will bear your sins. Howbeit they shall not bear any part of their sins, for they are liars; (12) but they shall surely bear their own burdens, and *other* burdens besides their own burdens; and they shall be examined on the day of resurrection concerning that which they have falsely devised.

|| (13) We heretofore sent Noah unto his people, and he tarried among them one thousand years, save fifty years, and the deluge took them away while they *were* acting unjustly; (14) but we delivered him and those who were in the ark, and we made the same a sign unto *all* creatures.

R $\frac{2}{14}$.

(12) *Burdens besides their own burdens*, viz., "the guilt of seducing others, which shall be added to the guilt of their own obstinacy without diminishing the guilt of such as shall be seduced by them."
—Sale.

(13) *Noah*. See notes on chap. vii. 60-65.

One thousand years save fifty. "This is true if the whole life of Noah be reckoned; and accordingly Abul Fida says he was sent to preach in his two hundred and fiftieth year, and that he lived in all nine hundred and fifty; but the text seeming to speak of those years only which he spent in preaching to the wicked antediluvians, the commentators suppose him to have lived much longer. Some say the whole length of his life was a thousand and fifty years, that his mission happened in the fortieth year of his age, and that he lived after the Flood sixty years; and others give different numbers, one in particular pretending that Noah lived near sixteen hundred years.

"This circumstance, says al Baidhāwī, was mentioned to encourage Muhammad, and to assure him that God, who supported Noah so many years against the opposition and plots of the antediluvian infidels, would not fail to defend him against all attempts of the idolatrous Makkans and their partisans."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*, *Zamakhshari*.

The consensus of Muslim opinion fairly decides in favour of the plain statement of the text that Noah's ministry lasted nine hundred and fifty years.

(14) *The same a sign*. The ark is here intended, though, accord-

(15) *We also sent Abraham*, when he said unto his people, Serve GOD and fear him; this *will be* better for you, if ye understand. (16) Ye only worship idols besides GOD, and forge a lie. Verily those which ye worship besides GOD are not able to make any provision for you; seek, therefore, *your* provision from GOD, and serve him, and give thanks unto him: unto him shall ye return. (17) If ye charge *me* with imposture, verily *sundry* nations before you *likewise* charged *their prophets* with imposture, but public preaching only *is incumbent* on an apostle. (18) Do they not see how GOD produceth creatures and afterwards restoreth them? Verily this is easy with GOD. (19) Say, Go through the earth, and see how he originally produceth creatures; afterwards will GOD reproduce another production, for GOD *is* almighty. (20) He will punish whom he pleaseth, and he will have mercy on whom he pleaseth. Before him shall ye be brought *at the day of judgment*, (21) and ye shall not escape *his reach*, either in earth or in heaven, neither shall ye have any patron or defender besides GOD.

R $\frac{3}{15}$.

|| (22) *As for* those who believe not in the signs of GOD,

ing to Muhammad's usage, Noah's family should have been the sign. The *Tafsir-i-Raufi* makes the *story of Noah* to be the sign.

(17) *If ye charge me with imposture.* "This seems to be part of Abraham's speech to his people; but some suppose that God here speaks, by way of apostrophe, first to the Quraish and afterwards to Muhammad, and that the parenthesis is continued to these words, 'And the answer of his people was no other,' &c. In which case we should have said, 'If ye charge *Muhammad your Apostle* with imposture,' &c."—Sale.

The simplest explanation of the passage is that Abraham is the speaker, and that Muhammad here puts into his mouth language which he frequently used respecting himself. Abraham is one of Muhammad's facsimiles. See note on chap. xxi. Introduction, and chap. xxiii. 35-43, notes.

(18) *Afterwards restoreth them.* "The infidels are bid to consider how God causeth the fruits of the earth to spring forth, and reneweth them every year, as in the preceding, which is an argument of his power to raise man, whom he created at first, to life again after death at his own appointed time."—Sale.

(21) *Either in earth or in heaven.* Comp. Ps. cxxxix. 7, &c.

or that they shall meet him *at the resurrection*, they shall despair of my mercy, and for them *is* a painful punishment *prepared*. (23) And the answer of his people was no other than that they said, Slay him or burn him. But God saved him from the fire. Verily herein were signs unto people who believed. (24) And *Abraham* said, Ye have taken idols besides God *to cement* affection between you in this life: but on the day of resurrection, the one of you shall deny the other, and the one of you shall curse the other; and your abode shall be *hell-fire*, and there shall be none to deliver you. (25) And Lot believed on him. And *Abraham* said, Verily I fly *from my people* unto the *place which* my LORD *hath commanded me*; for he *is* the mighty, the wise. (26) And we gave him Isaac and Jacob; and we placed among his descendants the gift of prophecy and the Scriptures: and we gave him his reward in this world; and in the next he shall be *one* of the righteous. (27) *We* also sent Lot; when he said unto his people, Do ye commit filthiness which no creature hath committed before you? (28) Do ye approach *lustfully* unto men, and lay wait in the highways, and commit wickedness in your assembly? And the answer of his people was no other than that they said, Bring down the vengeance of God upon us, if thou speakest truth. (29) *Lot* said, O LORD, defend me against the corrupt people.

(23) This verse confirms our view of ver. 17 above. Abraham's speech, in language over and over used by Muhammad elsewhere, ends with ver. 22. Wahl supposes these verses (17-22) to be interpolated from some other sura, perhaps by the compilers.

The fire. See note on chap. xxi. 69.

(25) Comp. chap. xxi. 71.

(26) Compare the following passages to see the way in which the Qurán represents Abraham as related to other prophets:—ii. 127; vi. 85; xix. 50; xxi. 72.

(27) *Lot.* See notes on chap. vii. 81-85.

(28) *The highways.* "Some suppose the Sodomites robbed and murdered the passengers; others that they unnaturally abused their bodies."—Sale.

Wickedness in your assembly. "The meetings being scenes of obscenity and riot."—Sale.

R ⁴₁₆.

|| (30) And when our messengers came unto Abraham with good tidings, they said, We will surely destroy the inhabitants of this city: for the inhabitants thereof are unjust doers. (31) *Abraham* answered, Verily Lot dwelleth there. They replied, We well know who dwelleth therein: we will surely deliver him and his family, except his wife; she shall be *one* of those who remain behind. (32) And when our messengers came unto Lot, he was troubled for them, and his arm was straitened concerning them. But they said, Fear not, neither be grieved; for we will deliver thee and thy family, except thy wife; *for* she shall be *one* of those who remain behind. (33) We will surely bring down upon the inhabitants of this city vengeance from heaven, for that they have been wicked doers; (34) and we have left thereof a manifest sign unto people who understand. (35) And unto *the inhabitants of Madian we sent* their brother Shuaib; and he said *unto them*, O my people, serve GOD and expect the last day; and transgress not, acting corruptly in the earth. (36) But they accused him of imposture; wherefore a storm from heaven assailed them, and in the morning they were found in their dwellings *dead and* prostrate. (37) And *we also destroyed the tribes of Ád and Thamúd*; and *this* is well known unto you from *what yet remains of* their dwellings. And Satan prepared their works for them, and turned them aside from the way of truth, although they were sagacious people. (38) And *we likewise destroyed Qárún, and Pharaoh, and Hámán*. Moses came unto them with evident *miracles*, and they behaved themselves insolently in the earth: but they could

(30) See notes on chap. xi. 69.

(31, 32) See chaps. vii. 84, xi. 69, xxvi. 171.

(34) *A manifest sign*, viz., "the story of its destruction, handed down by common tradition; or else its ruins, or some other footsteps of this signal judgment; it being pretended that several of the stones which fell from heaven on those cities are still to be seen, and that the ground where they stood appears burnt and blackish."—*Sale*.

(35, 36) *Shuaib*. See chap. vii. 86–91, and xi. 83–95.

(37) *Ád and Thamúd*. See chaps. vii. 66–80, and xi. 50–68.

(38) See notes on chap. xxviii. 38 and 76.

not escape *our vengeance*. (39) Every one of them did we destroy in his sin. Against some of them we sent a violent wind: some of them did a terrible noise from heaven destroy: some of them did we cause the earth to swallow up: and some of them we drowned. Neither was GOD *disposed* to treat them unjustly; but they dealt unjustly with their own souls. (40) The likeness of those who take *other* patrons besides GOD is as the likeness of the spider, which maketh herself a house: but the weakest of *all* houses surely is the house of the spider; if they knew *this*. (41) Moreover GOD knoweth what things they invoke besides him; and he *is* the mighty, the wise. (42) These similitudes do we propound unto men; but none understand them except the wise. (43) GOD hath created the heavens and the earth in truth; verily herein *is* a sign unto the true believers.

|| (44) Rehearse that which hath been revealed unto thee of the book of the *Qurán*, and be constant at prayer; for prayer preserveth a man from filthy crimes, and *from* that which is blamable; and the remembering of GOD is surely a most important *duty*. GOD knoweth that which ye do. (45) Dispute not against those who have received

TWENTY-
FIRST
SIPARA.

R $\frac{5}{1}$.

(39) *A violent wind*. "The original word properly signifies a wind that drives the gravel and small stones before it; by which the storm or shower of stones which destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah seems to be intended."—*Sale*.

A terrible noise, &c. "Which was the end of Ád and Thamúd."—*Sale*.

We did cause the earth to swallow. As it did Qárún. See chap. xxviii. 76.

We drowned. "As the unbelievers in Noah's time, and Pharaoh and his army."—*Sale*.

(40) Comp. Job viii. 13-15, and Isaiah lix. 5.

(44) "The value of prayer as a means of moral elevation and the purification of the heart has been clearly set forth in the Koran." So writes Syed Amir Ali in his *Life of Muhammad*, p. 175. But the world's experience is that much prayer, especially when of the stereotyped formal character so prevalent among Muslims, is consistent with the most profound hypocrisy and the worst forms of wickedness. The history of Islám, not to mention the Islám of to-day, presents a strange commentary upon the words of the Syed just quoted. But see note on chap. ii. 238.

(45) *Dispute . . . in the mildest manner, i.e., "without ill language*

the Scriptures, unless in the mildest manner; except against such of them as behave injuriously *towards you*: and say, We believe in the *revelation* which hath been sent down unto us, and *also in that which* hath been sent down unto you; our GOD and your GOD is one, and unto him are we resigned. (46) Thus have we sent down the book of the *Qurán* unto thee: and they unto whom we have given the former Scriptures believe therein; and of these *Arabians also there are* who believe therein: and none reject our signs, except the *obstinate* infidels. (47) Thou couldst not read any book before this; neither couldst thou write it with thy right hand: then had the gainsayers *justly* doubted of the *divine original thereof*. (48) But the same is evident signs in the breasts of those who have received understanding: for none reject our signs except the unjust. (49) They say, Unless a sign be sent down unto him from his LORD, *we will not believe*. Answer, Signs are in the power of GOD alone; and I am *no more than* a public

or passion. This verse is generally supposed to have been abrogated by that of the Sword; though some think it relates only to those who are in alliance with the Muslims."—*Sale*.

See notes on chap. ii. 190–193.

And say, *We believe, &c.* This passage, with that following, shows clearly that Muhammad recognised the authenticity and credibility of the Bible extant in his day. It also shows that he believed his *Qurán* taught precisely the same truths that were taught by former prophets. See notes on chaps. ii. 40, 90, iv. 135, v. 47–52, 72, and vi. 90.

(47) The clear inference from this passage is that Muhammad could write at the time this revelation was rehearsed. Muslims usually understand the passage to declare that Muhammad was unable to write or read at all, and that, for this reason, his *Qurán* is a miracle. Some, however, according to the *Tafsir-i-Kanfi*, evidently influenced by the words *before this*, understand that Muhammad, though at first ignorant, was now miraculously enabled to read and write. Others understand this miraculous gift to have been given at the beginning of his ministry. Granting, however, that Muhammad was assisted by amanuenses, as the Quraish believed, his own inability to read and write would be of little account in any attempt to prove the miraculous character of the *Qurán*.

(49) See notes on chaps. ii. 118, 119, and iii. 184, and references there.

preacher. (50) Is it not sufficient for them that we have sent down unto thee the book *of the Qurán*, to be read unto them? Verily herein *is* a mercy, and an admonition unto people who believe.

|| (51) Say, GOD is a sufficient witness between me and R ⁶. you: (52) he knoweth whatever is in heaven and earth; and those who believe in vain *idols* and deny GOD, they shall perish. (53) They will urge thee to hasten the punishment *which they defy thee to bring down upon them*: if *there had not been* a determined time *for their respite*, the punishment had come upon them *before this*; but it shall surely overtake them suddenly, and they shall not foresee it. (54) They urge thee to bring down vengeance swiftly *upon them*: but hell shall surely encompass the unbelievers. (55) On a *certain day their* punishment shall suddenly assail them, *both* from above them and from under their feet; and *God* shall say, Taste ye *the reward of* that which ye have wrought. (56) O my servants who have believed, verily my earth is spacious: wherefore serve me. (57) Every soul shall taste death: afterwards shall ye return unto us; (58) and *as for* those who shall have believed and wrought righteousness, we will surely lodge them in the higher apartments of Paradise; rivers shall flow beneath them, *and* they shall continue therein for ever. How excellent *will be* the reward of the workers *of righteousness*; (59) who persevere with patience and put their trust in their LORD! (60) How many beasts *are there* which provide not their food? *It is GOD who* provideth for them and for you; and he *both* heareth and

(53) See chap. vi. 57.

(56) *My earth is spacious.* "That is, if ye cannot serve me in one city or country, fly into another, where ye may profess the true religion in safety; for the earth is wide enough, and ye may easily find places of refuge. Muhammad is said to have declared, that whoever flies for the sake of his religion, though he stir but the distance of a span, merits Paradise, and shall be the companion of Abraham and of himself."—Sale, *Baidhāwi*.

(57) *Every soul shall taste death.* See note on chap. iii. 186.

knoweth. (61) Verily, if thou ask *the Makkans* who hath created the heavens and the earth, and hath obliged the sun and the moon to serve *in their courses*, they will answer, GOD. How therefore do they lie *in acknowledging of other gods?* (62) GOD maketh abundant provision for such of his servants as he pleaseth; and is sparing unto him *if he pleaseth*: for GOD knoweth all things. (63) Verily if thou ask them who sendeth rain from heaven, and thereby quickeneth the earth after it hath been dead, they will answer, GOD. Say, GOD be praised! But the greater part of them do not understand.

R $\frac{7}{3}$. || (64) This present life is no other than a toy and a plaything: but the future mansion of *Paradise* is life indeed: if they knew *this they would not prefer the former to the latter*. (65) When they sail in a ship, they call upon GOD, sincerely exhibiting unto him the *true* religion: but when he bringeth them safe to land, behold, they return to their idolatry; (66) to show themselves ungrateful for that which we have bestowed on them, and that they may enjoy *the delights of this life*; but they shall hereafter know *the issue*. (67) Do they not see that we have made *the territory of Makkah* an inviolable and secure *asylum*, when men are spoiled *in the countries* round about them? Do they therefore believe in that which is vain, and acknowledge not the goodness of GOD? (68) But who is more unjust than he who deviseth a lie against GOD, or denieth the truth when it hath come unto him? Is there not in hell an abode for the unbelievers? (69) Whoever do their utmost endeavour to promote our true religion, we will direct them into our ways; for GOD is with the righteous.

(61-63) Comp. chap. xxiii. 85-89.

(62) *God knoweth all things.* "And particularly who will make a good, and who will make a bad use of their riches."—*Sale*.

(64) See note on chap. ii. 25.

(67) *An inviolable and secure asylum.* See note on chap. iii. 97.

CHAPTER XXX.

ENTITLED SURAT UR RÚM (THE GREEKS).

Revealed at Makkah.

INTRODUCTION.

THIS chapter owes its title to the celebrated prophecy concerning the Greeks contained in the first and following verses. "The Greeks" were the inhabitants of the Constantinopolitan empire, which was, and still is, called Rúm by the Arabs. Excepting the prophecy of the first five verses, there is no other allusion to the Greeks or their empire in this chapter. The remainder of the revelations is made up of a variety of passages, some of which treat of the folly of idolatry, with proofs of God's being and power drawn from his works in nature and providence, while others set forth the doctrine of the resurrection, illustrated by reference to God's revivifying power, seen in the restoration of the earth's verdure after it has been parched and dead. The Prophet's hearers are also called upon to consider that since God is the Creator of all things in heaven and earth, he is able to raise the dead to life again. Closely connected with this is the doctrine of a final judgment, when all men will be divided into two classes, one made up of true believers, who will enter into Paradise and enjoy its pleasures, the other made up of unbelievers, who will be consigned to everlasting torments.

The attitude of the Quraish, as seen in this chapter, is that of stolid indifference. Their hardness of heart is spoken of in the following terms:—"Thou" (*i.e.*, Muhammad) "canst not make the dead to hear, neither canst thou make the deaf to hear thy call, when they retire and turn their backs; neither canst thou direct the blind out of error: thou shalt make none to hear, except him who shall believe in our signs" (vers. 51 and 52). And in ver. 58 God is declared to say, "Now have we propounded unto them in this Qurán parables

of every kind ; yet if thou bring them a verse thereof, the unbelievers will surely say, Ye are no other than publishers of vain falsehoods."

The chapter ends with an exhortation to Muhammad to be steadfast and persevering in the faith, assured that the cause of Islām will certainly triumph.

Probable Date of the Revelations.

The date of the prophecy (vers. 1-5) is placed by various writers in the fifth, fourth, and third year before the Hijra. Sale thinks the sixth year B.H. is the probable date (see note on ver. 1). Noëldeke says, "It is difficult to define *which* of the numerous defeats the Byzantines suffered *till after the Hijra* be meant here ; particularly as the older Muslim writers, who report these events in a confused and unreliable manner, are not corroborated by reliable Byzantine testimony, at least as far as my researches have extended. The usual statement is, that here that defeat is meant which the Byzantines suffered at Azru'at and Basra, or in Mesopotamia, or in Palestine. The Persian translator of *Al Tabarī*, which has here all sorts of confused accounts about the dethronement of Maurice (صوري), &c., says the Qurán speaks of the capture of Jerusalem. That an important event is meant, which had happened either in Palestine or its neighbourhood, cannot well be doubted. Whether, however, it was that capture of Jerusalem (about the year 7 or 6 before the Hijra), or a subsequent event, we cannot say for certain."

Vers. 16, 17, are thought by some (Umar Bin Muhammad, Al Zamakhshari, Baidhawī) to be Madīnic, because they refer to the five daily prayers. These had, however, been appointed shortly before the Hijra.

While, therefore, the prophecy in vers. 1-5 may belong to a period as early as B.H. 6 or 7, the remaining portion of the chapter, judged by internal evidence, belongs to a period much later, though the precise time must remain a matter of conjecture.

Principal Subjects.

	VERSES
A prophecy concerning the ultimate triumph of the Greeks over the Persians	1-5
God's power manifest in nature	6, 7
The Quraish heed not the warnings of God	8, 9
The despair of the infidels in the resurrection	10-12
The righteous and wicked shall be separated on the judgment-day	13-15
God to be worshipped at stated periods	16, 17
The changes in nature a proof of the resurrection	18

	VERSES
Various signs of God's omnipotence	19-26
The idolaters convinced of folly by reference to their own customs	27, 28
Muhammad exhorted to follow the orthodox faith and to avoid idolatry	29-31
The ingratitude of idolaters, who call on God in adversity but forget him in prosperity	32-35
Muslims exhorted to charity	36-38
The idols unable to create and preserve life	39
God's judgments follow man's iniquity	40, 41
Exhortation to repentance before the judgment	42
The separation of the wicked and the just in the judgment- day; rewards and punishments	42-44
God's goodness in his providence a sign to men	45
Those who rejected the former prophets were punished	46
God's mercy manifest in his works	47-49
A blasting wind sufficient to harden the hearts of the un- believers	50
Muhammad unable to make the dead to hear or the blind to see	51, 52
God the Creator	53
Believers and unbelievers on the resurrection-day	54-57
The parables of the Qurán rejected	58
Unbelievers are given over to blindness	59
Muhammad encouraged to steadfastness in the true religion	60

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

|| (1) A. L. M. The Greeks have been overcome by the $R^{\frac{1}{4}}$
Persians in the nearest part of the land; (2) but after

(1) See Prelim. Disc., p. 101, and note on chap. ii. 1.

The Greeks have been overcome. "The accomplishment of the prophecy contained in this passage, which is very famous among the Muhammadans, being insisted on by their doctors as a convincing proof that the Qurán really came down from heaven, it may be excusable to be a little particular.

"The passage is said to have been revealed on occasion of a great victory obtained by the Persians over the Greeks, the news whereof coming to Makkah, the infidels became strangely elated, and began to abuse Muhammad and his followers, imagining that this success of the Persians, who, like themselves, were idolaters, and supposed

their defeat, they shall overcome *the others in their turn*, within a few years. (3) Unto God *belongeth* the disposal of *this matter*, both for what is past, and for what is to come: and on that day shall the believers rejoice in the

to have no Scriptures, against the Christians, who pretended, as well as Muhammad, to worship one God and to have Divine Scriptures, was an earnest of their own future successes against the Prophet and those of his religion; to check which vain hopes, it was foretold in the words of the text, that how improbable soever it might seem, yet the scale should be turned in a few years, and the vanquished Greeks prevail as remarkably against the Persians.

"That this prophecy was exactly fulfilled the commentators fail not to observe, though they do not exactly agree in the accounts they give of its accomplishment, the number of years between the two actions being not precisely determined. Some place the victory gained by the Persians in the fifth year before the Hijra, and their defeat by the Greeks in the second year after it, when the battle of Badr was fought; others place the former in the third or fourth year before the Hijra, and the latter in the end of the sixth or beginning of the seventh year after it, when the expedition of al Hudaibiah was undertaken.

"The date of the victory gained by the Greeks, in the first of these accounts, interferes with a story which the commentators tell of a wager laid by Abu Baqr with Ubbá Ibn Khalf, who turned this prophecy into ridicule. Abu Baqr at first laid ten young camels that the Persians should receive an overthrow within three years; but on his acquainting Muhammad with what he had done, the Prophet told him that the word *bed*, made use of in this passage, signified no determinate number of years, but any number from three to nine (though some suppose the tenth year is included), and therefore advised him to prolong the time and to raise the wager, which he accordingly proposed to Ubbá, and they agreed that the time assigned should be nine years, and the wager a hundred camels. Before the time was elapsed, Ubbá died of a wound received at Ohod, in the third year of the Hijra; but the event afterwards showing that Abu Baqr had won, he received the camels of Ubbá's heirs, and brought them in triumph to Muhammad.

"History informs us (Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, chap. xlv.) that the successes of Khusru Parvîz, king of Persia, who carried on a terrible war against the Greek empire, to revenge the death of Maurice his father-in-law, slain by Phocas, were very great, and continued in an uninterrupted course for two-and-twenty years. Particularly in the year of Christ 615, about the beginning of the sixth year before the Hijra, the Persians, having the preceding year conquered Syria, made themselves masters of Palestine and took Jerusalem, which seems to be that signal advantage gained over the Greeks mentioned in this passage, as agreeing best with the terms here used; and most likely to alarm the Arabs by reason of their vicinity to the scene of action; and there was so little probability at that time of

success granted by GOD; (4) for he granteth success unto whom he pleaseth; and he *is* the mighty, the merciful. (5) *This is* the promise of GOD: GOD will not act contrary to his promise; but the greater part of men know not *the*

the Greeks being able to retrieve their losses, much less to distress the Persians, that in the following years the arms of the latter made still farther and more considerable progress, and at length they laid siege to Constantinople itself. But in the year 625, in which the fourth year of the Hijra began, about ten years after the taking of Jerusalem, the Greeks, when it was least expected, gained a remarkable victory over the Persians, and not only obliged them to quit the territories of the empire, by carrying the war into their own country, but drove them to the last extremity, and spoiled the capital city al Madáin; Heraclius enjoying thenceforward a continued series of good fortune to the deposition and death of Khusru. For more exact information on these matters, and more nicely fixing the dates, either so as to correspond with, or to overturn this pretended prophecy (neither of which is my business here), the reader may have recourse to the historians and chronologers."—*Sale, Baidhawi, Jaláluddín, Zamakhshari.*

"The story" about Abu Baqr's wager given above, says Muir, "is apocryphal. It is neither in the *Kátib al Wáckidi* nor in *Hishámi*; and bears a most suspicious stamp of being a late fabrication in illustration of the passage in the Coran."—*Life of Mahomet*, vol. ii. p. 224, note.

Rodwell tells us that the vowel points of the consonants of the Arabic word غلبت, *Gulibat* (defeated) in verse 1, not being originally written, the meaning would depend entirely upon the reader; so that the prophecy would read either "the Greeks have been defeated," or "the Greeks defeated," and so be true in either case. He thinks this ambiguity was intentional.

Noéldeke says, "The readings غلبت and سِغْلِبُون are indeed old, and are already mentioned in *Al Tirmuzi*, 477, 527; nevertheless they have the support of less conclusive evidence than the commonly accepted reading, and must be rejected because they have been deduced from those defeats which the Byzantines later on suffered at the hands of the Muslims, and of these Muhammad could of course not have any knowledge."—*Gesch. des Quráns.*

The Christian need not be troubled by Quránic prophecy of this sort. Our daily newspapers constantly forecast political events of this kind, and in the special case before Muhammad, no prophetic ken was wanted to make the general statement of the text. We have no objection to allowing him any amount of reputation as a prophet of the kind revealed to us in these verses. Muhammad never spoke of this passage as a prophecy.

The nearest part of the land. "Some interpreters, supposing that the land here meant is the land of Arabia, or else that of the Greeks,

veracity of God. (6) They know the outward appearance of this present life; but they are careless as to the life to come. (7) Do they not consider within themselves that God hath not created the heavens and the earth, and whatever is between them, otherwise than in truth, and *hath set them* a determined period? Verily a great number of men reject the belief of *their future* meeting their LORD at the resurrection. (8) Do they not pass through the earth, and see what hath been the end of those who *were* before them? They excelled the *Makkans* in strength, and broke up the earth, and inhabited it in greater affluence and prosperity than they inhabit the same: and their apostles came unto them with evident *miracles*; and GOD was not *disposed* to treat them unjustly, but they injured their own souls by *their obstinate infidelity*; (9) and the end of those who had done evil was evil, because they charged the signs of GOD with falsehood, and laughed the same to scorn.

R $\frac{2}{5}$ || (10) GOD produces creatures, and will hereafter restore them *to life*: then shall ye return unto him. (11) And on the day whereon the hour shall come, the wicked shall be struck dumb for despair; (12) and they shall have no intercessors from among the *idols* which they associated *with God*. And they shall deny the *false gods* which they associated with *him*. (13) On the day whereon the hour shall come, on that day shall the *true believers* and the *infidels* be separated: (14) and they who shall have believed, and wrought righteousness, shall take their pleasure in a delightful meadow; (15) but *as for* those who shall have disbelieved, and rejected our signs, and the meeting of the next life, they shall be delivered

place the scene of action in the confines of Arabia and Syria, near Bostra and Adhrúat; others imagine the land of Persia is intended, and lay the scene in Mesopotamia, on the frontiers of that kingdom; but Ibn Abbás, with more probability, thinks it was in Palestine."—*Sale, Yahya, and Muhájid.*

(6–15) Compare with chap. xxii. 1–10.

up to punishment. (16) Wherefore glorify God, when the evening overtaketh you, and when ye rise in the morning: (17) and unto him be praise in heaven and earth; and at sunset, and when ye rest at noon. (18) He bringeth forth the living out of the dead, and he bringeth forth the dead out of the living; and he quickeneth the earth after it hath been dead: and in like manner shall ye be brought forth *from your graves*. (19) Of his signs *one is*, that he hath created you of dust; and behold, *ye are become men, spread over the face of the earth*.

|| (20) And of his signs *another is*, that he hath created R $\frac{3}{8}$. you, out of yourselves, wives, that ye may cohabit with them; and hath put love and compassion between you: verily herein are signs unto people who consider. (21) And of his signs *are also* the creation of the heavens and the earth, and the variety of your languages, and of your complexions: verily herein are signs unto men of understanding. (22) And of his signs *are* your sleeping by night and by day, and your seeking to *provide for yourselves* of his abundance: verily herein *are* signs unto people who hearken. (23) Of his signs *others are*, that he showeth you the lightning, to *strike* terror and to *give* hope of rain, and that he sendeth down water from heaven, and quickeneth thereby the earth, after it hath been dead; verily herein *are* signs unto people who un-

(16, 17) "Some are of opinion that the five times of prayer are intended in this passage; the evening including the time both of the prayer of sunset and of the evening prayer properly so called, and the word I have rendered *at sunset* marking the hour of afternoon prayer, since it may be applied also to the time a little before sunset."—Sale.

See also note on chap. ii. 238.

(18) Compare chap. iii. 27.

(20) *Out of yourselves, i.e.*, of your own species, some being born male and others female. See chap. xvi. 74.

(21) *Variety . . . of your complexions*. "Which are certainly most wonderful, and, as I conceive, very hard to be accounted for, if we allow the several nations in the world to be all the offspring of one man, as we are assured by Scripture they are, without having recourse to the immediate omnipotency of God."—Sale.

(23) *Signs to people who understand, i.e.*, God in his works and

derstand. (24) And of his signs *this also is one, namely*, that the heaven and the earth stand firm at command: hereafter, when he shall call you out of the earth at one summons, behold, ye shall come forth. (25) Unto him *are subject* whosoever are in the heavens and on earth: all are obedient unto him. (26) It is he who originally produceth a creature, and afterwards restoreth the same to *life*: and this is most easy with him. He justly challengeth the most exalted comparison, in heaven and earth: and he *is* the mighty, the wise.

RUBA. || (27) He propoundeth unto a comparison *taken* from
 R 4. yourselves. Have ye, among the *slaves* whom your right hands possess, any partner in the *substance* which we have bestowed on you, so that ye become equal *sharers* therein *with them, or that* ye fear them as ye fear one another? Thus we distinctly explain *our* signs unto people who understand. (28) But those who act unjustly, *by attributing companions unto God*, follow their own lusts, without knowledge: and who shall direct him whom GOD shall cause to err? They shall have none to help them. (29) Wherefore be thou orthodox, and set thy face towards the *true* religion, the institution of GOD, to which he hath created mankind disposed: there is no change in what

providence clearly reveals himself to those who consider him to be the only object worthy of the soul's worship. Comp. Rom. i. 19, 20.

(26) *Exalted comparison, &c.* "That is, in speaking of him we ought to make use of the most noble and magnificent expressions we can possibly devise."—Sale.

The import of the passage, interpreted by what follows, is that there is nothing in heaven or earth worthy of being compared with God, seeing he is the Creator of all. The challenge is of a kind which can never be met. For this reason Muslims regard all illustration of divinity or its attributes by reference to created things as sinful.

(27) Comp. chap. xvi. 77.

(29) *There is no change, &c., i.e.*, "the immutable law or rule, to which man is naturally disposed to conform, and which every one would embrace as most fit for a rational creature, if it were not for the prejudices of education. The Muhammadans have a tradition that their Prophet used to say, 'That every person is born naturally disposed to become a Muslim; but that a man's parents make him a Jew, a Christian, or a Magian.'"—Sale.

GOD hath created. This is the right religion; but the greater part of men know it not. (30) *And be ye* turned unto him, and fear him, and be constant at prayer, and be not idolaters. (31) Of those who have made a schism in their religion, and are *divided* into *various* sects, every sect rejoice in their own *opinion*. (32) When adversity befalleth men, they call upon their LORD, turning unto him: afterwards, when he hath caused them to taste of his mercy, behold, a part of them associate *other deities* with their LORD: (33) to show themselves ungrateful for the *favours* which we have bestowed on them. Enjoy therefore *the vain pleasures of this life*; but hereafter shall ye know *the consequence*. (34) Have we sent down unto them any authority which speaketh of the *false gods* which they associate with him? (35) When we cause men to taste mercy, they rejoice therein; but if evil befalleth them for that which their hands have before committed, behold, they despair. (36) Do they not see that GOD bestoweth provision abundantly on whom he pleaseth, and is sparing *unto whom he pleaseth*? Verily herein *are* signs unto people who believe. (37) Give unto him who is of kin *to thee* his reasonable due, and also to the poor and the stranger: this is better for those who seek the face of GOD; and they shall prosper. (38) Whatever ye shall give in usury, to be an increase of

The words "what God hath created" manifestly refer to the orthodox religion of Islám, and the meaning is that Islám has never changed; other religions have arisen by heretical departures from the true faith, adding to and subtracting from the true faith. Muhammad believed the unity of the Godhead to be an intuitive truth.

(32, 33) Compare chap. xxix. 65, 66.

(34) *Any authority*. "That is, have we either by the mouth of any prophet or by any written revelation commanded or encouraged the worship of more gods than one?"—Sale.

(35) *They despair*. "And seek not to gain the favour of God by timely repentance."—Sale.

(37, 38) See notes on chap. ii. 261-280.

Usury. "Or by way of bribe. The word may include any sort of extortion or illicit gain."—Sale.

men's substance, shall not be increased by *the blessing of* GOD; but whatever ye shall give in alms, for GOD's sake, they shall receive a twofold *reward*.

R $\frac{5}{8}$.

|| (39) *It is* GOD who hath created you, and hath provided food for you: hereafter will he cause you to die; and after that will he raise you again to life. *Is there* any of your false gods who is able to do the least of these things? Praise be unto him, and far be he removed from what they associate *with him!* (40) Corruption hath appeared by land and by sea, for *the crimes* which men's hands have committed; that it might make them to taste a part of the *fruits of that* which they have wrought, that peradventure they might turn *from their evil ways*. (41) Say, Go through the earth, and see what hath been the end of those who have been before *you*: the greater part of them were idolaters. (42) Set thy face therefore towards the right religion, before the day cometh which none can put back from GOD. On that day shall they be separated into two companies: (43) whoever shall have been an unbeliever, on him *shall* his unbelief *be charged*; and whoever shall have done that which is right, shall spread themselves *couches of repose in Paradise*; (44) that he may reward those who shall believe, and work righteousness, of his abundant liberality; for he loveth not the unbelievers. (45) Of his signs *one is* that he sendeth the winds, bearing welcome tidings *of rain*, that he may cause you to taste of his mercy; and that ships may sail at his command, that ye may seek *to enrich yourselves* of his abundance *by commerce*; and that ye may give thanks. (46) We sent apostles before thee unto their *respective* people, and they came unto them with evident proofs:

(40) *Corruption*, viz., "mischief and public calamities; such as famine, pestilence, droughts, shipwrecks, &c., or erroneous doctrines, or a general depravity of manners."—*Salé*.

That it might make them to taste. "Some copies read, in the first person plural, 'That we might cause them to taste,' &c."—*Salé*.

(41) See ver. 8.

and we took vengeance on those who did wickedly; and it was incumbent on us to assist the true believers. (47) *It is* GOD who sendeth the winds and raiseth the clouds, and spreadeth the same in the heaven; as he pleaseth; and *afterwards* disperseth the same: and thou mayest see the rain issuing from the midst thereof; and when he poureth the same down on such of his servants as he pleaseth, behold, they are filled with joy; (48) although before it was sent down unto them, before *such relief*, they were despairing. (49) Consider therefore the traces of GOD's mercy; how he quickeneth the earth after its *state of death*: verily the same will raise the dead; for he is almighty. (50) Yet if we should send a *blasting* wind, and they should see *their corn yellow and burnt up*, they would surely become ungrateful, after *our former favours*. (51) Thou canst not make the dead to hear, neither canst thou make the deaf to hear *thy* call, when they retire and turn their backs; (52) neither canst thou direct the blind out of their error: thou shalt make none to hear, except him who shall believe in our signs; for they are resigned *unto us*.

|| (53) *It is* GOD who created you in weakness, and after R 6.
weakness hath given *you* strength; and after strength he will *again* reduce *you* to weakness and grey hairs: he createth that which he pleaseth; and he *is* the wise, the powerful. (54) On the day whereon the *last* hour shall come, the wicked will swear (55) that they have not tarried above an hour: in like manner did they utter lies *in their lifetime*. (56) But those on whom knowledge hath been bestowed, and faith, will say, Ye have tarried, according to the book of GOD, until the day of resurrec-

(55) *Have not tarried, i.e., in the world or in their graves.* See note on chap. xxiii. 114.

(56) *According to the book of God*, "that is, according to his foreknowledge and decree in the Preserved Table; or according to what is said in the Qurán, where the state of the dead is expressed by these words, 'Behind them there shall be a bar until the day of resurrection' (chap. xxiii. 101)." —Sale, *Baidhāwī*.

tion; for this *is* the day of resurrection; but ye knew *it* not. (57) On that day their excuse shall not avail those who have acted unjustly; neither shall they be invited *any more* to make themselves acceptable *unto God*. (58) And now have we propounded unto men in this Qurán parables of every kind: yet if thou bring them a verse *thereof*, the unbelievers will surely say, Ye *are* no other than publishers of vain falsehoods. (59) Thus hath GOD sealed up the hearts of those who believe not: (60) but do thou, O Muhammad, persevere with constancy, for GOD is true; and let not those induce thee to waver who have no certain knowledge.

(60) *Persevere with constancy.* "For God will surely cause thee to triumph over all obstacles." See *Tafsir-i-Raufi in loco*.

CHAPTER XXXI.

ENTITLED SURAT LUQMÁN (LOKMAN).

Revealed at Makkah.

INTRODUCTION.

SOME account of Luqmán, from whom this chapter is named, is given by Sale under ver. 11. It is probable that Muhammad introduced this personage, who was regarded as a sage of special notoriety by the Arabs of his day, representing him as a true believer, in order to gain credit for his new religion. A similar case was noticed in chap. xviii. 82 *seq.*, where Alexander the Great is introduced as a true Muslim.

In regard to Luqmán's discourses, it is worthy of note that they correspond almost to the letter with many of Muhammad's own discourses found in other chapters of the Qurán. This, however, is in accord with his habit of making the sayings of the prophets of olden time to appear as the facsimiles of his own. (See introduction to chap. xxvi.)

Vers. 13 and 14 are evidently misplaced, as Weil has pointed out, and should be placed immediately after ver. 18. Noéldeke thinks something is wanting before ver. 15, as *innahá* requires a substantive to which it must refer.

Probable Date of the Revelations.

Ver. 3 is thought by some authors, as Baidhawi, Jaláluddín, and Syúti, to be Madínic, because of the supposed mention of the law of alms, but the mention of that subject is too general to warrant that conclusion.

Vers. 31, 32, have been supposed by some authors, as Baidhawi and Zamakhshari, to refer to the Jews, and for this reason they are referred to Madína; but this interpretation is not well founded, and even if so, the inference would by no means be just.

The whole chapter may then be regarded as belonging to Makkah. It may be fixed at about the beginning of the third stage of Muhammad's mission.

Principal Subjects.

	VERSES
The Qurán a direction and mercy to the righteous . . .	1, 2
The righteous described	3, 4
An unbeliever rebuked for his contempt for the Qurán . .	5, 6
Blessed rewards of the righteous	7, 8
God the Creator of heaven and earth	9, 10
Luqmán gifted with wisdom	11
Luqmán's discourse to his son	12, 15-17
Parenthesis on the duty of children to their parents . .	13, 14
Modesty and humility enjoined	18
God's favour to mankind	19
The unreasonableness of infidel contention	19, 20
The security of true believers	21
The certain punishment of unbelief	22, 23
Praise to God, the self-sufficient Creator	24, 25
God's words infinite in number	26
Man's creation an evidence of God's sovereignty . . .	27
The heavens declare the glory of God	28, 29
The ingratitude of idolaters to God	30, 31
Men warned to prepare for judgment	32-34

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

R $\frac{1}{10}$. || (1) A. L. M. These are the signs of the wise book, (2) a direction and a mercy unto the righteous, (3) who observe the appointed times of prayer, and give alms, and have firm assurance in the life to come: (4) these are directed by their LORD, and they shall prosper. (5) There is a man who purchaseth a ludicrous story, that he may

(1) *A. L. M.* See Prelim. Disc., p. 101, and note on chap. ii. 1.

(3) See note on chap. ii. 42.

(5) *A man who purchaseth a ludicrous story, &c., i.e.,* "vain and silly fables. The passage was revealed, it is said, on occasion of al Nudhár Ibn al Hárith, who having brought from Persia the romance of Rustam and Isfandiyár, the two heroes of that country, recited it in the assemblies of the Quraish, highly extolling the power and splendour of the ancient Persian kings, and preferring their stories

seduce *men* from the way of God, without knowledge, and may laugh the same to scorn: these shall suffer a shameful punishment. (6) And when our signs are rehearsed unto him he disdainfully turneth his back as though he heard them not, as though there were a deafness in his ears: wherefore denounce unto him a grievous punishment. (7) But they who shall believe and work righteousness shall enjoy gardens of pleasure; (8) they shall continue therein for ever: *this is* the certain promise of GOD, and he *is* the mighty, the wise. (9) He hath created the heavens without visible pillars *to sustain them*, and thrown on the earth mountains firmly rooted, lest it should move with you; and he hath replenished the same with all kinds of beasts; and we send down rain from heaven, and cause every kind of noble *vegetable* to spring forth therein. (10) This is the creation of GOD; show me now what they have created, who *are worshipped* besides him? verily the ungodly are in a manifest error. (11) We heretofore be-

to those of Ád and Thamúd, David and Solomon, and the rest which are told in the Qurán. Some say that al Nudhár bought singing-girls, and carried them to those who were inclined to become Muslims, to divert them from their purpose by songs and tales."—*Sale, Baidháwi.*

Laugh the same to scorn, viz., by showing the superiority of the style of the Persian romance to that of the Qurán.

(9) *Mountains firmly rooted.* See note on chap. xvi. 15.

"A learned writer (Golius), in his notes on this passage, says the original word *rawásiya*, which the commentators in general will have to signify 'stable mountains,' seems properly to express the Hebrew word *mechonim*, i.e., 'bases' or 'foundations,' and therefore he thinks the Qurán has here translated that passage of the Psalms, 'He laid the foundations of the earth, that it should not be moved for ever' (Ps. civ. 5). This is not the only instance which might be given that the Muhammadan doctors are not always the best interpreters of their own Scriptures."—*Sale.*

The thought of Muhammad is essentially different from that of the Psalmist. The former conceives of the earth as anchored in the ocean, and weighted down as with ballast by the mountains piled here and there *on the earth*. The latter regards it as based upon a solid foundation, as a house built on a rock. The words *fil ardhi* could not by any means be made to comport with the idea of *foundations*, as Golius suggests. See *Tafsír-i-Raufi in loco*.

stowed wisdom on Luqmán, *and commanded him, saying*, Be thou thankful unto GOD, for whoever is thankful shall be thankful *to the advantage of his own soul*; and if any shall be unthankful, verily GOD is self-sufficient and worthy to be praised. (12) And *remember* when Luqmán said unto his son, as he admonished him, O my son, give not a partner unto GOD, for polytheism is a great impiety.

(11) *Luqmán*. "The Arab writers say that Luqmán was the son of Baurá, who was the son or grandson of a sister or aunt of Job, and that he lived several centuries, and to the time of David, with whom he was conversant in Palestine. According to the description they give of his person, he must have been deformed enough, for they say he was of a black complexion (whence some call him an Ethiopian), with thick lips and splay feet; but in return he received from God wisdom and eloquence in a great degree, which some pretend were given him in a vision, on his making choice of wisdom preferably to the gift of prophecy, either of which were offered him. The generality of the Muhammadans, therefore, hold him to have been no prophet, but only a wise man. As to his condition, they say he was a slave, but obtained his liberty on the following occasion: His master having one day given him a bitter melon to eat, he paid him such exact obedience as to eat it all, at which his master being surprised, asked him how he could eat so nauseous a fruit. To which he replied, it was no wonder that he should for once accept a bitter fruit from the same hand from which he had received so many favours. The commentators mention several quick repartees of Luqmán, which, together with the circumstances above mentioned, agree so well with what Maximus Planudes has written of Æsop, that from thence, and from the fables attributed to Luqmán by the Orientals, the latter has been generally thought to have been no other than the Æsop of the Greeks. However that be (for I think the matter will bear a dispute), I am of opinion that Planudes borrowed great part of his life of Æsop from the traditions he met with in the East concerning Luqmán, concluding them to have been the same person, because they were both slaves, and supposed to be the writers of those fables which go under their respective names, and bear a great resemblance to one another, for it has long since been observed by learned men that the greater part of that monk's performance is an absurd romance, and supported by no evidence of the ancient writers."—*Sale, Baidháwi, &c.*

(12) *Luqmán said to his son*. "Whom some name Anám (which comes pretty near the Ennus of Planudes), some Asákam, and others Mathán."—*Sale*.

The *Tafsir-i-Raufi* gives his names as follows:—"Nám, or Mathán, or Iskam, or Mashkúr."

Observe that Luqmán uses the same language as that used constantly by Muhammad.

(13) We have commanded man concerning his parents (his mother carrieth him *in her womb* with weakness and faintness, and he is weaned in two years), *saying*, Be grateful unto me and to thy parents. Unto me shall all come *to be judged*.

|| (14) But if *thy parents* endeavour to prevail on thee to associate with me that concerning which thou hast no knowledge, obey them not; bear them company in this world in what shall be reasonable, but follow the way of him who sincerely turneth unto me. Hereafter unto me shall ye return, and then will I declare unto you that which ye have done. (15) O my son, verily *every matter, whether good or bad*, though it be of the weight of a grain of mustard-seed, and be *hidden* in a rock, or in the heavens, or in the earth, GOD will bring the same *to light*; for GOD is clear-sighted *and* knowing. (16) O my son, be constant at prayer, and command that which is just, and forbid that which is evil, and be patient under the *afflictions* which shall befall thee, for this is a duty absolutely incumbent *on all men*. (17) Distort not thy face *out of contempt* to men, neither walk in the earth with insolence, for GOD loveth no arrogant, vainglorious person. (18) And be moderate in thy pace, and lower thy voice, for the most ungrateful of *all* voices surely *is* the voice of asses.

NISF.

R $\frac{2}{11}$

(13, 14) "These two verses are no part of Luqmán's advice to his son, but are inserted by way of parenthesis, as very pertinent and proper to be repeated here, to show the heinousness of idolatry; they are to be read (excepting some additions) in the twenty-ninth chapter (ver. 7; see also note there)."—Sale.

Wah! thinks these verses should follow ver. 18 of this chapter.

(14) *What shall be reasonable*. "That is, show them all deference and obedience so far as may be consistent with thy duty towards God."—Sale.

This duty is enforced by the parenthesis in ver. 13.

The way of him, &c. The commentators understand Abu Baqr to be particularly meant here, at whose persuasion Saad Ibn Waqqás became a Muslim; but the meaning is general. It is better to obey any true Muslim than to obey parents who would lead their children away from Islám. See note on chap. xxix. 7.

(18) *The voice of asses*. "To the braying of which animal the Arabs liken a loud and disagreeable voice."—Sale.

R $\frac{3}{12}$. || (19) Do ye not see that GOD hath subjected whatever is in heaven and on earth to your service, and hath abundantly poured on you his favours, *both* outwardly and inwardly? *There are* some who dispute concerning GOD without knowledge, and without a direction, and without an enlightening book. (20) And when it is said unto them, Follow that which GOD hath revealed, they answer, Nay, we will follow that which we found our fathers to practise. What, though the devil invite them to the torment of hell? (21) Whosoever resigneth himself unto GOD, being a worker of righteousness, taketh hold on a strong handle, and unto GOD *belongeth* the issue of *all* things. (22) But whoever shall be an unbeliever, let not his unbelief grieve thee; unto us shall they return, then will we declare unto them that which they have done; for GOD knoweth the innermost parts of the breasts of *men*. (23) We will suffer them to enjoy *this world* for a little while, afterwards we will drive them to a severe punishment. (24) If thou ask them who hath created the heavens and the earth, they will surely answer GOD. Say, GOD be praised! but the greater part of them do not understand. (25) Unto GOD *belongeth* whatever *is* in heaven and earth, for GOD *is* the self-sufficient, the praiseworthy. (26) If whatever trees *are* in the earth *were* pens, and he should after that swell the sea into seven seas of *ink*, the words of GOD would not be exhausted; for GOD *is* mighty *and* wise. (27) Your creation and your resurrection are but as *the creation and resurrection of one soul*;

(19) *A direction and . . . enlightening book, i.e., an inspired book like the Qurán.*

(24) Compare chap. xxix. 61-63.

(26) "This passage is said to have been revealed in answer to the Jews, who insisted that all knowledge was contained in the law."—*Sale, Baidhāwī.*

The preceding context would make the purport of this verse to be a description of God's infinite wisdom. Comp. John xxi. 24.

(27) *One soul.* "God being able to produce a million of worlds by the single word *kun*, i.e., 'be,' and to raise the dead in general by the single word *kum*, i.e., 'arise.'"—*Sale.*

verily GOD *both* heareth *and* seeth. (28) Dost thou not see that GOD causeth the night to succeed the day, and causeth the day to succeed the night, and compelleth the sun and the moon to serve *you*? Each of those luminaries hasteneth *in its course* to a determined period; and GOD is well acquainted with that which ye do. (29) This is declared concerning the divine knowledge and power, for that GOD is the true Being, and for that whatever ye invoke besides him is vanity, and for that GOD is the high, the great God.

|| (30) Dost thou not see that the ships run in the sea, through the favour of GOD, that he may show you of his signs? Verily herein *are* signs unto every patient, grateful person. (31) When waves cover them like overshadowing clouds, they call upon GOD, exhibiting the pure religion unto him; but when he bringeth them safe to land, *there* is of them who halteth *between the true faith and idolatry*. Howbeit, none rejecteth our signs, except every perfidious, ungrateful person. (32) O men, fear your LORD, and dread the day whereon a father shall not make satisfaction for his son, neither shall a son make satisfaction for his father at all: (33) the promise of GOD is assuredly true. Let not this present life, therefore, deceive you; neither let the deceiver deceive you concerning GOD. (34) Verily the knowledge of the hour of judgment is with GOD; and he causeth the rain to descend

(29) *True Being*. This verse indicates the object for which the statements of vers. 25-28 and other similar statements in the Makkan chapters are made. It is to prove the being and attributes of the true God, especially his attributes of power and goodness, against both of which the idolaters had sinned.

(30, 31) These verses illustrate the way in which the idolaters ignore God's goodness and power as illustrated in their own deliverances from danger in answer to prayer.

(32) This verse may be connected with vers. 13 and 14; or the meaning may simply be that in the judgment-day there shall be no intercessor. See notes on chap. ii. 47, 123, and vi. 50.

(33) *The deceiver*, i.e., the devil.

(34) "In this passage five things are enumerated which are known

at his own appointed time ; and he knoweth what is in the wombs of females. No soul knoweth what it shall gain on the morrow ; neither doth any soul know in what land it shall die ; but God is knowing and fully acquainted with all things.

to God alone, viz., the time of the day of judgment ; the time of rain ; what is forming in the womb, as whether it be male or female, &c. ; what shall happen on the morrow ; and where any person shall die. These the Arabs, according to a tradition of their Prophet, call 'the five keys of secret knowledge.' The passage, it is said, was occasioned by al Hárith Ibn Amru, who propounded questions of this nature to Muhammad. As to the last particular al Baidháwi relates the following story :—The angel of death passing once by Solomon in a visible shape, and looking at one who was sitting with him, the man asked who he was, and upon Solomon's acquainting him that it was the angel of death, said, 'He seems to want me ; wherefore order the wind to carry me from hence into India :' which being accordingly done, the angel said to Solomon, 'I looked so earnestly at the man out of wonder ; because I was commanded to take his soul in India, and found him with thee in Palestine.'"
—Sale.

CHAPTER XXXII.

ENTITLED SURAT US SIJDA (ADORATION).

Revealed at Makkah.

INTRODUCTION.

THE object for which this chapter was written seems to have been to rebuke and warn the Quraish of Makkah on account of their obstinate unbelief in the Qurán. They had boldly declared it to be a forgery, and had challenged Muhammad to hurry on the judgments of God he had threatened against their unbelief.

In reply to this accusation, Muhammad reasserts the inspired character of his revelations, and denounces the impiety of his townspeople, assuring them that God who created them would bring them out of their graves and have them before him, and pass condemnation upon them. He tells them they will then repent, but all in vain. The declaration of God must be fulfilled, "Verily I will fill hell with genii and men together!" There they shall abide for ever; and so often as they shall endeavour to escape, they shall be dragged back again into torments.

The chapter ends with words indicating the mutual defiance of Muhammad and his people.

The Probable Date of the Revelations.

The interpretation which would make ver. 16 refer to the poor emigrants at Madína, and vers. 18-21 to an incident at the battle of Badr, being erroneous, the whole chapter must be regarded as Makkan. Guided by the style and spirit of the contents, the date may be fixed approximately at about the middle of the third stage of Muhammad's ministry. If, however, the temporal punishment alluded to in ver. 21 be the great famine, as suggested in note there, the date would be much later.

Principal Subjects.

	VERSES
The Qurán is without doubt inspired revelation	1
Muhammad did not forge the Qurán	2
The heavens and earth created in six days	3
God will judge all men after the resurrection	4
The Omniscient God the Creator of mankind	5-8
Yet man, the creature, denies the resurrection	9, 10
Unbelievers shall be brought before God	11
They shall repent too late to avail for pardon	12
Hell must be filled with genii and men	13, 14
The reward of true believers	15-19
The punishment of unbelievers here and hereafter	20, 21
To reject God's signs a great sin	22
The Pentateuch given to Moses	23
Teachers chosen from among the Israelites to direct them in the way of God	24
God will settle their disputes in the Judgment-day	25
The people of Makkah warned by the fate of their pre- decessors	26
The resurrection typified in nature, but infidels do not un- derstand	27
The infidels urge Muhammad to hasten the judgment-day	28-30

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

R₁₄¹. || (1) A. L. M. The revelation of *this* book, *there is* no doubt thereof, *is* from the LORD of all creatures. (2) Will they say, Muhammad hath forged it? Nay, it is the truth from thy LORD, that thou mayest preach to a people unto whom no preacher hath come before thee; peradventure they will be directed. (3) *It is* GOD who hath created the heavens and the earth, and whatever *is* between them, in six days; and then ascended *his* throne.

(1) *A. L. M.* See Prelim. Disc., p. 101, and note on chap. ii. 1. *There is no doubt.* See note on chap. ii. 2.

(2) *Muhammad hath forged it.* See chap. xi. 36, and xxv. 5, 6. *Unto whom no preacher hath come before thee.* See note on chap. xxviii. 46.

(3) *Six days.* See notes on chaps. vii. 55, x. 3, xl. 8, and xxv. 60.

Ye have no patron or intercessor besides him. Will ye not therefore consider ? (4) He governeth *all* things from heaven even to the earth : hereafter shall they return unto him, on the day whose length shall be a thousand years, of those which ye compute. (5) This *is* he who knoweth the future and the present ; the mighty, the merciful. (6) *It is he* who hath made everything which he hath created exceeding good ; and first created man of clay, (7) and afterwards made his posterity of an extract of despicable water ; (8) and then formed him *into proper shape*, and breathed of his spirit into him ; and hath given you *the senses of* hearing and seeing, and hearts *to understand*. How small thanks do ye return ? (9) And they say, When we shall lie hidden in the earth, shall we be

No patron or intercessor besides him. See notes on chaps. ii. 47, 123, 254, and vi. 50.

(4) *A thousand years.* “As to the reconciliation of this passage with another (chap. lxx. 4), which seems contradictory, see the Prelim. Disc., p. 137.

“Some, however, do not interpret the passage before us of the resurrection, but suppose that the words here describe the making and executing of the decrees of God, which are sent down from heaven to earth, and are returned (or *ascend*, as the verb properly signifies) back to him, after they have been put in execution ; and present themselves, as it were, so executed, to his knowledge, in the space of a day with God, but with man, of a thousand years. Others imagine this space to be the time which the angels who carry the divine decrees and bring them back executed take in descending and reascending, because the distance from heaven to earth is a journey of five hundred years : and others fancy that the angels bring down at once decrees for a thousand years to come, which being expired, they return back for fresh orders, &c.”—*Sale, Baidhāwi.*

All these explanations have been made to avoid the contradiction alluded to above. The expressions “return to him” and “the day” are too definitely fixed to admit of any reference except to the day of judgment. The sentiment of the following verses also limits the meaning in the same way.

(7) *Despicable water.* See note on chap. xxiv. 44.

(8) *Breathed his spirit into him.* If the spirit referred to here does not mean Gabriel, it may fairly be asked why the commentators should insist on understanding Gabriel to be alluded to in the passages which speak of Mary’s conception by the Holy Spirit. See notes on chap. ii. 86, iii. 39, and iv. 169.

raised thence a new creature? (10) Yea, they deny the meeting of their LORD *at the resurrection*. (11) Say, The angel of death, who is set over you, shall cause you to die: then shall ye be brought back unto your LORD.

R $\frac{2}{15}$ || (12) If thou couldest see when the wicked shall bow down their heads before their LORD, *saying*, O LORD, we have seen and have heard: suffer us therefore to return *into the world*, and we will work that which is right; since we are now certain *of the truth of what hath been preached to us*, thou wouldest see an amazing sight. (13) If we had pleased, we had certainly given unto every soul its direction; but the word *which hath proceeded* from me must necessarily be fulfilled *when I said*, Verily I will fill hell with genii and men altogether. (14) Taste therefore *the torment prepared for you*, because ye have forgotten the coming of this your day: we also have forgotten you; taste therefore the punishment of eternal duration for that which ye have wrought. (15) Verily they only believe in our signs who, when they are warned thereby, fall down adoring and celebrate the praise of their LORD, and are not elated with pride; (16) their sides are raised from *their beds*, calling on their LORD with fear and with hope; and they distribute alms out of what we have bestowed on them. (17) No soul knoweth the complete satisfaction which is secretly pre-

(11) *The angel of death*. See Prelim. Disc., p. 120.

(13) *I will fill hell, &c.* See note on chap. xi. 119, also vii. 180.

(14) *Taste therefore, &c.* See note on chaps. ii. 38, and iv. 54.

Eternal duration. This for infidels only. Modern Muslims believe that those Muslims who merit hell-fire will be delivered again after enduring the punishment of their sin; but this doctrine receives no more support from the Qurán than does the Roman Catholic doctrine of purgatory receive from the Bible.

(17) *No soul, &c.* "Not even an angel of those who approach nearest God's throne, nor any prophet who hath been sent by him." —Sale, *Baidhawi*.

This is one of a very few passages of the Qurán relied on by Muslims of advanced thought (Syed Amir Ali, *Life of Mahomet*, p. 279) to prove that the heaven of Islám does not afford simply material and carnal joys. But this passage predicates nothing on

pared for them, as a reward for that which they have wrought. (18) Shall he, therefore, who is a true believer be as he who is an impious transgressor? They shall not be held equal. (19) As to those who believe and do that which is right, they shall have gardens of *perpetual* abode, an ample recompense for that which they shall have wrought; (20) but as for those who impiously transgress, their abode *shall be hell-fire*; so often as they shall endeavour to get thereout, they shall be dragged back into the same, and it shall be said unto them, Taste ye the torment of *hell-fire*, which ye rejected as a falsehood. (21) And we will cause them to taste the nearer punishment of *this world*, besides the more grievous punishment of *the next*; peradventure they will repent.

|| (22) Who is more unjust than he who is warned by the signs of his LORD, and then turneth aside from the same? We will surely take vengeance on the wicked. (23) We heretofore delivered the book of *the law* unto Moses; wherefore be not thou in doubt as to the revelation thereof: and we ordained the same *to be* a direction

SULS.
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this subject whatever, while the Qurán is full of descriptions of the gardens, rivers, black-eyed maidens, &c., of Paradise. See note on chap. iii. 15.

Satisfaction. "Literally, 'The joy of the eyes.' The commentators fail not, on occasion of this passage, to produce that saying of their Prophet, which was originally none of his own:—'God saith, I have prepared for my righteous servants what eye hath not seen, nor hath ear heard, nor hath entered into the heart of man to conceive.'"—*Sale*.

The very expression "the joy of the eyes" proves that this passage describes material and not spiritual joys, as the clever apologist just referred to would have us to infer. Further, these very joys are described below in ver. 19.

(21) *The nearer punishment.* Of war, or imprisonment, or famine (*Tafsir-i-Raufi*). The allusion is probably to the famine which visited Makkah during the eleventh or twelfth year of Muhammad's ministry. See chaps. vii. 95, x. 22-24, and xxiii. 77, and notes there.

(23) *Book.* See chap. vi. 93.

Be not in doubt as to the revelation, "or, as some interpret it, 'of the revelation of the Qurán to thyself;' since the delivery of the law to Moses proves that the revelation of the Qurán to thee is not the

unto the children of Israel; (24) and we appointed teachers from among them, who should direct *the people* at our command, when they had persevered with patience, and had firmly believed in our signs. (25) Verily thy LORD will judge between them on the day of resurrection concerning that wherein they have disagreed. (26) Is it not known unto them how many generations we have destroyed before them, through whose dwellings they walk? Verily herein are signs: will they not therefore hearken? (27) Do they not see that we drive rain unto a land bare of grass and parched up, and thereby produce corn, of which their cattle eat, and themselves *also*? Will they not therefore regard? (28) The *infidels* say to the true believers, When will this decision be made between us, if ye speak truth? (29) Answer, On the day of that decision, the faith of those who shall have disbelieved shall not avail them; neither shall they be respited *any longer*. (30) Wherefore avoid them and expect the issue: verily they expect to obtain some advantage over thee.

first instance of the kind. Others think the words should be translated thus: 'Be thou not in doubt as to thy meeting of that prophet;' supposing that the interview between Moses and Muhammad in the sixth heaven, when the latter took his night journey thither, is here intended (Prelim. Disc., p. 80).—Sale.

Noëldeke understands the word translated here *revelation*, but which should be translated *meeting*, as in Sale's note, to have the same meaning as it has in ver. 10. He, however, is probably mistaken in supposing the clause does not belong here; for, understood as a parenthesis, the clause would refer to the doctrine of the resurrection taught in ver. 10 and understood in all that intervenes between that verse and the one under consideration, the meaning being that this doctrine is confirmed by the book of Moses.

(26) *Through whose dwellings they walk.* "The Makkans frequently passing by the place where the Adites, Thamúdites, Midianites, Sodomites, &c., once dwelt."—Sale.

(28) *This decision.* "That is, on the day of judgment; though some suppose the day here intended to be that of the victory at Badr, or else that of the taking of Makkah, when several of those who had been proscribed were put to death without remission (Prelim. Disc., p. 92)."—Sale.

(30) *Avoid them, and expect the issue; i.e., await God's judgment on the infidels, as they expect your downfall.*

CHAPTER XXXIII.

ENTITLED SURAT UL AHZÁB (THE CONFEDERATES).

Revealed at Madína.

INTRODUCTION.

THIS chapter takes its name from the confederated tribes, which, at the instigation of the exiled Bani Nadhír, attacked Madína, and were repulsed at the memorable battle of the Ditch.

A portion of the chapter deals with the conduct of the disaffected inhabitants of Madína at the time of the siege, and the subsequent destruction of the Bani Qainuqáa. The principal interest of the chapter surrounds those passages relating to Muhammad's marriage with the divorced wife of his adopted son, Zaid Ibn Háarith. The question of the character of these revelations is discussed in the notes. Suffice it to say here, that in all the range of the Qurán there is no chapter affording such decisive evidence of Muhammad's imposture as this one does, and nowhere does the sensuality and carnal jealousy of the Arabian prophet receive such a clear exposure.

Probable Date of the Revelations.

According to Noéldeke, the passages relating to the battle of the Ditch, the conduct of the disaffected, and the destruction of the Qainuqáa (vers. 9-29), certainly belong to A.H. 5. Those referring to Muhammad's marriage with Zainab (vers. 1-5 and 35-40), and those which relate to the guests who stayed too long at Zainab's wedding (vers. 53-58), belong to about the same, though a somewhat later, date, yet to a time previous to the war with the Bani Mustaliq, as is evident from the part played by Zainab in the affair of Ayesha (see introduction to chap. xxiv.) To about the same date may be referred vers. 6-8; vers. 30-34 relating to a disagreement between Muhammad and his wives, probably due to the introduction of Zainab into the harem; and vers. 49-51, which give permission to Muhammad to

marry slaves, he having taken to himself Raihāna after the defeat and slaughter of the Bani Qainuqāa. The remaining verses (41-48, 52, and 69-73), excepting vers. 52 and 59, perhaps belong to the same period as does the greater part of the chapter. Ver. 52, however, must be referred to a period later than A.H. 7, when Muhammad's harem was completed by his marriage with Maimūna (see Muir's *Life of Mahomet*, vol. iv. p. 89). Ver. 59 also must be placed as late as A.H. 8, if not later, inasmuch as Muhammad's daughter, Umm Kulthūm, died at this time, leaving Fátima alone, who would be spoken of in the singular number, whereas here the plural is used. It therefore appears that, excepting these two verses, the whole chapter may be referred to the year A.H. 5.

Principal Subjects.

	VERSES
Muhammad to obey God rather than the unbelievers	1-3
Adopted sons not to be regarded as real sons by Muslims	4, 5
Muhammad's wives the mothers of the faithful	6
The covenant of the prophets with God	7, 8
God's favour to the Muslims at the Ditch	9-11
The disaffected people of Madīna rebuked	12-15
None can flee from God's anger	16, 17
The treachery of the hypocrites of Madīna exposed	18-20
Muhammad an example to the faithful	21
Patient endurance of the believers at the Ditch	22-24
The triumph at the Ditch attributed to God's favour	25
Reference to the slaughter of the Bani Qainuqāa	26, 27
Muhammad's wives rebuked	28, 29
Muhammad's wives, if incontinent, to be doubly punished, but if faithful, to be doubly rewarded	30, 31
They are exhorted to modest behaviour and piety	32-34
Blessings promised to faithful men and women	35
Revelations touching the Zainab scandal	36-40
The blessedness of true believers	41-43
Muhammad a witness and preacher of good tidings	44-47
The law of divorce modified	48
Special privileges of Muhammad in respect to women	49-51
Muhammad limited in respect to wives	52
Conduct to be observed by believers at the Prophet's house	53-55
God and the angels bless Muhammad, who should be treated with respect by believers	56
The curse of those who offend Muhammad or the Muslims	57, 58
Command respecting the veiling of Muslim women	59
Threatened punishment of Madīna hypocrites	60-62

	VERSES
Men know not the hour of judgment	63
Awful fate of infidels	64-68
Believers exhorted to respectful treatment of their Prophet .	69-71
The responsibilities of the faithful	72, 73

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

|| (1) O Prophet, fear GOD, and obey not the unbelievers R $\frac{1}{17}$
 and the hypocrites: verily GOD is knowing *and* wise. (2)
 But follow that which is revealed unto thee from thy
 LORD; for GOD is well acquainted with that which ye do;
 (3) and put thy trust in GOD; for GOD is a sufficient pro-
 tector. (4) GOD hath not given a man two hearts within
 him; neither hath he made your wives (some of whom ye
 divorce, regarding them thereafter as your mothers) your
true mothers; nor hath he made your adopted sons your
true sons. This *is* your saying in your mouths: but GOD

(1) *Obey not, &c.* "It is related that Abu Sufián, Akramah Ibn Ábi Jahl, and Abul A'war al-Salamí, having an amicable interview with Muhammad, at which were present also Abdullah Ibn Ubhai, Muattib Ibn Kushair, and Jadd Ibn Qais, they proposed to the Prophet, that if he would leave off preaching against the worship of their gods, and acknowledge them to be mediators, they would give him and his Lord no further disturbance; upon which these words were revealed."—*Sale, Baidháwi.*

This story looks very like an invention of the commentators to explain the passage. A more probable interpretation is, that these words counsel the Prophet not to be guided by the opinions of infidels in the matter of Zainab, mentioned farther on.

(4) "This passage was revealed to abolish two customs among the old Arabs. The first was their manner of divorcing their wives when they had no mind to let them go out of the house or to marry again; and this the husband did by saying to the woman, 'Thou art henceforward to me as the back of my mother;' after which words pronounced he abstained from her bed, and regarded her in all respects as his mother, and she became related to all his kindred in the same degree as if she had been really so. The other custom was the holding their adopted sons to be as nearly related to them as their natural sons, so that the same impediments of marriage arose from that supposed relation in the prohibited degrees as it would have done in the case of a genuine son. The latter Muhammad had a peculiar reason to abolish, viz., his marrying the divorced

speaketh the truth; and he directeth the *right* way. (5) Call *such as are adopted* the sons of their *natural* fathers: this *will be* more just in the sight of God. And if ye know not their fathers, *let them be as* your brethren in religion, and your companions: and it shall be no crime in you that ye err *in this matter*; but that *shall be criminal* which your hearts purposely design; for God is gracious *and* merciful. (6) The Prophet is nigher unto the true believers than their own souls; and his wives are

wife of his freedman Zaid, who was also his adopted son; of which more will be said by and by. By the declaration which introduces this passage, that God *has not given a man two hearts*, is meant that a man cannot have the same affection for supposed parents and adopted children as for those who are really so. They tell us the Arabs used to say of a prudent and acute person that he had two hearts; whence one Abu Mámir, or, as others write, Jamíl Ibn Asad al Fihri, was surnamed Dhul qalbain, or *the man with two hearts*."—Sale, Baidhâwi, Jaláluddín.

One would think this argument effective against polygamy.

(5) *That ye err, i.e.*, if ye err in the manner of addressing adopted sons through ignorance or mistake.

(6) *The Prophet is nigher, &c.* "Commanding them nothing but what is for their interest and advantage, and being more solicitous for their present and future happiness even than themselves; for which reason he ought to be dear to them, and deserves their utmost love and respect. In some copies these words are added, 'And he is a father unto them;' every prophet being the spiritual father of his people, who are therefore brethren. It is said that this passage was revealed on some of Muhammad's followers telling him, when he summoned them to attend him in the expedition of Tabúq, that they would ask leave of their fathers and mothers."—Sale, Baidhâwi.

The object of these words is the same as that of the next clause, viz., to prevent any one from marrying any of the Prophet's wives, which piece of legislation no doubt increased his influence over his wives not a little.

His wives are their mothers. "Though the spiritual relation between Muhammad and his people, declared in the preceding words, created no impediment to prevent his taking to wife such women among them as he thought fit; yet the commentators are of opinion that they are here forbidden to marry any of his wives."—Sale, Baidhâwi.

Nothing could better illustrate the selfishness of Muhammad than this. The manifest purpose of this revelation was to prevent any of his wives ever marrying again. Let it not be forgotten that this is all represented as coming from God. We should like to see how the apologists would reconcile this, and a good deal more of the same

their mothers. Those who are related by consanguinity *are* nigher of kin the one of them unto the others, according to the book of God, than the *other* true believers, and the Muhájjirún: unless that ye do what is fitting and reasonable to your relations *in general*. This is written in the book of God. (7) *Remember* when we accepted their covenant from the prophets, and from thee, *O Muhammad*, and from Noah, and Abraham, and Moses, and Jesus the son of Mary, (8) and received from them a firm covenant; that *God* may examine the speakers of truth concerning their veracity: and he hath prepared a painful torment for the unbelievers.

|| (9) O true believers, remember the favour of God R²_{is} towards you, when armies of *infidels* came against you,

kind in this chapter, with their theory of Muhammad's sincerity and honesty as a prophet.

Muhájjirún. "These words, which also occur, excepting the latter part of the sentence, in the eighth chapter, abrogate that law concerning inheritances published in the same chapter (ver. 73), whereby the Muhájjirún and Ansárs were to be the heirs of one another, exclusive of their nearer relations who were infidels."—Sale.

The book of God. "The Preserved Table, the Qurán, or Pentateuch."—Sale.

Here it means the Qurán.

(7) *Their covenant.* "Jaláluddín supposes this covenant was made when Adam's posterity were drawn forth from his loins, and appeared before God like small ants (chap. vii. 173); but Marracci conjectures that the covenant here meant was the same which the Talmudists pretend all the prophets entered into with God on Mount Sinai, where they were all assembled in person with Moses (chap. iii. 80)."—Sale.

(8) *A firm covenant.* "Whereby they undertook to execute their several commissions, and promised to preach the religion commanded them by God."—Sale.

Examine . . . their veracity, i.e., "that he may at the day of judgment demand of the prophets in what manner they executed their several commissions, and how they were received by their people; or, as the words may also import, that he may examine those who believed on them concerning their belief, and reward them accordingly."—Sale.

(9) *When armies came against you.* "These were the forces of the Quraish and the tribe of Ghatfán, confederated with the Jews of al Nadhr and Quraidha, who besieged Madina to the number of twelve thousand men, in the expedition called the *war of the Ditch*."—Sale.

and we sent against them a wind, and hosts of *angels* which ye saw not: and GOD beheld that which ye did, (10) when they came against you from above you, and from below you, and when *your* sight became troubled, and *your* hearts came even to *your* throats for fear, and ye imagined of GOD *various* imaginations. (11) There were the faithful tried, and made to tremble with a violent trembling. (12) And when the hypocrites, and those in whose heart was an infirmity, said, GOD and his Apostle have made you no other than a fallacious promise. (13) And when a party of them said, O inhabitants of Yathrib,

A wind and host of angels. "On the enemies' approach, Muhammad, by the advice of Salmán the Persian, ordered a deep ditch or entrenchment to be dug round Madína, for the security of the city, and went out to defend it with three thousand men. Both sides remained in their camps near a month, without any other acts of hostility than shooting of arrows and slinging of stones; till, in a winter's night, God sent a piercing cold east wind, which benumbed the limbs of the confederates, blew the dust in their faces, extinguished their fires, overturned their tents, and put their horses in disorder, the angels at the same time crying, 'Allah akbar!' round about their camp; whereupon Tulaiha Ibn Khuwailid the Asadite said aloud, 'Muhammad is going to attack you with enchantments, wherefore provide for your safety by flight;' and accordingly the Quraish first, and afterwards the Ghatfánites, broke up the siege and returned home; which retreat was also not a little owing to the dissensions among the confederate forces, the raising and fomenting whereof the Muhammadans also ascribe to God. It is related that when Muhammad heard that his enemies had retired, he said, 'I have obtained success by means of the east wind; Ad perished by the west wind.'"—Sale, *Baidhâwi*, *Abul Fida*.

(10) *From above . . . and . . . below.* "The Ghatfánites pitched on the east side of the town, on the higher part of the valley, and the Quraish on the west side, on the lower part of the valley."—Sale, *Baidhâwi*, &c.

Various imaginations. "The sincere and those who were more firm of heart fearing they should not be able to stand the trial, and the weaker-hearted and hypocrites thinking themselves delivered up to slaughter and destruction."—Sale.

(12) *A fallacious promise.* "The person who uttered these words, it is said, was Muattib Ibn Kushair, who told his fellows that Muhammad had promised them the spoils of the Persians and the Greeks, whereas now not one of them dared to stir out of their intrenchment."—Sale, *Baidhâwi*.

So also on ver. 1.

(13) *A party.* "Aus Ibn Qaidhi and his adherents."—Sale. The

there is no place of security for you here ; wherefore return home. And a part of them asked leave of the Prophet to depart, saying, Verily our houses are defenceless and exposed to the enemy : but they were not defenceless ; and their intention was no other than to fly. (14) If the city had been entered upon them by the enemy from the parts adjacent, and they had been asked to desert the true believers and to fight against them, they had surely consented thereto ; but they had not, in such case, remained in the same, but a little while. (15) They had before made a covenant with GOD that they would not turn their backs ; and the performance of their covenant with GOD shall be examined into hereafter. (16) Say, Flight shall not profit you, if ye fly from death or from slaughter ; and if it would, yet shall ye not enjoy this world but a little. (17) Say, Who is he who shall defend you against GOD, if he is pleased to bring evil on you, or is pleased to show mercy towards you ? They shall find none to patronise or protect them besides GOD. (18) GOD already knoweth those among you who hinder others from following his Apostle, and who say unto their brethren, Come hither unto us ; and who come not to battle, except a little ; (19) being covetous towards you : but when fear

Tafsir-i-Raufi has it, "Aus Ibn Qabti, Abu Arábah, and Ibn Ubbai."

Yathrib. "This was the ancient and proper name of Madína, or of the territory on which it stands. Some suppose the town was so named from its founder, Yathrib, the son of Kábiya, the son of Mahlayal, the son of Aram, the son of Sem, the son of Noah ; though others tell us it was built by the Amalekites."—*Sale*.

(14) *In the same, i.e., "in the city, or in their apostasy and rebellion, because the Muslims would surely succeed at last."*—*Sale*.

(15) "The persons meant here were Banu, Hárith, &c., who having behaved very ill and run away on a certain occasion, promised they would do so no more."—*Sale, Baidhawi*.

(16) *Flight shall not profit you, &c.* See notes on chap. iii. 145, 155.

(18) *Except a little*. "Either coming to the army in small numbers, or staying with them but a little while and then returning on some feigned excuse, or behaving ill in time of action. Some expositors take these words to be part of the speech of the hypo-

cometh *on them*, thou seest them look unto thee *for assistance*, their eyes rolling about like *the eyes* of him who fainteth by reason of *the agonies* of death: yet when *their* fear is past they inveigh against you with sharp tongues; being covetous of the best *and most valuable part of the spoils*. These believe not *sincerely*; wherefore GOD hath rendered their works of no avail; and this is easy with GOD. (20) They imagined that the confederates would not depart *and raise the siege*; and if the confederates should come *another time*, they would wish to live in the deserts among the Arabs who dwell in tents, *and there* to inquire after news concerning you; and although they were with you *this time*, yet they fought not, except a little.

R $\frac{3}{19}$.

|| (21) Ye have in the Apostle of GOD an excellent example, unto him who hopeth in GOD and the last day, and remembereth GOD frequently. (22) When the true believers saw the confederates, they said, This *is* what GOD and his Apostle have foretold us; and GOD and his Apostle have spoken the truth: and it only increased their faith and resignation. (23) Of the true believers *some*

crites, reflecting on Muhammad's companions for lying idle in the trenches, and not attacking the enemy."—Sale.

(19) *Covetous towards you, i.e.*, "sparing of their assistance either in person or with their purse, or being greedy after the booty."—Sale.

(20) *They would wish to live in the desert*, "that they might be absent, and not obliged to go to war."—Sale.

To inquire after news, &c., i.e., in order to take advantage of any success that might accrue to the Muslims to come out, and by declaring themselves on your side, claim a share of the booty.

(21) *An excellent example, viz.*, "of firmness in time of danger, of confidence in the divine assistance, and of piety by fervent prayer for the same."—Sale.

(22) *This is what God . . . foretold, viz.*, "that we must not expect to enter Paradise without undergoing some trials and tribulations (chap. xxix. 2). There is a tradition that Muhammad actually foretold this expedition of confederates some time before, and the success of it."—Sale, Baidhāwī.

(23) *Some . . . performed, &c.* "By standing firm with the Prophet, and strenuously opposing the enemies of the true religion, according to their engagement."—Sale.

men justly performed what they had promised unto GOD; and some of them have finished their course, and some of them wait *the same advantage*; and they changed not *their promise* by deviating *therefrom in the least*; (24) that GOD may reward the just performers of *their covenant* for their fidelity, and may punish the hypocritical, if he pleaseth, or may be turned unto them; for GOD is ready to forgive, *and* merciful. (25) GOD hath driven back the infidels in their wrath: they obtained no advantage; and GOD was a sufficient *protector* unto the faithful in battle; for GOD is strong *and* mighty. (26) And he hath caused such of those who have received the Scriptures as assisted *the confederates* to come down out of their fortresses, and

Some . . . have finished, &c. "Or, as the words may be translated, *have fulfilled their vow, or paid their debt* to nature, by falling martyrs in battle; as did Hamza, Muhammad's uncle, Musáb Ibn Omair, and Aus Ibn al Nadr, who were slain at the battle of Ohod. The martyrs at the war of the Ditch were six, including Saad Ibn Muádh, who died of his wound about a month after."—Sale, *Baidháwi*.

Some . . . wait. "As Othmán and Talha."—Sale, *Baidháwi*.

(26) *Those who have received the Scriptures, &c.* "These were the Jews of the tribe of Quraidha, who, though they were in league with Muhammad, had, at the incessant persuasion of Qááb Ibn Asad, a principal man among them, perfidiously gone over to his enemies in this war of the Ditch, and were severely punished for it. For the next morning, after the confederate forces had decamped, Muhammad and his men returned to Madína, and laying down their arms, began to refresh themselves after their fatigue; upon which Gabriel came to the Prophet and asked him whether he had suffered his people to lay down their arms when the angels had not laid down theirs; and ordering him to go immediately against the Quraidhites, assuring him that himself would lead the way. Muhammad, in obedience to the divine command, having caused public proclamation to be made that every one should pray that afternoon for success against the sons of Quraidha, set forward upon the expedition without loss of time; and being arrived at the fortress of the Quraidhites, besieged them for twenty-five days, at the end of which those people, being in great terror and distress, capitulated, and at length, not daring to trust to Muhammad's mercy, surrendered at the discretion of Saad Ibn Muádh, hoping that he, being the prince of the tribe of Aus, their old friends and confederates, would have some regard for them. But they were deceived; for Saad, being greatly incensed at their breach of faith, had begged of God that he might not die of the wound he had received at the Ditch till

he cast into their hearts terror *and dismay*: a part of *them* ye slew, and a part ye made captives; (27) and *God* hath caused you to inherit their land, and their houses, and their wealth, and a land on which ye have not trodden; for *GOD* is almighty.

R $\frac{4}{1}$.

|| (28) O Prophet, say unto thy wives, If ye seek this present life and the pomp thereof, come, I will make a

he saw vengeance taken on the Quraidhites, and therefore adjudged that the men should be put to the sword, the women and children made slaves, and their goods divided among the Muslims; which sentence Muhammad had no sooner heard than he cried out 'that Saad had pronounced the sentence of God;' and the same was accordingly executed, the number of men who were slain amounting to six hundred, or, as others say, to seven hundred, or very near, among whom were Huyai Ibn Akhtab, a great enemy of Muhammad's, and Qááb Ibn Asad, who had been the chief occasion of the revolt of their tribe: and soon after Saad, who had given judgment against them, died, his wound, which had been skinned over, opening again."—*Sale, Baidháwi, Abul Fida.*

He cast . . . terror. "This was the work of Gabriel, who, according to his promise, went before the army of Muslims. It is said that Muhammad, a little before he came to the settlement of the Quraidhites, asking some of his men whether anybody had passed them, they answered that Duliya Ibn Khalifa the Qalbite had just passed by them, mounted on a white mule with housings of satin: to which he replied, 'That person was the Angel Gabriel, who is sent to the sons of Quraidha to shake their castles, and to strike their hearts with fear and consternation.'"—*Sale, Ibn Isháq.*

(27) *Their wealth.* "Their immovable possessions Muhammad gave to the Muhájjirín, saying that the Ansárs were in their own houses, but that the others were destitute of habitations. The movables were divided among his followers, but he remitted the fifth part, which was usual to be taken in other cases (chap. viii. 2)."—*Sale.*

A land on which ye have not trodden. "By which some suppose Persia and Greece are meant; others, Khaibar; and others, whatever lands the Muslims may conquer till the day of judgment."—*Sale.*

(28) *Say unto thy wives.* "This passage was revealed on Muhammad's wives asking for more sumptuous clothes and an additional allowance for their expenses: and he had no sooner received it than he gave them their option, either to continue with him or to be divorced, beginning with Ayesha, who chose *God and his Apostle*, and the rest followed her example; upon which the Prophet thanked them, and the following words were revealed, viz., 'It shall not be lawful for thee to take other women to wife hereafter,' &c. From hence some have concluded that a wife who has her option

handsome provision for you, and I will dismiss you with an honourable dismissal; (29) but if ye seek GOD and his Apostle, and the life to come, verily GOD hath prepared for such of you as work righteousness a great reward. (30) O wives of the Prophet, whosoever of you shall commit a manifest wickedness, the punishment *thereof* shall be doubled unto her twofold, and this is easy with GOD:

|| (31) But whosoever of you shall be obedient unto GOD and his Apostle, and shall do that which is right, we will give her her reward twice, and we have prepared for her an honourable provision *in Paradise*. (32) O wives of the Prophet, ye are not as other women: if ye fear *God*, be not too complaisant in speech, lest he should covet in whose heart is a disease of *incontinence*; but speak the speech which is convenient. (33) And sit still in your houses; and set not out yourselves with the ostentation of the former *time of ignorance*; and observe the ap-

TWENTY-
SECOND
SIPARA.

given her, and chooses to stay with her husband, shall not be divorced; though others are of a contrary opinion."—*Sale*.

(30) *A manifest wickedness*. The original word usually indicates incontinence.

The punishment shall be doubled. "For the crime would be more enormous and unpardonable in them, because of their superior condition and the grace which they have received from God; whence it is that the punishment of a free person is ordained to be double that of a slave (chap. iv. 24); and prophets are more severely reprimanded for their faults than other men."—*Sale, Baidhāwī*.

(31) *We will give her her reward twice*. "Once for her obedience, and a second time for her conjugal affection to the Prophet and handsome behaviour to him."—*Sale*.

(32) The veil of revelation is too thin to conceal the jealousy of the Prophet. After his experience in the case of Zainab, he had some reason to fear lest he might be unable to secure for his wives the treatment due to the mothers of the faithful. See above on ver. 6.

(33) *Times of ignorance*. "That is, in the old time of idolatry. Some suppose the times before the Flood or the time of Abraham to be here intended, when women adorned themselves with all their finery, and went abroad into the streets to show themselves to the men."—*Sale, Baidhāwī*.

A perfect purification. "The pronouns of the second person in this part of the passage being of the masculine gender, the Shiites pretend the sentence has no connection with the foregoing or the

pointed times of prayer and give alms, and obey GOD and his Apostle; for GOD desireth only to remove from you the abomination of *vanity*, since ye are the household of the Prophet, and to purify you by a *perfect* purification. (34) And remember that which is read in your houses of the signs of GOD and of the wisdom *revealed in the Qurán*; for GOD is clear-sighted, and well acquainted with your actions.

R $\frac{5}{2}$. || (35) Verily the Muslims of either sex, and the true believers of either sex, and the devout men and the devout women, and the men of veracity and the women of veracity, and the patient *men* and the patient *women*, and the humble *men* and the humble *women*, and the almsgivers of either sex, and the *men* who fast and the *women* who fast, and the chaste *men* and the chaste *women*, and those of either sex who remember GOD frequently; for them hath GOD prepared forgiveness and a great reward. (36) It is not *fit* for a true believer of either sex, when

following words, and will have it that by the *household of the Prophet* are particularly meant Fátima and Ali, and their two sons Hasan and Husain, to whom these words are directed.”—Sale, *Baidhāwi*.

(36) “This verse was revealed on account of Zainab (or Zenobia), the daughter of Jahash, and wife of Zaid, Muhammad’s freedman, whom the Prophet sought in marriage, but received a repulse from the lady and her brother Abdullah, they being at first averse to the match, for which they are here reprehended. The mother of Zainab, it is said, was Amína, the daughter of Abdulmutallib, and aunt to Muhammad.”—Sale, *Baidhāwi*, *Jalálruddín*.

Mr. Bosworth Smith (*Mohammed and Mohammedanism*, p. 145), in his endeavour to remove “the deepest stain on Muhammad’s memory, the production of a Sura in which he legalises in God’s name his marriage with Zainab,” says, “The production of this Sura, whatever else it proves about Muhammad, seems to me to prove not his conscious insincerity, but the reverse; he had already attained his end, why then blazon his shame, if shame he felt it to be? Why forge the name of God?”

The reply to this is, *first*, that although *this revelation* was made after “he had already attained his end,” yet in order to the attainment of *that end* he pretended to have received a divine command to marry Zainab, whereupon he said to Ayesha, “Who will go and congratulate Zainab, and say that the Lord hath joined her to me in marriage?” (see Muir, iii. 229). And, *secondly*, that the very pur-

GOD and his Apostle have decreed a thing, that they should have the liberty of choosing a *different* matter of their own : and whoever is disobedient unto GOD and his Apostle, surely erreth with a manifest error. (37) And *remember* when thou saidst to him unto whom GOD had been gracious, and on whom thou *also* hadst conferred favours,

pose of *this revelation* was to save himself from what had already become a public scandal. To do this he did not hesitate to produce a Surah in which he represents God as legalising his marriage.

(37) *Him unto whom God had been gracious*, viz., "Zaid Ibn Hārith, on whom God had bestowed the grace early to become a Muslim."—*Sale*.

On whom thou also hadst conferred favours. "Zaid was of the tribe of Qalb, a branch of the Khudhāites, descended from Himyar, the son of Sāba, and being taken in his childhood by a party of freebooters, was bought by Muhammad, or, as others say, by his wife Khadijah, before she married him. Some years after, Hārith hearing where his son was, took a journey to Makkah, and offered a considerable sum for his ransom ; whereupon Muhammad said, ' Let Zaid come thither, and if he chooses to go with you, take him without ransom ; but if it be his choice to stay with me, why should I not keep him ? ' And Zaid being come, declared that he would stay with his master, who treated him as if he were his only son. Muhammad no sooner heard this, but he took Zaid by the hand and led him to the black stone of the Kaabah, where he publicly adopted him for his son, and constituted him his heir, with which the father acquiesced, and returned home well satisfied. From this time Zaid was called the son of Muhammad, till the publication of Islām, after which the Prophet gave him to wife Zainaib."—*Sale, Jannābī*.

And thou didst conceal that in thy mind, &c. "Namely, thy affection to Zainab. The whole intrigue is artfully enough unfolded in this passage. The story is as follows :—

"Some years after his marriage Muhammad going to Zaid's house on some affair, and not finding him at home, accidentally cast his eyes on Zainab, who was then in a dress which discovered her beauty to advantage, and was so smitten at the sight that he could not forbear crying out, ' God be praised, who turneth the hearts of men as he pleaseth ! ' This Zainab failed not to acquaint her husband with on his return home ; whereupon Zaid, after mature reflection, thought he could do no less than part with his wife in favour of his benefactor, and therefore resolved to divorce her, and acquainted Muhammad with his resolution ; but he, apprehending the scandal it might raise, offered to dissuade him from it, and endeavoured to stifle the flames which inwardly consumed him ; but at length his love for her being authorised by this revelation, he acquiesced, and after the term of her divorce was expired, married her in the latter end of the fifth year of the Hijra."—*Sale, Bairdhāwī, Jannābī*.

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Keep thy wife to thyself, and fear GOD: and thou didst conceal that in thy mind which GOD had *determined* to discover, and didst fear men; whereas it *was* more just that thou shouldst fear GOD. But when Zaid had determined the matter concerning her, *and had resolved to divorce her*, we joined her in marriage unto thee, lest a crime should be *charged* on the true believers, in *marrying* the wives of their adopted *sons*, when they have determined the matter concerning them; and the command of GOD is to be performed. (38) No crime is *to be charged* on the Prophet as to what GOD hath allowed him, *conformable to*

Muhammad's companions, whose name is mentioned in the Qurán."—*Sale*.

We joined her, &c. "Whence Zainab used to vaunt herself above the Prophet's other wives, saying that God had made the match between Muhammad and herself, whereas their matches were made by their relations."—*Sale*.

Lest a crime, &c. "For this feigned relation, as has been observed, created an impediment of marriage among the old Arabs within the prohibited degrees, in the same manner as if it had been real; and therefore Muhammad's marrying Zainab, who had been his adopted son's wife, occasioned great scandal among his followers, which was much heightened by the Jews and hypocrites; but the custom is here declared unreasonable, and abolished for the future."—*Sale*.

Thus was "the scandal of the marriage," says Muir, "removed by this extraordinary revelation, and Zaid was thenceforward called, not 'the son of Mahomet,' as heretofore, but by his proper name, 'Zaid the son of Hārith.' Our only matter of wonder is, that the revelations of Mahomet continued after this to be regarded by his people as inspired communications from the Almighty, when they were so palpably formed to secure his own objects, and to pander even to his evil desires. We hear of no doubts or questionings; and we can only attribute the confiding and credulous spirit of his followers to the absolute ascendancy of his powerful mind over all who came within its influence."—*Life of Mahomet*, vol. iii. p. 231.

We have a parallel to this story in the history of Mormonism, and especially in the story of the promulgation of the command permitting polygamy. This story, of the truth of which there can be no doubt, should for ever silence the sanctimonious whining of the apologists over the charge of imposture so constantly, and yet so truly, made against the Arabian Prophet. Even Seyad Amir Ali, whilst misrepresenting the whole matter in order to shield Muhammad's morality, carefully ignores the question of his inspiration here (see his *Life of Mohammed*, pp. 231, 232). The simple question to be answered here is, Did Muhammad receive the message

the ordinance of GOD with regard to those who preceded *him* (for the command of GOD is a determinate decree), (39) who brought the messages of GOD, and feared him, and feared none besides GOD: and GOD is a sufficient accountant. (40) Muhammad is not the father of any man among you; but the Apostle of GOD and the seal of the prophets: and GOD knoweth all things.

|| (41) O true believers, remember GOD with a frequent R $\frac{6}{3}$. remembrance, and celebrate his praise morning and evening. (42) It is he who is gracious unto you, and his angels *intercede for you*, that he may lead you forth from darkness into light; and he is merciful towards the true believers.

recorded in vers. 36-40 from God by the mouth of Gabriel, to oblige him to perform an act which he was unwilling to perform before, or did he resort to a pious fraud to accomplish an end he knew not how otherwise to secure? One can understand how a Muhammadan may vindicate the sincerity of his Prophet by insisting on the inspiration of his Qurán, but it is impossible to understand how Christian writers, who deny this inspiration, can so blind themselves as to be unable to see the insincerity and fraud of this whole transaction.

Mr. Bosworth Smith (*Mohammed and Mohammedanism*, p. 136, note) expresses a hope that "calumny or misconception has been at work in the story of Zainab." But we respectfully submit that the apologies made by such Muslims as Mír Aulád Ali and Amír Ali, to which he has given credit, exhibit at every point the appearance of special pleading. Take up any of the commentaries, and it will be seen that the whole of the scandal, as represented by Christian writers like Prideaux, Muir, and Arnold, is based upon clear statements of the following facts:—(1.) That Muhammad's passion for Zainab was due to his seeing her person in undress; (2.) that Zaid's divorcing his wife was in consequence of what he had learned of this adventure from his wife; and (3.) that this revelation was given for the express object of making the way clear for the Prophet to marry Zainab. This much is not only conceded by the commentators, who justify it on the ground of a divine command, but is abundantly evident from the text of the Qurán itself. We grant that Zainab's part in this transaction may have been that of a shrewd woman appealing to the known weakness of Muhammad to secure her liberty from Zaid; and this theory goes far to account for Zaid's conduct at this time and ever after; but surely this is no ground upon which to excuse a man claiming to be a prophet, much less does it give any appearance of sincerity to the revelations now under consideration. Zaid's subsequent devotion to Muhammad is sufficiently explained by the blindness of fanaticism, which refused to believe anything against Muhammad, the now fully constituted vice-governor of God. See Muir's remark on this point, quoted above.

(43) Their salutation on the day *whereon* they shall meet him *shall be*, Peace! and he hath prepared for them an honourable recompense. (44) O Prophet, verily we have sent thee *to be* a witness, and a bearer of good tidings, and a denouncer of threats, (45) and an inviter unto God, through his good pleasure, and a shining light. (46) Bear good tidings therefore unto the true believers, that they shall receive great abundance from God. (47) And obey not the unbelievers and the hypocrites, and mind not their evil treatment, but trust in God; and GOD is a sufficient protector. (48) O true believers, when ye marry *women who are* believers, and afterwards put them away before ye have touched them, *there is* no term prescribed you to fulfil towards them *after their divorce*; but make them a present, and dismiss them freely with an honourable dismissal. (49) O Prophet, we have allowed thee thy wives unto whom thou hast given their dower, and also the *slaves* which thy right hand possesseth, of the *booty* which GOD hath granted thee; and the daughters of thy uncle,

(40) *No term prescribed.* "That is, ye are not obliged to keep them any certain time before ye dismiss them, as ye are those with whom the marriage has been consummated. See chap. v. 237."—*Sale*.

Make them a present, i.e., "if no dower has been assigned them; for if a dower has been assigned, the husband is obliged, according to the Sunnat, to give the woman half the dower agreed on, besides a present. This is still to be understood of women with whom the marriage has not been consummated."—*Sale, Baidhāwī, Jannābī*. See also notes on chap. ii. 237.

(49) *Slaves . . . of the booty.* "It is said, therefore, that the women slaves which he should buy are not included in this grant."—*Sale*.

Daughters of thy uncle . . . who have fled, &c. "But not the others. It is related of Omm Hāni, the daughter of Abu Tālib, that she should say, 'The Apostle of God courted me for his wife; but I excused myself to him, and he accepted of my excuse: afterwards this verse was revealed; but he was not thereby allowed to marry me, because I fled not with him.'

"It may be observed that Dr. Prideaux is much mistaken when he asserts that Muhammad in this chapter brings in God exempting him from the law in the fourth chapter (ver. 21), whereby the Muslims are forbidden to marry within certain degrees, and giving him an especial privilege to take to wife the daughter of his brother, or

and the daughters of thy aunts, both on thy father's side and on thy mother's side, who have fled with thee *from Makkah*, and any *other* believing woman, if she give herself unto the Prophet, in case the Prophet desireth to take her to wife. *This is* a peculiar privilege *granted* unto thee above the rest of the true believers. (50) We know what we have ordained them concerning their wives, and the *slaves* which their right hands possess: lest it should be *deemed* a crime in thee *to make use of the privilege granted thee*; for GOD is gracious and merciful.

|| (51) Thou mayest postpone the turn of such of *thy* R $\frac{7}{4}$. *wives* as thou shalt please, *in being called to thy bed*; and

the daughter of his sister (Prideaux's *Life of Mahomet*, p. 116).”—*Sale*.

I cannot agree with Sale here. It seems to me undeniable that Muhammad is here *specialy permitted* to marry the daughters of his uncles and aunts, who would be called his *sisters* by all Muslims, and who are plainly included under that term in chap. iv. 21. The tradition of Omm Háni, given by Sale himself, shows that cousins were originally included among the forbidden degrees of the Muslim marriage law, which is found only in chap. iv. This being so, it will be seen that the scandal arising from Muhammad's marriage with Zainab related not only to his marrying the wife of an adopted son, but also to his marrying within forbidden degrees (see note on ver. 36 above). The modification of that law here for the special benefit of the Prophet is of a piece with that which allows him an unlimited number of wives.

Any other believing woman, if she give herself, &c. “Without demanding any dower. According to a tradition of Ibn Abbás, the Prophet, however, married no woman without assigning her a dower. The commentators are not agreed who was the woman particularly meant in this passage; but they name four who are supposed to have thus *given themselves* to the Prophet, viz., Maimúna Bint al Háarith, Zanaib Bint Khuzaima, Ghuzia Bint Jábir, surnamed Omm Shuraiq (which three he actually married), and Khaula Bint Hákim, whom, as it seems, he rejected.”—*Sale*.

A peculiar privilege, &c. “For no Muslim can legally marry above four wives, whether free women or slaves; whereas Muhammad is, by the preceding passage, left at liberty to take as many as he pleased, though with some restrictions.”—*Sale*.

Comp. ver. 6, with notes thereon.

(51) “By this passage some further privileges were granted to Muhammad; for whereas other men are obliged to carry themselves equally towards their wives (chap. iv. 3 and 128), in case they had more than one, particularly as to the duties of the marriage bed, to which each has a right to be called in her turn (which right was

thou mayest take unto thee her whom thou shalt please, and her whom thou shalt desire of those whom thou shalt have *before* rejected: and *it shall be* no crime in thee. This *will be* more easy, that they may be entirely content, and may not be grieved, but may be well pleased with what thou shalt give every of them: GOD knoweth whatever *is* in your hearts; and GOD is knowing *and* gracious. (52) It shall not be lawful for thee *to take other women to wife* here-

acknowledged in the most early ages, Gen. xxx. 14, &c.), and cannot again take a wife whom they have divorced the third time, till she has been married to another and divorced by him (chap. ii. 230), the Prophet was left absolutely at liberty to deal with them in these and other respects as he thought fit."—*Sale*. And yet we are to believe that Muhammad was "not a sensualist or a voluptuary in the ordinary meaning of that term" (Bosworth Smith's *Mohammed and Mohammedanism*, p. 135). One would like to see what definition this writer would put upon these words. If they do not apply to Muhammad "in the ordinary meaning," it would be difficult to fix them upon any one of his followers at the present day.

(52) "The commentators differ as to the express meaning of these words. Some think Muhammad was thereby forbidden to take any more wives than nine, which number he then had, and is supposed to have been his stint, as four was that of other men; some imagine that after this prohibition, though any of the wives he then had should die or be divorced, yet he could not marry another in her room; some think he was only forbidden from this time forward to marry any other woman than one of the four sorts mentioned in the preceding passage; and others are of opinion that this verse is abrogated by the two preceding verses, or one of them, and was revealed before them, though it be read after them."—*Sale*, *Baidhāwī*, *Jalāl-uddīn*.

The latter interpretation is by far the best, being supported by the best Muslim authority. The first two interpretations, noted by *Sale*, are set aside by the fact that Muhammad had more than nine wives, some of whom he must have married after this date. See note on ver. 49.

Nor to exchange, &c. "By divorcing her and marrying another. Al Zamakhshari tells us that some are of opinion this prohibition is to be understood of a particular kind of exchange used among the idolatrous Arabs, whereby two men made a mutual exchange of their wives without any other formality."—*Sale*.

This interpretation of Zamakhshari is very unlikely. The allusion is to divorcing and marrying again, and shows that Muhammad broke his promise by the promulgation of the command of vers. 49, 50.

Except the slaves, &c. There was to be no limitation in this direction. See notes on chap. iv. 3.

after, nor to exchange *any* of *thy* wives for them, although their beauty please thee, except the *slaves* whom thy right hand shall possess: and GOD observeth all things. (53) O true believers, enter not the houses of the Prophet, unless it be permitted you to *eat* meat *with him*, without waiting his convenient time; but when ye are invited, then enter. And when ye shall have eaten, disperse yourselves, and *stay* not to enter into familiar discourse; for this incommodeth the Prophet. He is ashamed *to bid* you *depart*; but GOD is not ashamed of the truth. And when ye ask of *the Prophet's wives* what ye may have occasion for, ask *it* of them from behind a curtain. This will be more pure for your hearts and their hearts. Neither is it *fit* for you to give any uneasiness to the Apostle of GOD, or to marry his wives after him for ever: for this would be a grievous thing in the sight of GOD. (54) Whether ye divulge a thing or conceal it, verily GOD knoweth all things. (55) *It shall be* no crime in them, as to their fathers, or their

(53) *Enter not the houses, &c.* See notes on chap. xxiv. 30.

Stay not, &c. Muhammad had experience of his own in the case of Zainab to warn him against permitting any strangers to hold familiar discourse within the precincts of his harem.

Behind a curtain. "That is, let there be a curtain drawn between you, or let them be veiled, while ye talk with them. As the design of the former precept was to prevent the impertinence of troublesome visitors, the design of this was to guard against too near an intercourse or familiarity between his wives and his followers, and was occasioned, it is said, by the hand of one of his companions accidentally touching that of Ayesha, which gave the Prophet some uneasiness."—Sale, *Baidhāwi*.

To marry his wives, &c., i.e., "either such as he shall divorce in his lifetime, or his widows after his death. This was another privilege peculiar to the Prophet.

"It is related that in the Khalifat of Omar, Ashath Ibn Qais married the woman whom Muhammad had dismissed without consummating his marriage with her; upon which the Khalifah at first was thinking to stone her, but afterwards changed his mind, on its being represented to him that this prohibition related only to such women to whom the Prophet had gone in."—Sale, *Baidhāwi*.

See Sale's second note, quoted under ver. 49.

The veil of prophecy is too thin here to hide the jealousy of the Prophet.

(55) See note on chap. xxiv. 31.

sons, or their brothers, or their brothers' sons, or their sisters' sons, or their women, or the *slaves* which their right hands possess, *if they speak to them unveiled* : and fear ye GOD ; for GOD is witness of all things. (56) Verily GOD and his angels bless the Prophet. O true believers, do ye *also* bless him, and salute *him* with a *respectful* salutation. (57) *As to* those who offend GOD and his Apostle, GOD shall curse them in this world and in the next ; and he hath prepared for them a shameful punishment. (58) And they who shall injure the true believers of either sex, without their deserving it, shall surely bear *the guilt* of calumny and a manifest injustice.

R $\frac{8}{5}$. || (59) O Prophet, speak unto thy wives, and thy daughters, and the wives of the true believers, that they cast their outer garments over them *when they walk abroad* ; this *will be* more proper, that they may be known to be *matrons of reputation*, and may not be affronted by *unseemly words or actions*. GOD is gracious and merciful. (60) Verily, if the hypocrites, and those in whose hearts is an infirmity, and they who raise disturbances in Madīna, do not desist, we will surely stir thee up against them, *to chastise them* : henceforth they shall not *be suf-*

Fear ye God. "The words are directed to the Prophet's wives."—*Sale.*

(56) *Salute him, &c.* "Hence the Muhammadans seldom mention his name without adding, 'On whom be the blessing of God and peace !' or the like words."—*Sale.*

(57) This verse was sufficient to silence any risings of anger in the heart of Zaid, or of the followers of Muhammad generally, in respect to the marriage of Zainab, especially when we consider that the Apostle had now the power to verify the threatenings of God's "curse in this world." See below, on vers. 60-62.

(58) "This verse was revealed, according to some, on occasion of certain hypocrites who had slandered Ali ; or, according to others, on occasion of those who falsely accused Ayesha (chap. xxiv. 11, *seq.*), &c."—*Sale.*

(59) *Outer garments.* "The original word properly signifies the large wrappers, usually of white linen, with which the women in the East cover themselves from head to foot when they go abroad."—*Sale.*

(60-62) This fierce threat is directed against the hypocrites and disaffected citizens of Madīna, and is in strong contrast with the meekness displayed at Makkah.

ferred to dwell near thee therein, except for a little time, (61) *and* being accursed; wherever they are found they shall be taken, and killed with a *general* slaughter.

|| (62) *According to* the sentence of GOD concerning RUBA. those who have been before; and thou shalt not find any change in the sentence of GOD. (63) Men will ask thee concerning the *approach of the last* hour; answer, Verily the knowledge thereof *is* with GOD alone; and he will not inform thee: peradventure the hour is nigh *at hand*. (64) Verily GOD hath cursed the infidels, and hath prepared for them a fierce fire, (65) wherein they shall remain for ever: they shall find no patron or defender. (66) On the day *whereon* their faces shall be rolled in *hell*-fire; they shall say, O that we had obeyed GOD, and had obeyed *his* Apostle! (67) And they shall say, O LORD, verily we have obeyed our lords and our great men, and they have seduced us from the *right* way. (68) O LORD, give them the double of *our* punishment, and curse them with a heavy curse!

|| (69) O true believers, be not as those who injured R $\frac{9}{8}$. Moses; but GOD cleared him from *the scandal* which they had spoken *concerning him*; and he was of great consideration in the sight of GOD. (70) O true believers, fear

(62) *The sentence of God, &c.* The commentators say that Moses and other prophets had received similar authority to punish the unbelievers.—*Tafsir-i-Raufi*.

(63-68) Compare chap. xxv. 11-15.

(69) *Those who injured Moses.* "The commentators are not agreed what this injury was. Some say that Moses used to wash himself apart, certain malicious people gave out that he had a rupture (or, say others, that he was a leper or an hermaphrodite), and for that reason was ashamed to wash with them; but God cleared him from this aspersion by causing the stone on which he had laid his clothes while he washed to run away with them into the camp, whither Moses followed it naked; and by that means the Israelites, in the midst of whom he was gotten ere he was aware, plainly perceived the falsehood of the report. Others suppose Qárun's accusation of Moses is here intended (chap. xxviii. 76), or else the suspicion of Aaron's murder, which was cast on Moses because he was with him when he died on Mount Hor; of which latter he was justified by the angels bringing his body and exposing it to public view, or, say some, by the testimony of Aaron himself, who was raised to life for that purpose.

GOD, and speak words well directed, (71) that *God* may correct your words for you, and may forgive you your sins: and whoever shall obey GOD and his Apostle shall enjoy great felicity. (72) We proposed the faith unto the heavens, and the earth, and the mountains; and they refused to undertake the same, and were afraid thereof; but man undertook it: verily he was unjust *to himself*, and foolish; (73) that GOD may punish the hypocritical men and the hypocritical women, and the idolaters and the idolatresses; and that GOD may be turned unto the true believers, both men and women: for GOD is gracious *and* merciful.

"The passage is said to have been occasioned by reflections which were cast on Muhammad on his dividing certain spoils; and that when they came to his ear, he said, 'God be merciful unto my brother Moses: he was wronged more than this, and bore it with patience.'"—*Sale, Baidhâwi, Bolhâri.*

He was of great consideration, &c. "Some copies for *inda* read *abda*, according to which the words should be translated, 'And he was an illustrious servant of God.'"—*Sale.*

(72) *Man undertook it.* "By faith is here understood entire obedience to the law of God, which is represented to be of so high concern (no less than eternal happiness or misery depending on the observance or neglect thereof), and so difficult in the performance, that if God should propose the same on the conditions annexed to the vaster parts of the creation, and they had understanding to comprehend the offer, they would decline it, and not dare to take on them a duty, the failing wherein must be attended with so terrible a consequence; and yet man is said to have undertaken it, notwithstanding his weakness and the infirmities of his nature. Some imagine this proposal is not hypothetical, but was actually made to the heavens, earth, and mountains, which at their first creation were endued with reason, and that God told them he had made a law, and had created Paradise for the recompense of such as were obedient to it, and hell for the punishment of the disobedient; to which they answered they were content to be obliged to perform the services for which they were created, but would not undertake to fulfil the divine law on those conditions, and therefore desired neither reward nor punishment. They add that when Adam was created, the same offer was made to him, and he accepted it. The commentators have other explications of this passage, which it would be too prolix to transcribe."—*Sale, Jalâluddîn, Baidhâwi.*

The explanation of the commentators is simply an inference from the text.

Unjust . . . and foolish. "Unjust to himself in not fulfilling his engagements and obeying the law he had accepted, and foolish in not considering the consequence of his disobedience and neglect."—*Sale.*

CHAPTER XXXIV.

ENTITLED SURAT US SABÁ (SABA).

Revealed at Makkah.

INTRODUCTION.

THIS chapter owes its title to the mention (ver. 14) of a country of that name in Arabia Felix, the fate of whose inhabitants is presented as a warning to the unbelieving Quraish.

As to its contents, this chapter differs little from other Makkan revelations of the earlier stages of Muhammad's ministry. The Prophet rebukes his townsmen on account of their idolatry and unbelief. He assures them that God will bring them into judgment and punish their obstinate infidelity. He tells them that their deities will be helpless to save them, that the angels, whom they worshipped as intercessors, would reject them as the followers of devils, and that the rich and influential idolaters of Makkah, while denying their evil deeds, would be reproached by their weak-minded followers as the cause of their destruction. Finally, he tells them they should repent at last, saying, "We believe in him," but all too late to be of any avail.

The attitude of the people of Makkah at the time this chapter was enunciated was that of determined opposition to the claims of Muhammad. Certain Jews had professed to believe in the Qurán (ver. 6), but this fact, while affording to Muhammad an occasion for alluding to certain Jewish traditions respecting David and Solomon illustrating God's favour to his prophets, seems to have aroused still stronger opposition to himself among the leaders of the idolaters in Makkah. They accused him of forgery, and imposture, and madness, and defied him to hasten the judgments of God he had threatened against them. In reply to these accusations Muhammad protested his innocence and declared himself to be a warner, whose God would judge between him and his calumniators.

Probable Date of the Revelations.

That this whole chapter belongs to an early period in Muhammad's ministry is evident from the character of its contents and the attitude of the unbelievers as revealed therein. It is, however, impossible to do more than fix an approximate date, which, according to Muir, is about the third stage of the ministry at Makkah. Rodwell, following Noéldeke, seems to place it a little later.

Principal Subjects.

	VERSES
Praise to the All-wise and Sovereign God	1, 2
Unbelievers shall not escape the judgment-day	3
The reward of believers and the punishment of infidels sure	4, 5
Certain Jews accept the Qurán as the word of God	6
The Quraish scoff at the doctrine of the resurrection	7
Muhammad accused of being a forger of the Qurán and a madman	8
Divine judgments threatened against the unbelievers	8, 9
David received blessing and knowledge from God	10
Solomon received dominion over the winds and the genii	11
The palaces, statues of Solomon, &c., constructed by genii	12
Solomon's death concealed from the genii	13
The people of Sabá rebel against God and are punished	14-16
They are dispersed on account of covetousness	17, 18
All but a few believers follow Iblís	19, 20
The idolaters worship imaginary deities	21
Only those who are permitted shall intercede on the judgment-day	22
The bountiful God will judge between true believers and the infidels	23-26
Muhammad sent to man as a warner	27
The infidels will feel God's threatened punishment in the judgment-day	28, 29
Mutual enmity of the idolaters and their leaders on the day of judgment	30-32
God's prophets have always been opposed by the affluent	33
The Makkans boast in their riches in vain	34, 35
The righteous only shall be saved	36
Muhammad's adversaries shall be punished	37
The Lord will reward the almsgivers	38
The angels shall repudiate their worshippers	39, 40
Idolaters shall be unable to help one another in the judgment	41

	VERSES
The unbelievers call Muhammad a forger of the Qurán and blasphemer	42
Rejecting their Prophet as did those before them, the Mak-	
kans shall receive like punishment	43, 44
Muhammad protests the truth of his claims	45-49
Unbelievers shall repent when too late to avail	50-54

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

|| (1) Praise be unto GOD, unto whom *belongeth* what- R 7.
ever *is* in the heavens and on earth: and unto him *be*
praise in the world to come; for he *is* wise *and* intelli-
gent. (2) He knoweth whatsoever entereth into the
earth and whatsoever cometh out of the same, and what-
soever descendeth from heaven, and whatsoever ascendeth
thereto: and he *is* merciful *and* ready to forgive. (3)
The unbelievers say, The hour *of judgment* will not come
unto us. Answer, Yea, by my LORD, it will surely come
unto you; *it is he* who knoweth the hidden secret: the
weight of an ant, either in heaven or in earth, is not
absent from him, nor anything lesser than this or greater,
but *the same is written* in the perspicuous book *of his*
decrees; (4) that he may recompense those who shall
have believed and wrought righteousness: they shall
receive pardon and an honourable provision. (5) But
they who endeavour to render our signs of none effect
shall receive a punishment of painful torment. (6) Those
unto whom knowledge hath been given, see that the book
which hath been revealed unto thee from thy LORD is the

(2) *Whatsoever entereth into the earth.* "As the rain, hidden treasures, the dead, &c."—Sale.

Whatsoever cometh out. "As animals, plants, metals, spring-water, &c."—Sale.

Descendeth, &c. "As the angels, Scriptures, decrees of God, rain, thunder and lightning, &c."—Sale.

Ascendeth, &c. "As the angels, men's works, vapours, smoke, &c."—Sale.

(6) *Those . . . see that the book, &c.* See note on chap. vi. 20.

truth, and directeth into the glorious and laudable way. (7) The unbelievers say *to one another*, Shall we show you a man who shall prophesy unto you, that when ye shall have been dispersed with a total dispersion, ye shall *be raised* a new creature? (8) He hath forged a lie concerning GOD, or rather he is distracted. But they who believe not in the life to come shall *fall* into punishment and a wide error. (9) Have they not therefore considered what is before them, and what is behind them, of the heaven and the earth? If we please, we will cause the earth to open and swallow them up, or will cause a piece of the heaven to fall upon them: verily herein is a sign unto every servant who turneth *unto God*.

R $\frac{2}{8}$ || (10) We heretofore bestowed on David excellence from us, *and we said*, O mountains, sing alternate praises with him, and *we obliged* the birds *also to join therein*. And we softened the iron for him, *saying*, Make *thereof* complete coats of mail, and rightly dispose the small plates *which compose the same*, and work ye righteousness, *O family of David*, for I see that which ye do. (11) And *we made* the wind *subject* unto Solomon; *it blew* in the morning for a month, and in the evening for a month. And we made a fountain of molten brass to flow for him. And some of the genii *were obliged* to work in his presence, by the will of his LORD; and whoever of them turned aside from our command we will cause him to taste the pain of

(8) *He hath forged a lie, &c.* See notes on chaps. iii. 137, 185, vi. 48, 94, vii. 203, xvi. 105, xxi. 5, and xxvi. 26.

(9) Compare chap. xxviii. 76.

(10) See notes on chaps. xxi. 79 and xxvii. 16-45.

Coats of mail. See note on chap. xxi. 80.

(11) *The wind.* See notes on chap. xxi. 81 and xxvii. 16-45. *A fountain of molten brass.* "This fountain, they say, was in Yaman, and flowed three days in a month."—*Sale, Jalâluddin.*

We caused him to taste, &c. "Or, as some expound the words, 'We caused him to taste the pain of burning,' by which they understand the correction the disobedient genii received at the hands of the angel set over them, who whipped them with a whip of fire."—*Sale.*

hell-fire. (12) They made for him whatever he pleased of palaces and statues, and large dishes like fish-ponds, and cauldrons standing firm *on their trevets*; and we said, Work righteousness, O family of David, with thanksgiving, for few of my servants are thankful. (13) And when we had decreed that *Solomon* should die, nothing discovered his death unto them except the creeping thing of the earth which gnawed his staff. And when *his body* fell

(12) *Statues*. "Some suppose these were images of the angels and prophets, and that the making of them was not then forbidden, or else that they were not such images as were forbidden by the law. Some say these spirits made him two lions, which were placed at the foot of his throne, and two eagles, which were set above it, and that when he mounted it the lions stretched out their paws, and when he sat down the eagles shaded him with their wings."—*Sale, Baidhāwī, Jalāluddīn*.

Dishes. "Being so monstrously large that a thousand men might eat out of each of them at once."—*Sale*.

Cauldrons. "These cauldrons, they say, were cut out of the mountains of Yaman, and were so vastly big that they could not be moved, and the people went up to them by steps."—*Sale, Baidhāwī*.

(13) *The creeping thing, &c.* "The commentators to explain this passage tell us that David having laid the foundations of the temple of Jerusalem, which was to be in lieu of the tabernacle of Moses, when he died left it to be finished by his son Solomon, who employed the genii in the work; that Solomon, before the edifice was quite completed, perceiving his end drew nigh, begged of God that his death might be concealed from the genii till they had entirely finished it; that God therefore so ordered it that Solomon died as he stood at his prayers, leaning on his staff, which supported the body in that position a full year; and the genii, supposing him to be alive, continued their work during that term, at the expiration whereof the temple being perfectly completed, a worm, which had gotten into the staff, ate it through, and the corpse fell to the ground and discovered the king's death.

"Possibly this fable of the temple's being built by genii and not by men might take its rise from what is mentioned in Scripture, that 'the house was built of stone made ready before it was brought thither, so that there was neither hammer, nor axe, nor any tool of iron heard in the house while it was building' (1 Kings vi. 7). The Rabbins indeed tell us of a worm which might assist the workmen, its virtue being such as to cause the rocks and stones to fly in sunder (Kinchi, *in loc.*, Buxt. Lex. Talm., p. 2456). Whether the worm which gnawed Solomon's staff were of the same breed with this other I know not, but the story has perfectly the air of a Jewish invention."—*Sale*.

This story of the commentators, like the text, contradicts the Scrip-

down, the genii plainly perceived that if they had known that which is secret they had not continued in a vile punishment. (14) *The descendants of Sabá* had heretofore a sign in their dwelling, *namely, two gardens on the right hand and on the left, and it was said unto them, Eat ye of the provision of your LORD, and give thanks unto him, ye have a good country and a gracious LORD.* (15) But they turned aside *from what we had commanded them*, wherefore we sent against them the inundation of al Aram, and we changed their two gardens for them into two gardens producing bitter fruit, and tamarisks, and some little *fruit*

ture. Solomon lived twenty-five years after the temple was built. Comp. 2 Chron. iii. 2, ix. 30, and 1 Kings vi. 38.

They had not continued, &c., i.e., "they had not continued in servile subjection to the command of Solomon, nor had gone on with the work of the temple."—Sale.

(14) *Sabá*. Situated in Arabia Felix, about thirty miles from Sanaa, and important as a trade emporium.

Sale says "Sabá was the son of Yashhab, the son of Yárab, the son of Qahtán, whose posterity dwelt in Yaman, in the city of Márib, called also Sabá, about three days' journey from Sanaa."

Muir regards "the tribe of Sabá" as equivalent to "the inhabitants of Yemen," who were dispersed to the north by the political and mercantile changes of the times.—*Life of Mahomet*, vol. i. p. cxi.

Two gardens. "That is, two tracts of land, one on this side their city, and the other on that, planted with trees and made into gardens, which lay so thick and close together that each tract seemed to be one continued garden; or, it may be, every house had a garden on each hand of it."—Sale, *Baidháwi*.

(15) *The inundation of al Aram*. "The commentators set down several significations of the word al Aram which are scarce worth mentioning. It most properly signifies *mounds* or *dams* for the stopping or containing of water, and is here used for that stupendous mound or building which formed the vast reservoir above the city of Sabá, described in another place (Prelim. Disc., p. 27), and which, for the great impiety, pride, and insolence of the inhabitants, was broken down in the night by a mighty flood and occasioned a terrible destruction. Al Baidháwi supposes this mound was the work of Queen Balqís, and that the above-mentioned catastrophe happened after the time of Jesus Christ, wherein he seems to be mistaken."—Sale.

Tamarisks. "A low shrub bearing no fruit, and delighting in saltish and barren ground" (Sale), whence the commentators say that wherever the waters of the inundation of Aram went the land was impregnated with saltpetre and became barren. See *Tafsír-i-Raufi in loco*.

of the lote-tree. (16) This we gave them in reward because they were ungrateful: is any *thus* rewarded except the ungrateful? (17) And we placed between them and the cities which we have blessed cities situated near each other, and we made the journey easy between them, *saying*, Travel through the same by night and by day in security. (18) But they said, O LORD, put a *greater* distance between our journey, and they were unjust unto themselves; and we made them the subject of discourse, and dispersed them with a total dispersion. Verily herein *are* signs unto every patient, grateful person. (19) And Iblis found his opinion of them to be true, and they followed him, except a party of the true believers; (20) and

(17) *The cities which we have blessed, viz., the cities of Syria, with which the people of Yaman traded.*

We made the journey easy. "By reason of their near distance, so that during the whole journey a traveller might rest in one town during the heat of the day and in another at night; nor was he obliged to carry provisions with him."—*Sale, Baidhāwi.*

(18) *A greater distance.* "This petition they made out of covetousness, that the poor being obliged to be longer on the road, they might make greater advantages in letting out their cattle and furnishing the travellers with provision; and God was pleased to punish them by granting them their wish, and permitting most of the cities which were between Sabá and Syria to be ruined and abandoned."—*Sale.*

The object of lengthening the journey was to lessen expense of travel, and so lower rates of transportation in hope of competing with the shippers in the carrying trade. See Prelim. Disc., p. 27, note 2.

We . . . dispersed them. "For the neighbouring nations justly wondered at so sudden and unforeseen a revolution in the affairs of this once flourishing people, whence it became a proverbial saying to express a total dispersion that 'they were gone and scattered like Sabá.'"

"Of the descendants of Sabá who quitted their country and sought new settlements on this inundation, the tribe of Ghassán went into Syria, the tribe of Anmár to Yathrib, the tribe of Jodhám to Tahámah, the tribe of al Azd to Omán, the tribe of Tay to Najd, the tribe of Khudhaah to Batan Marr, near Makkah, Banu Ámila to a mountain, thence called the Mountain of Ámila, near Damascus, and others went to Hira in Irák, &c."—*Sale.*

(19) *Iblis found, &c.* "Either his opinion of the Sabeans, when he saw them addicted to pride and ingratitude and the satisfying their lusts, or the opinion he entertained of all mankind at the fall of Adam, or at his creation when he heard the angels say, 'Wilt

he had no power over them unless *to tempt them*, that we might know him who believed in the life to come from him who doubted thereof. Thy LORD observeth all things.

R 3.

|| (21) Say *unto the idolaters*, Call upon those whom ye imagine *to be gods* besides GOD; they are not masters of the weight of an ant in heaven or on earth, neither have they any share in *the creation or government of* the same, nor is any of them assistant to him *therein*. (22) No intercession will be of service in his presence except *the intercession* of him to whom he shall grant permission *to intercede for others*, and *they shall wait in suspense* until, when the terror shall be taken off from their hearts, they shall say *to one another*, What doth your LORD say? They shall answer, That which is just, and he *is* the high, the great *God*. (23) Say, Who provideth food for you from heaven and earth? Answer, GOD; and either we or ye follow *the true* direction, or *are* in a manifest error. (24) Say, ye shall not be examined concerning what we shall have committed, neither shall we be examined concerning what ye shall have done. (25) Say, Our LORD will assemble us together *at the last day*, then he will judge between us with truth: and he is the judge, the knowing. (26) Say, Show me those whom ye have joined *as* partners with him? Nay, rather he is the mighty, the wise GOD. (27) We have not sent thee otherwise than unto mankind

thou place in the earth one who will do evil therein and shed blood?"

—Sale.

See notes on chaps. ii. 34 and vii. 11-15.

Except a party. "Who were saved from the common destruction."

—Sale.

(22) *No intercession, &c.* See note on chap. xx. 108.

Except by . . . permission. See note on chap. xix. 90.

When the terror, &c., i.e., "from the hearts of the intercessors and of those for whom God shall allow them to intercede by the permission which he shall then grant them; for no angel or prophet shall dare to speak at the last day without the divine leave."—Sale.

(27) This was Muhammad's claim at Makkah in answer to the demand of the Quraish that he should perform miracles, as other

in general, a bearer of good tidings and a denouncer of threats, but the greater part of men do not understand. (28) And they say, When *will* this threat *be fulfilled*, if ye speak truth? (29) Answer, A threat *is denounced* unto you of a day which ye shall not retard one hour, neither shall ye hasten.

|| (30) The unbelievers say, We will by no means be- R $\frac{4}{10}$.
lieve in this Qurán, nor in that which *hath been revealed* before it. But if thou couldst see when the unjust doers shall be set before their LORD! They will iterate discourse with one another: those who were esteemed weak shall say unto those who behaved themselves arrogantly, *Had it not been for you*, verily we had been true believers.

|| (31) They who behaved themselves arrogantly shall NISF.
say unto those who were esteemed weak, Did we turn you aside from the *true* direction after it had come unto you? On the contrary, ye acted wickedly *of your own free choice*. (32) And they who were esteemed weak shall say unto those who behaved with arrogance, Nay, but the crafty plot *which ye devised* by night and by day *occasioned our ruin*, when ye commanded us that we should not believe in God, and that we should set up *other gods as equals* unto him. And they shall conceal their repentance, after they shall have seen the punishment *prepared for them*. And we will put yokes on the necks of those who shall have disbelieved: shall they be rewarded any otherwise than *according to* what they shall have wrought? (33) We have sent no warner unto *any* city, but the inhabi-

prophets did, in attestation of his prophetic claims. See chap. ii. 119.

(30) *We will by no means believe.* "It is said that the infidels Makkah, having inquired of the Jews and Christians concerning the mission of Muhammad, were assured by them that they found him described as the prophet who should come, both in the Pentateuch and in the Gospel; at which they were very angry, and brake out into the words here recorded."—Sale, Baidhāwī.

Arrogantly. See note on chap. xiv. 24.

(32) *They shall conceal their repentance.* See note on chap. x. 55.

tants thereof who lived in affluence said, Verily we believe not that with which ye are sent. (34) *And those of Makkah also* say, We abound in riches and children more than ye, and we shall not be punished hereafter. (35) Answer, Verily my LORD will bestow provision in abundance unto whom he pleaseth, and will be sparing unto whom he pleaseth; but the greater part of men know not this.

R $\frac{5}{11}$. || (36) Neither your riches nor your children *are the things* which shall cause you to draw nigh unto us with a near approach: only whoever believeth and worketh righteousness, they shall receive a double reward for that which they shall have wrought; and they shall dwell in security in the upper apartments of *Paradise*. (37) But they who shall endeavour to render our signs of none effect shall be delivered up to punishment. (38) Say, Verily my LORD will bestow provision in abundance unto whom he pleaseth of his servants, and will be sparing unto whom he pleaseth: and whatever thing ye shall give in alms, he will return it; and he is the best provider of food. (39) On a certain day he shall gather them altogether: then shall he say unto the angels, Did these worship you? (40) *And the angels* shall answer, GOD forbid! thou art our friend, and not these: but they worshipped devils; the greater part of them believed in them. (41) On this day the one of you shall not be able either to profit or to hurt the other. And we will say unto those who have acted unjustly, Taste ye the pain of *hell-fire*, which ye rejected as a falsehood. (42) When our evident signs are read unto them, they say of thee, O *Muhammad*, this is no other than a man who seeketh to turn you aside from the gods which your fathers worshipped. And they say of the *Qurán*, This is no other than a lie blasphemously forged. And the unbelievers say of the truth

(36) See note on chap. iii. 31, and references there.

(39-41) Compare chap. xxxviii. 61-66, and see notes there.

(42) *A lie blasphemously forged*. See above on ver. 8.

when it is come unto them, This is no other than manifest sorcery: (43) yet we have given them no books of *Scripture* wherein to exercise themselves, nor have we sent unto them any warner before thee. (44) They who were before them *in like manner* accused *their prophets* of imposture: but *these* have not arrived unto the tenth part of *the riches and strength* which we had bestowed on *the former*: and they accused my apostles of imposture; and how *severe* was my vengeance!

|| (45) Say, Verily I advise you unto one thing, *namely*, R $\frac{6}{12}$ that ye stand before GOD by two and two and singly; and then consider seriously, *and you will find that* there is no madness in your companion *Muhammad*: he is no other than a warner unto you, *sent* before a severe punishment. (46) Say, I ask not of you any reward *for my preaching*; it is your own, *either to give or not*: my reward is *to be expected* from GOD alone; and he is witness over all

(43) Brinckman thinks this verse and others of a similar import contradict those verses where it is said, "There hath been no nation but a preacher hath in past times been conversant among them" (chap. xxxv. 22). But the contradiction is only apparent. The latter class of passages refer to the past ages or generations, whereas the former class refers entirely to *the Arabians of Muhammad's own time*, to whom Muhammad declares himself to have been sent.

(44) See notes on chaps. iii. 11, vi. 48, and introd. to chap. vii.

(45) *Two and two, and singly, i.e.*, "that ye set yourselves to deliverate and judge of me and my pretensions coolly and sincerely, as in the sight of God, without passion or prejudice. The reason why they are ordered to consider either alone, or by two and two at most together, is because in larger assemblies, where noise, passion, and prejudice generally prevail, men have not that freedom of judgment which they have in private."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*.

(46) *I ask not . . . reward*. "Muhammad having in the preceding words answered the imputation of madness or vain enthusiasm by appealing to their cooler thoughts of him and his actions, endeavours by these to clear himself of the suspicion of any worldly view or interest, declaring that he desired no salary or support from them for executing his commission, but he expected his wages from God alone."—Sale.

These words are put in the mouths of the former prophets also. See chap. xxvi. 109, 127, 145, 164, 180, where Noah, Hūd, Sālih, Lot, and Shuaib are represented as using these very words.

It is your own. Sale paraphrases, "to give or not," which I think

things. (47) Say, Verily my LORD sendeth down the truth *to his prophets*: he is the knower of secrets. (48) Say, Truth is come, and falsehood is vanished, and shall not return *any more*. (49) Say, If I err, verily I shall err only against my own soul; but if I be *rightly* directed, *it will be* by that which my LORD revealeth unto me; for he is ready to hear, and nigh *unto those who call upon him*. (50) If thou couldest see when the *unbelievers* shall tremble, and *shall find* no refuge, and shall be taken from a near place, (51) and shall say, We believe in him! But how shall they receive *the faith* from a distant place, (52) since they had before denied him and reviled the mysteries of faith from a distant place? (53) And a bar shall be placed between them and that which they shall desire: (54) as it hath been done with those who *behaved* like them heretofore: because they have been in a doubt which hath caused scandal.

to be a mistake. The meaning is, "I preach to you freely and voluntarily, neither asking nor desiring a reward, and what I have given you is yours *as a free gift*."

(50) *The unbelievers shall tremble*, viz., "at their death, or the day of judgment, or the battle of Badr."—Sale, *Baidhāwi*.

A near place. "That is, from the outside of the earth to the inside thereof, or from before God's tribunal to hell-fire, or from the plain of Badr to the well into which the dead bodies of the slain were thrown."—Sale, *Baidhāwi*.

(51) *A distant place*, i.e., "when they are in the other world; whereas faith is to be received in this."—Sale.

(53) *A bar*. See note on chap. xxiii. 99.

CHAPTER XXXV.

ENTITLED SURAT UL FÁTIR (THE CREATOR).

Revealed at Makkah.

INTRODUCTION.

THIS chapter owes its title to the mention of the Creator in the first verse. In the same verse mention is made of THE ANGELS, which title is also given in some editions of the Qurán.

As to its character and contents, this chapter is so very much like the chapter immediately preceding it as to make the description of one applicable in all essential points to the other.

Probable Date of the Revelations.

As this chapter might very well have been joined on to the one preceding it, there is no need of saying more here than that it belongs to the same date.

Principal Subjects.

	VERSES
God praised as the Sovereign Creator	1, 2
The Quraish exhorted to worship the true God	3
Muhammad told that it is no strange thing for a prophet to be called an impostor	4
God's promises true, but Satan is a deceiver	5, 6
Reward for believers and punishment for infidels sure	7, 8
Reprobate sinners shall not be as the righteous before God	9
The desert made green by rainfall a type of the resurrection.	10
God exalteth the righteous but bringeth to nought the devices of sinners	11
God, who is man's Creator, knoweth all things	12
God's mercy to man seen in the waters	13
Day, night, the sun, and moon glorify God	14

	VERSES
The vanity of idol-worship	14, 15
Man is dependent on God, but God is self-sufficient	16-18
Every one shall bear his own burden in the judgment-day	19
Muhammad commanded to admonish secret believers	19
God will not regard the righteous and the unrighteous alike	20, 21
Every nation has its own prophet	22
Those who accused the former prophets of imposture were punished	23, 24
God's mercy seen in nature	25
God rewards the prayerful and the charitable	26, 27
The Qurán a confirmation of former Scriptures	28
The varied conduct of those who receive the Qurán	29
The rewards of the faithful in Paradise	30-32
The just punishment of unbelievers in hell	33-35
God knoweth the secrets of the heart	36
Unbelievers shall reap the fruit of their infidelity	37
God gave the idolaters no authority for their idolatry	38
God alone sustains the heavens	39
The Quraish impiously reject their Prophet	40, 41
They shall receive the punishment bestowed upon those who rejected the former prophets	42, 43
Were God to punish sinners the world would be bereft of its human population	44
God will regard his servants in the judgment-day	45

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

R $\frac{1}{13}$. || (1) Praise be unto God, the Creator of heaven and earth, who maketh the angels *his* messengers, furnished with two, and three, and four *pair* of wings; GOD maketh what addition he pleaseth unto *his* creatures, for GOD *is* almighty. (2) The mercy which GOD shall freely bestow on mankind *there is* none who can withhold, and what he shall withhold *there is* none who can bestow besides him;

(1) *Four pair of wings.* "That is, some angels have a greater and some a lesser number of wings, according to their different orders—the words not being designed to express the particular number. Gabriel is said to have appeared to Muhammad on the night he made his journey to heaven with no less than six hundred wings."
—Sale, *Baidhāwī*.

and he *is* the mighty, the wise. (3) O men, remember the favour of GOD towards you; is there any creator besides GOD who provideth food for you from heaven and earth? *There is* no GOD but he, how therefore are ye turned aside *from acknowledging his unity*? (4) If they accuse thee of imposture, apostles before thee have also been accused of imposture, and unto GOD shall *all* things return. (5) O men, verily the promise of GOD is true; let not therefore the present life deceive you, neither let the deceiver deceive you concerning GOD, (6) for Satan *is* an enemy unto you, wherefore hold him for an enemy; he only inviteth his confederates to be the inhabitants of hell. (7) For those who believe not *there is prepared* a severe torment, (8) but for those who shall believe and do that which is right *is prepared* mercy and a great reward.

|| (9) Shall he therefore for whom his evil work hath $R \frac{2}{14}$ been prepared, and who imagineth it to be good, *be as he* SULS *who is rightly disposed and discerneth the truth*? Verily GOD will cause to err whom he pleaseth, and will direct whom he pleaseth. Let not thy soul therefore be spent in sighs for their sakes, *on account of their obstinacy*, for GOD well knoweth that which they do. (10) *It is God* who sendeth the winds and raiseth a cloud, and we drive the same unto a dead country, and thereby quicken the earth after it hath been dead, so *shall* the resurrection *be*. (11) Whoever desireth excellence, unto GOD *doth* all excellence *belong*; unto him ascendeth the good speech, and

(4) See notes on chaps. ii. 38, xvi. 105, xxi. 5, and xxxiv. 8.

(9) *God will cause to err, &c.* This looks very like making God the author of both good and evil. The following sentence, however, points to the unbelievers as already reprobate, which, if so, would limit the act of God to the abandonment of the impenitent in their error. It may, however, predicate active exercise of divine power to lead the reprobate into such sin as will result in aggravated suffering hereafter. See chaps. vii. 179, 180, xvi. 95, xx. 87, and note on chap. iii. 155.

(10) Compare chap. xxii. 5-7, and see note on xxix. 18.

(11) *Wicked plots.* "As the Quraish did against Muhammad." See chap. viii. 30, note.—*Salé.*

the righteous work will he exalt; but as for them who devise wicked *plots*, they shall suffer a severe punishment, and the device of those *men* shall be rendered vain. (12) GOD created you *first* of the dust, and afterwards of seed, and he hath made you man and wife. No female conceiveth or bringeth forth but with his knowledge. Nor is anything added unto the age of him whose life is prolonged, neither is anything diminished from his age, but *the same is written* in the book of *God's decrees*. Verily this is easy with GOD. (13) The two seas are not to be held in comparison; this *is* fresh and sweet, pleasant to drink, but that *is* salt and bitter; yet out of each of them ye eat fish and take ornaments for you to wear. Thou seest the ships also ploughing *the waves* thereof, that ye may seek to *enrich yourselves by commerce* of the abundance of *God*, peradventure ye will be thankful. (14) He causeth the night to succeed the day, and he causeth the day to succeed the night, and he obligeth the sun and the moon to perform their services, each of *them* runneth an appointed course. This is GOD your LORD, his *is* the kingdom. But the *idols* which ye invoke besides him have not the power even over the skin of a date-stone; (15) if ye invoke them they will not hear your calling, and although they should hear, yet they would not answer you. On the day of resurrection they shall disclaim your having associated *them with God*, and none shall declare unto thee *the truth* like one who is well acquainted *therewith*.

R $\frac{3}{15}$. || (16) O men, ye have need of GOD, but GOD is self-sufficient, and to be praised. (17) If he pleaseth he can take you away and produce a new creature *in your stead*, (18) neither *will* this be difficult with GOD. (19) A bur-

(12) *Seed*. See chap. xxii. 4-7.

(13) *Two seas*. See chap. xxv. 55, note.

Fish. See chap. xvi., note on ver. 14.

Ornaments. "As pearls and coral."—*Salé*. See also chap. xvi. 14.

(14) *Idols* . . . *have not power over a date-stone*. Compare chap. xxii. 74.

(19) See note on chap. xx. 108.

dened *soul* shall not bear the burden of another; and if a heavy-burdened *soul* call *on another* to bear part of its *burden*, no part thereof shall be borne *by the person who shall be called on*, although he be *ever so nearly* related. Thou shalt admonish those who fear their LORD in secret and are constant at prayer; and whosoever cleanseth himself *from the guilt of disobedience* cleanseth himself to the *advantage of his own soul*; for all shall be assembled before GOD *at the last day*. (20) The blind and the seeing shall not be held equal, neither darkness and light, nor the cool shade and the scorching wind, (21) neither shall the living and the dead be held equal. GOD shall cause him to hear whom he pleaseth, but thou shalt not make those to hear who are in *their graves*. Thou *art* no other than a preacher; (22) verily we have sent thee with truth, a bearer of good tidings and a denouncer of threats. *There hath been* no nation but a preacher hath in past times been *conversant* among them; (23) if they charge thee with imposture, they who were before them likewise charged *their apostles* with imposture. Their apostles came unto them with evident *miracles*, and with *divine* writings, and with the enlightening book; (24) afterwards I chastised those who were unbelievers, and how *severe* was my vengeance!

(25) Dost not thou see that GOD sendeth down rain R $\frac{4}{16}$
from heaven, and that we thereby produce fruits of vari-

(20, 21) "This passage expresses the great difference between a true believer and an infidel, truth and vanity, and their future reward and punishment."—Sale.

(21) *Thou shalt not make those hear, &c., i.e.,* "those who obstinately persist in their unbelief, who are compared to the dead."—Sale.

(23) *Divine writings.* "As the volumes delivered to Abraham and to other prophets before Moses."—Sale. See references in note on ver. 4 above.

Enlightening book, viz., "the Law or the Gospel."—Sale.

(25) *Various colours, i.e.,* various kinds. See chap. xvi. 13, note.

Mountains . . . of various colours, "being more or less intense."—Sale.

Rodwell suggests that Muhammad recalled the mountains as they appeared from the cave of Hira, and as described by Burckhardt (*Travels*, p. 176).

ous colours? in the mountains also *there are* some tracts white and red, of various colours, and *others are* of a deep black; and of men, and beasts, and cattle *there are* whose colours *are* in like manner various. Such only of his servants fear GOD as are endued with understanding: verily GOD *is* mighty *and* ready to forgive. (26) Verily they who read the book of GOD, and are constant at prayer, and give alms out of what we have bestowed on them, *both* in secret and openly, hope for a merchandise which shall not perish: (27) that *God* may fully pay them their wages and make them a *superabundant* addition of his liberality; for he *is* ready to forgive *the faults of his servants and* to requite *their endeavours*. (28) That which we have revealed unto thee of the book of the *Qurán* is the truth, confirming the *Scriptures* which *were revealed* before it; for GOD knoweth *and* regardeth his servants. (29) And we have given the book of the *Qurán* in heritage unto such of our servants as we have chosen: of them *there is one* who injureth his own soul; and *there is another* of them who keepeth the middle way; and *there is another* of them who outstrippeth *others* in good works, by the permission of GOD. This is the great excellence. (30) They shall be introduced into gardens of perpetual abode; they shall be adorned therein with bracelets of gold and pearls, and their clothing therein *shall be of silk*: (31) and they shall say, Praise be unto GOD, who hath taken away sorrow from us! verily our LORD *is* ready to forgive *the sinners and* to reward *the obedient*: (32) who hath caused us to take up our rest in a dwelling of *eternal* stability, through his bounty, wherein no labour shall touch us, neither shall any weariness affect us. (33) But for the unbelievers *is*

(28) See notes on chap. ii. 39, 40.

(29) *One who injureth his own soul.* "By not practising what he is taught and commanded in the *Qurán*."—*Sale*.

Middle way, "that is, who meaneth well, and performeth his duty for the most part, but not perfectly."—*Sale*.

(30) *Silk.* See note on chap. xx. 23.

prepared the fire of hell: it shall not be decreed them to die a *second time*; neither shall *any part* of the punishment thereof be made lighter unto them. Thus shall every infidel be rewarded. (34) And they shall cry out aloud in *hell*, saying, LORD, take us hence, and we will work righteousness, and not what we have *formerly* wrought. *But it shall be answered them*, Did we not grant you lives of length sufficient, that whoever would be warned might be warned therein; and did not the preacher come unto you? (35) taste therefore *the pains of hell*. And the unjust shall have no protector.

|| (36) Verily GOD knoweth the secrets *both* of heaven R ⁵ ₁₇ and earth, for he knoweth the innermost parts of the breasts of *men*. (37) It is he who hath made you to succeed in the earth. Whoever shall disbelieve, on him *be* his unbelief; and their unbelief shall only gain the unbelievers greater indignation in the sight of their LORD; and their unbelief shall only increase the perdition of the unbelievers. (38) Say, What think ye of your deities which ye invoke besides GOD? Show me what *part* of the earth they have created. Or had they any share in *the creation* of the heavens? Have we given unto *the idolaters* any book of *revelations*, so that they *may rely* on any proof therefrom to *authorise their practice*? Nay; but the ungodly make unto one another only deceitful promises. (39) Verily GOD sustaineth the heavens and the earth, lest they fail: and if they should fail, none could support the same besides him; he is gracious and merciful. (40) *The Quraish* swore by GOD, with a most solemn oath, that if a preacher had come unto them, they would surely have been more *willingly* directed than any nation: but now a preacher is come unto them, it hath only increased in them *their aversion from the truth*, (41) *their arrogance* in the earth, and *their*

(34) *Preacher, i.e., Muhammad.* See note on chap. ii. 119.

(40) See note on chap. vi. 156.

(41) *Contriving of evil, i.e., their plotting evil against Muhammad and the Muslims.*

contriving of evil; but the contrivance of evil shall only encompass the authors thereof. Do they expect any other than the punishment awarded against the *unbelievers* of former times? For thou shalt not find any change in the ordinance of God; (42) neither shalt thou find any variation in the ordinance of God. (43) Have they not gone through the earth, and seen what hath been the end of those who were before them; although they were more mighty in strength than they? God is not to be frustrated by anything either in heaven or on earth; for he is wise *and* powerful. (44) If God should punish men according to what they deserve, he would not leave on the back of *the earth* so much as a beast: but he respiteth them to a determined time; (45) and when their time shall come, verily God will regard his servants.

Ordinance of God. Rodwell translates "way of God." The expression might refer to the ordinances of God's religion, as Brinckman assumes in his argument to show how this statement contradicts the fact of numerous changes in God's ordinances (*Notes on Islam*, p. 164); but unfortunately for his argument, the context clearly fixes the meaning here as equivalent to "way of dealing with unbelievers." The Quraish shall not escape the wrath of God, for such is his ordinance that all infidels "of former times" have been punished.

(48) This verse clearly proves man's lost condition without God's mercy intervening for his salvation, but the Qurán nowhere presents any way whereby this mercy may be exercised in consistency with His justice, holiness, and truth. Comp. chap. xvi. 63.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

ENTITLED SURAT UL YÁ SÍN (Y. S.)

Revealed at Makkah.

INTRODUCTION.

SALE says : "This chapter had several other titles given it by Muhammad himself, and particularly that of *The Heart of the Qurán*." The present title is taken from the mystic letters in the beginning.

This chapter is held in great esteem by the Muhammadans, who read it to the dying in their last agony, which is no doubt due to its teaching in regard to the resurrection. It reveals to us Muhammad as a *preacher* and a *warner*, yet withal a *prophet*, having as the seal of his claim the oath of God (vers. 1-3). As yet but few of the Quraish had given heed to his preaching or the warnings of his revelation. Indeed, we may fairly presume that the Prophet had preached so long in vain that he now despaired of the conversion of his hearers (vers. 6-9). We may also infer from the allusion to secret believers (ver. 10), and from the story of persecution (vers. 14-28), that the Muslims were now subjected to persecution of a severer nature than that of scoffs and blasphemous words. Notwithstanding this opposition, however, the Prophet proclaims the Divine unity in opposition to idolatry, and asserts the doctrine of a resurrection and final judgment.

On this account this chapter deserves the exalted title given it by Muhammad, as most of the distinctive doctrines of Islám are found in it in some form or other.

A point of considerable interest is noted by Rodwell : that this chapter and chapter xviii. contain the only references to Church history subsequent to the day of Pentecost to be found in the Qurán. The story of the apostles of Jesus given here, though referred by the commentators to Antioch, looks much more like a garbled rendering of the story of the martyrdom of Stephen. The shrine of

Habib at Antioch may have owed its existence to the story related by the commentators, and not to any real tomb; such shrines, erected to imaginary saints on the sites of imaginary tombs, being by no means uncommon in Muslim countries.

Noëldeke thinks there is probably an omission of a passage between vers. 24 and 25, giving an account of the martyrdom of "the believer" by the infidels.

Probable Date of the Revelations.

Though this chapter is so clearly Makkan, both in style and matter, yet there have been those who have regarded it as Madinic (see *Itqân*, 27). Others, on the authority of a tradition as to its origin, regard ver. 11 as Madinic. Similarly ver. 47, in which almsgiving (*Zikât*) is mentioned, is regarded by some as Madinic, because the law of almsgiving was given after the Hijra (*Itqân*, 35). However, the *practice* of almsgiving antedates the Hijra, and we may therefore regard the passage as Makkan.

As to the date of the chapter, the most that can be said is that it must be referred to a time when the opposition of the Quraish was very determined, and when persecution was either begun or threatened. Muir fixes the date at about the beginning of the fifth stage (*i.e.*, about the tenth or eleventh year) of Muhammad's mission. It certainly cannot be assigned to a later date. The probability is that it should be fixed somewhat earlier, as the Bann of the Hâshimites would almost certainly have been alluded to in a chapter emanating from the *Sheb* of Abu Tâlib.

Principal Subjects.

	[VERSES
God swears that Muhammad is a prophet	1-3
The Qurân given to warn the Makkans	4, 5
The greater part of the people of Makkah reprobate	6-9
Muhammad's preaching only profitable to secret believers	10
The dead shall be raised; all their deeds are registered	11
Two apostles of Jesus sent to Antioch	12, 13
They are rejected as impostors and threatened with stoning	14-17
The apostles warn the people of Antioch of impending divine judgments	18
A certain believer is put to death by the infidels	19-26
The persecutors are suddenly destroyed	27, 28
Men generally reject God's messengers	29
The lessons of the past are forgotten	30
The doctrine of the resurrection asserted and illustrated	31-33
God's power and goodness manifested by his works	34-44

	VERSES
Unbelievers unmoved by either fear or the signs of the Qurán	45, 46
They scoff at almsgiving and the resurrection	47, 48
The resurrection trumpet and the judgment-day shall surprise the unbelievers	49-53
God's judgment shall be according to works	54
The rewards of the righteous and the punishment of the wicked	55-65
God deals with the wicked as he pleaseth	66-68
Muhammad not a poet; the Qurán is the word of God	69, 70
God manifest in his works of benevolence	71-73
Idolaters will find their trust in idols vain	74, 75
The Prophet not to grieve at the hard speeches of the idolaters; God knoweth all	76
The Creator of all things able to raise the dead to life	77-81
God says Be, and it is	82
Praise be to the Sovereign Creator and raiser of the dead	83

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

|| (1) Y. S. *I swear* by the instructive Qurán, (2) that *thou art one of the messengers of God*, (3) *sent to show the right way*. (4) *This is a revelation of the most mighty, the merciful God*: (5) that thou mayest warn a people whose fathers were not warned, and who live in negligence. (6) *Our sentence hath justly been pronounced against the greater part of them; wherefore they shall*

(1) Y. S. "The meaning of these letters is unknown: some, however, from a tradition of Ibn Abbás, pretend they stand for *Yá insán, i.e., O man*."—Sale.

(5) *Were not warned, i.e., the Arabs*. Compare chap. xxxiv. 43.

(6) *Our sentence, viz., "the sentence of damnation which God pronounced against the greater part of genii and men at the fall of Adam."*—Sale.

See note on chap. ii. 35, and compare chap. xxxviii. 85.

The sentence here intended does not apply to "the genii and men at the fall of Adam," but to the Quraish, who rejected Muhammad. They are spoken of as reprobates given over to destruction. I understand what follows as a vivid description in prophetic idiom of what shall be. This interpretation is confirmed by ver. 9.

not believe. (7) We have put yokes on their necks, which come up to *their* chins; and they are forced to hold up their heads; (8) and we have set a bar before them, and a bar behind them; and we have covered them with darkness; wherefore they shall not see. (9) *It shall be equal unto them whether thou preach unto them or do not preach unto them; they shall not believe.* (10) But thou shalt preach *with effect* unto him only who followeth the admonition of the *Qurán*, and feareth the Merciful in secret. Wherefore bear good tidings unto him of mercy and an honourable reward. (11) Verily we will restore the dead to life, and will write down *their works* which they shall have sent before them, and their footsteps *which they shall have left behind them*: and everything do we set down in a plain register.

R $\frac{2}{1}$.

|| (12) Propound unto them as an example the inhabitants of the city of *Antioch*, when the apostles of *Jesus*

(7) *Yokes.* See them described in note on chap. xiii. 6.

(8) *A bar before, &c.* "That is, we have placed obstacles to prevent their looking either forwards or backwards. The whole passage represents the blindness and invincible obstinacy with which God justly curses perverse and reprobate men."—*Sale*.

They shall not see. "It is said that when the Quraish, in pursuance of a resolution they had taken, had sent a select number to beset Muhammad's house and to kill him (Prelim. Disc., p. 85), the Prophet, having caused Ali to lie down on his bed to deceive the assassins, went out and threw a handful of dust at them, repeating the nine first verses of this chapter, which end here; and they were thereupon stricken with blindness, so that they could not see him."—*Sale, Abul Fida*.

(9) *They shall not believe.* Unless this prophecy be restricted to a very few of the Quraish, it failed of fulfilment.

(11) *Their footsteps.* "As their good or evil example, doctrine, &c."—*Sale*.

A plain register. The Preserved Tables, or the records of good and evil actions kept by the angels. See chap. ii. 96, 97.

(12) *When the apostles, &c.* "To explain this passage the commentators tell the following story:—The people of Antioch being idolaters, Jesus sent two of his disciples thither to preach to them; and when they drew near the city they found Habib, surnamed Al Najjâr, or the *carpenter*, feeding sheep, and acquainted him with their errand; whereupon he asked them what proof they had of their veracity, and they told him they could cure the sick, and the

came thereto: (13) when we sent unto them two of the said apostles; but they charged them with imposture. Wherefore we strengthened them with a third. And they said, Verily we are sent unto you by God. (14) The inhabitants answered, Ye are no other than men, as we are; neither hath the Merciful revealed anything unto you: ye only publish a lie. (15) The apostles replied, Our LORD knoweth that we are really sent unto you; (16) and our

blind, and the lepers; and to demonstrate the truth of what they said, they laid their hands on a child of his who was sick, and immediately restored him to health. Habib was convinced by this miracle, and believed; after which they went into the city and preached the worship of one true God, curing a great number of people of several infirmities: but at length, the affair coming to the prince's ear, he ordered them to be imprisoned for endeavouring to seduce the people. When Jesus heard of this, he sent another of his disciples, generally supposed to have been Simon Peter, who, coming to Antioch, and appearing as a zealous idolater, soon insinuated himself into the favour of the inhabitants and of their prince, and at length took an opportunity to desire the prince would order the two persons who, as he was informed, had been put in prison for broaching new opinions, to be brought before him to be examined; and accordingly they were brought: when Peter, having previously warned them to take no notice that they knew him, asked them who sent them, to which they answered God, who had created all things, and had no companion. He then required some convincing proof of their mission, upon which they restored a blind person to his sight and performed some other miracles, with which Peter seemed not to be satisfied, for that, according to some, he did the very same miracles himself, but declared that, if their God could enable them to raise the dead, he would believe them; which condition the two apostles accepting, a lad was brought who had been dead seven days, and at their prayers he was raised to life; and thereupon Peter acknowledged himself convinced, and ran and demolished the idols, a great many of the people following him, and embracing the true faith; but those who believed not were destroyed by the cry of the Angel Gabriel."—Sale.

Rodwell points out that this story with that of the Seven Sleepers in chap. xviii. are the only examples of any allusion in the Qurán to Church history after Pentecost. The story of the commentators is virtually a paraphrase of the text with additions from their own imagination, which contradict the text, which plainly predicates a few believers corresponding to Muhammad and his Makkan followers. Again let the reader note how Muhammad here puts his own speeches into the mouths of the apostles at Antioch.

(13) Two of the said apostles. "Some say these two were John and Paul; but others name different persons."—Sale.

A third, viz., Simon Peter.

duty is only public preaching. (17) *Those of Antioch* said, Verily we presage evil from you: if ye desist not *from preaching*, we will surely stone you, and a painful punishment shall be inflicted on you by us. (18) The *apostles* answered, Your evil presage is with yourselves: although ye be warned, *will ye persist in your errors?* Verily ye *are* a people who transgress *exceedingly*. (19) And a certain man came hastily from the farther parts of the city *and* said, O my people, follow the messengers of *God*; (20) follow him who demandeth not any reward of you: for these are *rightly* directed.

TWENTY-
THIRD
SIPARA.

|| (21) What *reason* have I that I should not worship him who hath created me? for unto him shall ye return. (22) Shall I take *other* gods besides him? If the Merciful be pleased to afflict me, their intercession will not avail me at all, neither can they deliver *me*: (23) then should I be in a manifest error. (24) Verily I believe in your LORD; wherefore hearken unto me. (25) *But they stoned him; and as he died* it was said *unto him*, Enter thou into Paradise. (26) *And* he said, Oh that my people knew how merciful GOD hath been unto me! for he hath highly honoured me. (27) And we sent not down against his

(16) *Only public preaching.* These apostles were prophets like Muhammad. This passage serves to silence those Muslims who speak of John and Paul as having forged the books ascribed to them in the New Testament.

(18) *Your evil presage, &c., i.e., "if any evil befall you, it will be the consequence of your own obstinacy and unbelief."*—Sale.

See chap. xxvii. 48, note 11. Compare chap. vii. 132.

(19) *A certain man.* "This was Habîb al Najjâr, whose martyrdom is here described. His tomb is still shown near Antioch, and is much visited by the Muhammadans."—Sale.

(19–24) These words were used over and over by Muhammad in his discourses with the idolaters of Makkah. On this trait in his character see introduction to chap. xxvi.

(25) *But they stoned him, &c.* These words are supplied to introduce what follows. Noëldeke thinks a passage here has been lost.

(26) *He hath highly honoured me, i.e., by permitting me to be a martyr, or, as some suppose, by translating me to Paradise.*—*Tafsîr-i-Raufi*.

This story looks very much like a traditional account of the martyrdom of Stephen.

people after *they had slain* him an army from heaven, nor *the other instruments of destruction* which we sent down on *unbelievers in former days*: (28) there was only one cry of *Gabriel from heaven*, and behold, they *became* utterly extinct. (29) Oh, the misery of men! No apostle cometh unto them but they laugh him to scorn. (30) Do they not consider how many generations we have destroyed before them? (31) Verily they shall not return unto them: (32) but all of them in general *shall be* assembled before us.

|| (33) *One sign of the resurrection* unto them is the dead R $\frac{3}{2}$. earth: we quicken the same *by the rain*, and produce thereout *various sorts of grain*, of which they eat. (34) And we make therein gardens of palm-trees and vines; and we cause springs to gush forth in the same: (35) that they may eat of the fruits thereof, and of the labour of their hands. Will they not therefore give thanks? (36) Praise be unto him who hath created all the different kinds, *both of vegetables*, which the earth bringeth forth, and of their own species, *by forming the two sexes*, and also *the various sorts of things* which they know not. (37) The night also is a sign unto them: we withdraw the day from the same, and behold they *are* covered with darkness; (38) and the sun hasteneth to his place of rest. This is the disposition of the mighty, the wise God. (39) And for the moon have we appointed *certain mansions*,

(27) *Which we sent down on unbelievers, &c.* "As a deluge, or a shower of stones, or a suffocating wind, &c. The words may also be translated, *Nor did we determine to send down such executioners of our justice.*"—Sale.

(33) See note on chap. xxix. 18, and references at chap. xxxv. 10.

(38) *The sun hasteneth to his place of rest.* "That is, he hasteneth to run his daily course; the setting of the sun resembling a traveller's going to rest. Some copies vary in this place, and instead of *limustagarrin laha*, read *la mustagarra laha*; according to which the sentence should be rendered, 'The sun runneth *his* course without ceasing, and hath not a place of rest.'"—Sale. But compare chap. xviii. 84.

(39) *Certain mansions*, viz., "these are twenty-eight constellations, through one of which the moon passes every night, thence called the

until she *change and return to be* like the old branch of a palm-tree. (40) It is not expedient that the sun should overtake the moon *in her course*, neither doth the night outstrip the day, but each of *these luminaries* moveth in a *peculiar* orbit. (41) *It is* a sign also unto them that they carry their offspring in the ship filled *with merchandise*; (42) and that we have made for them *other conveniences* like unto it, whereon they ride. (43) If we please, we drown them, and *there is* none to help them; neither are they delivered, (44) unless through our mercy, and that they may enjoy *life* for a season. (45) When it is said unto them, Fear that which is before you and that which is behind you, that ye may obtain mercy; *they withdraw from thee*; (46) and thou dost not bring them one sign of the signs of their LORD, but they turn aside from the same. (47) And when it is said unto them, Give alms of that which GOD has bestowed on you, the unbelievers say unto those who believe, *by way of mockery*, Shall we feed him whom GOD can feed if he pleaseth? Verily ye *are* in no other than a manifest error. (48) And they say, When

mansions or houses of the moon."—Sale. See also Prelim Disc., p. 59.

Like the old branch, &c. "For when a palm branch grows old, it shrinks, and becomes crooked and yellow, not ill representing the appearance of the new moon."—Sale.

(41) *The ship filled.* "Some suppose that the deliverance of Noah and his companions in the ark is here intended; and then the words should be translated, 'That we carried their progeny in the ark filled with living creatures.'"—Sale.

Rodwell translates, "We bare their posterity in the full-laden ark." The allusion to the ark of Noah, however, is very doubtful. It is much more natural to refer it to ordinary ships.

(42) *Whereon they ride.* "As camels, which are the *land-ships*, or lesser vessels and boats."—Sale.

It is better to understand vessels used for purposes of travel, as distinguished from those devoted to carrying merchandise only.

(45) *Fear that which is before you, &c., i.e.,* "the punishment of this world and of the next."—Sale.

(47) *If he pleaseth.* "When the poor Muslims asked alms of the richer Quraish, they told them that if God could provide for them, as they imagined, and did not, it was an argument that they deserved not his favour as well as themselves; whereas God permits some to be in want to try the rich and exercise their charity."—Sale.

will this promise *of the resurrection be fulfilled*, if ye speak truth? (49) They only wait for one sounding *of the trumpet*, which shall overtake them while they are disputing together; (50) and they shall not *have time to make any disposition of their effects*, neither shall they return to their family.

|| (51) And the trumpet shall be sounded *again*; and R $\frac{4}{3}$. behold they shall come forth from *their graves*, and hasten unto their LORD. (52) They shall say, Alas for us! who hath awakened us from our bed? This is what the Merciful promised *us*; and *his* apostles spoke the truth. (53) It shall be but one sound *of the trumpet*, and behold they *shall be* all assembled before us. (54) On this day no soul shall be unjustly treated in the least; neither shall ye be rewarded but according to what ye shall have wrought. (55) On this day the inhabitants of Paradise shall be wholly taken up with joy: (56) they and their wives *shall rest* in shady groves, leaning on magnificent couches. (57) There shall they have fruit, and they shall obtain whatever they shall desire. (58) Peace *shall be* the word spoken *unto the righteous* by a merciful LORD; (59) but *he shall say unto the wicked*, Be ye separated this day, O ye wicked, *from the righteous*. (60) Did I not command you, O sons of Adam, that ye should not worship Satan, because he *was* an open enemy unto you? (61) And *did I not say*, Worship me; this *is* the right way? (62) But

(49-51) On the two soundings of the resurrection trumpet, see Prelim. Disc., pp. 135, 136, and notes on chap. xxxix. 68.

(52) *Who hath awakened us?* "For they shall sleep during the interval between the two blasts of the trumpet, and shall feel no pain."—Sale.

For the state of the souls and bodies of the dead between death and the resurrection, see Prelim. Disc., p. 127 *seq.*

His apostles spoke the truth, i.e., when they assured us that we should be raised from the dead, though we did not then believe them.

(56) *They and their wives*. See notes on chaps. iii. 196, iv. 123, and xiii. 23.

(57) See note on chap. iii. 15.

(60) See chap. vii. 28

now hath he seduced a great multitude of you : did ye not therefore understand ? (63) This is hell, with which ye were threatened : (64) be ye cast into the same this day to be burned, for that ye have been unbelievers. (65) On this day we will seal up their mouths, *that they shall not open them in their own defence* ; and their hands shall speak unto us, and their feet shall bear witness of that which they have committed. (66) If we pleased we could put out their eyes, and they might run with emulation in the way *they use to take* ; and how should they see *their error* ? (67) And if we pleased we could transform them *into other shapes*, in their places *when they should be found* ; and they should not be able to depart, neither should they repent.

R $\frac{5}{4}$ || (68) Unto whomsoever we grant a long life, him do we cause to bow down his body *through age*. Will they not therefore understand ? (69) We have not taught *Muhammad* the art of poetry ; nor is it expedient for him *to be a poet*. This *book* is no other than an admonition *from God*, and a perspicuous Qurán, (70) that he may warn him who is living ; and the sentence of *condemnation*

(63) *Hell*. See note on chap. ii. 38.

(65) *That which they have committed*. See Prelim. Disc., pp. 142, 143. The verse does not teach, as Brinckman supposes (*Notes on Islám*), that the wicked will not *speak* in the judgment, but that they shall be rendered speechless by the testimony of their own members. By their testimony their mouths shall be stopped. This conceit was borrowed from the Jews. See Rodwell *in loco*.

(67) *Neither should they repent*. "That is, they deserve to be thus treated for their infidelity and disobedience ; but we bear with them out of mercy, and grant them respite."—Sale.

(69) *We have not taught, &c.* "That is, in answer to the infidels, who pretended the Qurán was only a poetical composition."—Sale. See notes on chap. xxvi. pp. 224–228.

Nor is it expedient, i.e., for the reason that the Qurán might be attributed to his poetic genius, and not to inspiration (wahi) of God. See *Tafsir-i-Raufi*.

This book is . . . an admonition from God. See notes on chaps. iv. 162, 163, vi. 19, vii. 2, and xviii. 26.

(70) *Him who is living, i.e., "endued with understanding, the stupid and careless being like dead persons."*—Sale, *Baidhāwi*.

will be justly executed on the unbelievers. (71) Do they not consider that we have created for them, among the things which our hands have wrought, cattle of *several kinds*, of which they are possessors; (72) and that we have put the same in subjection under them? Some of them *are* for their riding, and on some of them do they feed; (73) and they receive *other* advantages therefrom and of *their milk* do they drink. Will they not, therefore, be thankful? (74) They have taken *other* gods besides GOD, *in hopes* that they may be assisted *by them*; (75) but they are not able to give them any assistance: yet *are* they a party of troops ready to *defend* them. (76) Let not their speech, therefore, grieve thee: we know that which they privately conceal, and that which they publicly discover. (77) Doth not man know that we have created him of seed? yet behold, he is an open disputer *against the resurrection*; (78) and he propoundeth unto us a comparison, and forgetteth his creation. He saith, Who shall restore bones to life when they are rotten? (79) Answer, He shall restore them to life who produced them the first time; for he is skilled in every *kind of* creation, (80) who giveth you fire out of the green tree, and behold, ye kindle *your fuel* from thence. (81) Is not he who hath created the heavens and the earth able to create *new creatures* like unto them? Yea, certainly; for he *is* the wise Creator. (82) His command, when he willeth a thing, *is* only that he saith unto it, *Be*; and it is. (83) Wherefore praise be

(71-78) Compare chap. xvi. 1-22.

(80) *Who giveth fire out of the green tree.* "The usual way of striking fire in the East is by rubbing together two pieces of wood, one of which is commonly of the tree called *markh*, and the other of that called *afâr*; and it will succeed even though the wood be green and wet."—Sale; Hyde, *de Rel. Vet. Pers.*, c. 25.

(82) *Be; and it is.* The Arabic of this famous passage is *kun fayakûna*. It is the watchword of the orthodox who believe in the eternity of the Qurân. Their argument is that God created the world by means of the word *Be*. If, therefore, this word were created, then one created thing would have created another! The Mutazilites, on the other hand, argued that if *Be* is eternal, then there are two

unto him in whose hand is the kingdom of all things, and unto whom ye shall return *at the last day*.

Eternals, which is surely a satisfactory reply to the orthodox dogma, which gains all its force from the consideration that the word *Be* is a thing possessing creative power, whereas, in fact, this power was God uttering this word—not in eternity, for then the worlds must have existed from eternity, but in time ; and therefore being, like the worlds, created, it is not itself eternal.

In addition to this argument against the eternity of the Qurán, the Mutazalites urge the following : “(1.) It is written in Arabic ; it descended, is read, is heard, and is written. It was the subject of a miracle ; it is divided into parts, and some verses are abrogated by others. (2.) Events are described in the past tense, but if the Qurán had been eternal the future tense would have been used. (3.) The Qurán contains commands and prohibitions ; if it is eternal, who were commanded and who were admonished ? (4.) If it has existed from eternity, it must exist to eternity ; and so even in the last day and in the next world men will be under the obligation of performing the same religious duties as they do now, and of keeping all the outward precepts of the law.”—Sell’s *Faith of Islám*, pp. 136, 137.

There can be no doubt that the Mutazilites, as against the orthodox, were right on this point. The above is especially interesting in the light of the fact that in India some of the most enlightened Muslims avow themselves to be Mutazilites, and therefore we may hope that they are prepared to subject the Qurán, like other books, to criticism.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

ENTITLED SURAT US SÁFÁT (THE RANKS).

Revealed at Makkah.

INTRODUCTION.

THIS chapter owes its title to the statement with which it begins. In matter and style it does not differ much from other chapters belonging to the earlier stages of Muhammad's mission. Like the earliest chapters, it begins with a number of oaths, as though violent assertion would sufficiently attest the prophetic character of the Qurán and its author in the absence of the ordinary signs of prophecy and inspiration.

The principal object of the revelations of this chapter, as in chap. xi., is to establish the claims of Muhammad to be a prophet of God, and to convince the people of Makkah of the folly of idolatry and the need of receiving the one true God as the sole object of their worship. Muhammad likens himself to the former prophets, whose history he relates as a warning to his townsmen. The former prophets had preached against idols and endeavoured to lead their people to believe in the true God, but they had been rejected as impostors by an unbelieving people, who were destroyed by divine judgments on account of their infidelity, while the prophets were blessed and their names were made honourable to the latest posterity. These narratives seem to have been given in answer to the demand of the unbelievers at Makkah (compare ver. 69 with 165).

As observed in regard to the preceding chapter, the great subjects of dispute were the doctrines of the resurrection and the final judgment. The possibility of the resurrection is established by Muhammad on the ground that an Almighty Creator can surely re-create. He who is the Author of life and being can give life to the dead.

Probable Date of the Revelations.

All authorities agree that this chapter, in its entirety, is Makkan. Noëldke shows that it is connected in all its parts, and therefore may be regarded as a complete discourse. We have no data wherewith to determine the date of this chapter beyond what may be gathered from its style and contents. The opening words are in the style of the earliest chapters. The matter is that of simple discourse, no violent opposition on the part of the Prophet's hearers is apparent. The spirit of the discourse points to a time when Muhammad's preaching was met by a stolid and contemptuous opposition on the part of his hearers (see vers. 11-15 and 34, 35), which time would be about the end of the third stage, or say the fourth year of Muhammad's mission (B.H. 9).

Principal Subjects.

	VERSES
The Prophet swears that God is one	1-5
The devils not permitted to hear the discourse of heaven . .	6-10
The audacity of the Makkan infidels	11, 12
They scoff at the Qurán as the product of sorcery	13-15
They reject the doctrine of the resurrection	16, 17
The despair of the infidels on the judgment-day	18-21
Idolaters and their idols and gods to be called to account .	22-24
They will dispute among themselves and reproach one another	25-29
They shall all be punished in hell	30-33
Makkan idolaters call their Prophet "a distracted poet" .	34, 35
Muhammad protests his prophetic character and threatens the infidels	36-38
Reward of believers in Paradise	39-47
Believers shall look down from heaven upon their infidel acquaintance in hell	48-53
The righteous attribute their salvation to the grace of God .	54, 55
They rejoice in life eternal	56-59
The tree at Zaqqúm described	60-62
The awful portion of the damned	63-66
Makkan infidels follow in the footsteps of their fathers .	67-72
<i>The story of Noah—</i>	
Noah calls on God in his distress	73
He and his family are delivered	74
His name to be revered by posterity	75-79
The unbelievers are drowned	80

VERSES

The story of Abraham—

Abraham a follower of Noah's religion	81, 82
He reproaches his father and neighbours for their idolatry	83-85
He excuses himself from attending the idolatrous rites of his townsmen	86-88
He first mocks the idols and then breaks them in pieces	90-91
God delivers him from the fire	95, 96
God tries the faith of Abraham	97-107
His name to be revered by posterity	108-111
He receives Isaac by promise, who is blessed with him	112, 113

The story of Moses and Aaron—

God delivers them and their people from great distress	114, 115
They conquer the Egyptians	116
God gives them the Book of the Law (Fourth)	117, 118
Their names to be revered by posterity	119-122

The story of Elias—

He is sent a prophet to his people	123
He preaches against idolatry	124-126
They accuse him of imposture	127
The infidels to be punished	128
His name to be revered by posterity	129-132

The story of Lot—

God delivers him and his family, except his wife	133-135
The rest of his people are destroyed	136
The Makkani infidels warned by the example of the Sodomites	137, 138

The story of Jonas—

He is sent as a prophet and flees to a ship	139, 140
He is swallowed by a fish for his sin	141-144
He is cast on the shore and shaded by a gourd	145, 146
He is sent to a multitude who believe	147, 148
The Makkans are rebuked for attributing offspring to God	149-160
The reprobate only will be seduced by idolatry	161-163
Muslims worship God, arranging themselves in ranks	164-166
Infidels excuse their unbelief in vain	167-170
Former apostles were assisted against the infidels	171-173
The Prophet exhorted to await divine vengeance on unbelievers	174-179
Praise be to God and peace on his apostles	180-182

SIXTH
MUNZIL.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

R $\frac{1}{5}$.

|| (1) By *the angels* who rank themselves in order, (2) and by those who drive forward and dispel *the clouds*, (3) and by those who read *the Qur'ân* for an admonition, (4) verily your GOD is one, (5) the LORD of heaven and earth, and of whatever *is* between them, and the LORD of the east. (6) We have adorned the lower heaven with the ornament of the stars, (7) and *we have placed therein* a guard against every rebellious devil, (8) that they may not listen to *the discourse of* the exalted princes, (9) (for they are darted at from every side to repel *them*, and a lasting torment *is prepared* for them), (10) except him who catcheth a word by stealth, and is pursued by a shining flame. (11) Ask *the Makkans*, therefore, whether they *be* stronger by nature, or *the angels* whom we have

(1, 2) *Who rank themselves.* "Some understand by these words the *souls of men* who range themselves in obedience to God's laws, and put away from them all infidelity and corrupt doings; or the *souls* of those who *rank themselves* in battle array to fight for the true religion, and *push on* their horses to charge the infidels," &c.—Sale, *Baidhâwi*.

The reference is probably to *the Muslims*, and not to angels, as in Sale. See ver. 165.

Rodwell translates freely thus:—"By the angels ranged in order for songs of praise, and by those who repel demons." The idea of "songs of praise" is, however, far from Islâm. The idea of the commentators is that the angels rank themselves before the Almighty either to worship after the Muslim fashion or to be in readiness to perform his commandments.

Those who drive, or "who *put in motion* all bodies in the upper and lower world, according to the divine command, or who *keep off* men from disobedience to God by inspiring them with good thoughts and inclinations, or who drive away the devils from them," &c.—Sale, *Baidhâwi*.

(5) *The Lord of the East.* "The original word, being in the plural number, is supposed to signify the different points of the horizon from whence the sun rises in the course of the year, which are in number 360 (equal to the number of days in the old civil year), and have as many corresponding points where it successively sets during that space. Marracci groundlessly imagines this interpretation to be built on the error of the plurality of worlds."—Sale, *Baidhâwi*.

(6-10) See notes on chap. xv. 17, 18

created? We have surely created them of stiff clay. (12) Thou wonderest at *God's power and their obstinacy*; but they mock at the arguments urged to convince them: (13) when they are warned, they do not take warning; (14) and when they see any sign, they scoff *thereat*, (15) and say, This is no other than manifest sorcery; (16) after we shall be dead, and become dust and bones, shall we really be raised to life? (17) and our forefathers also? (18) Answer, Yea: and ye *shall then be* despicable. (19) There shall be but one blast of the trumpet, and they shall see *themselves raised*: (20) and they shall say, Alas for us! this is the day of judgment; (21) this is the day of distinction *between the righteous and the wicked*, which ye rejected as a falsehood.

|| (22) Gather together those who have acted unjustly, R 6
and their comrades, and the *idols* which they worshipped, (23) besides GOD, and direct them in the way to hell; (24) and set them *before God's tribunal*; for they *shall be* called to account.

|| (25) What aileth you that ye defend not one another? RUBA.
(26) But on this day they shall submit themselves to the judgment of God; (27) and they shall draw nigh unto one another, and shall dispute among themselves. (28) *And the seduced* shall say unto those who seduced them, Verily ye came unto us with presages of prosperity; (29) *and the seducers* shall answer, Nay, rather ye were not true believers: for we had no power over you to *compel you*; but ye were people who *voluntarily* transgressed: (30) wherefore the sentence of our LORD hath been justly pronounced against us, *and we shall surely taste his vengeance*. (31) We seduced you; *but* we also erred ourselves. (32)

(11) *Stiff clay, i.e.*, man's weakness is witnessed to by the material of which he is made.

(16-21) Compare chap. xxxvi. 51-53, where see notes.

(28) *Presages of prosperity*, literally, "from the right hand." The words may also be rendered, 'with force,' to compel us, or 'with an oath,' swearing that ye were in the right."—Sale.

See note on chap. x. 29.

They *shall both* therefore *be* made partakers of the same punishment on that day. (33) Thus will we deal with the wicked: (34) because, when it is said unto them, There is no god besides *the true* God, they swell with arrogance, (35) and say, Shall we abandon our gods for a distracted poet? (36) Nay; he cometh with the truth, and beareth witness to the *former* apostles. (37) Ye shall surely taste the painful torment *of hell*; (38) and ye shall not be rewarded, but according to your works. (39) But *as for* the sincere servants of God, (40) they shall have a certain provision *in Paradise, namely, delicious* fruits; (41) and they *shall be* honoured: (42) *they shall be placed* in gardens of pleasure, (43) *leaning* on couches, opposite to one another: (44) a cup shall be carried round unto them, (45) *filled* from a limpid fountain, for the delight of those who drink: (46) it shall not oppress the understanding, neither shall they be inebriated therewith. (47) And near them *shall lie the virgins of Paradise*, refraining their looks *from beholding any besides their spouses*, having large black eyes, *and* resembling the eggs *of an ostrich* covered *with feathers from the dust*. (48) And they shall turn the one unto the other, and shall ask one another questions. (49) And one of them shall say, Verily I had an intimate friend *while I lived in the world*, (50) who said *unto me*, Art thou one of those who assertest the truth *of the resurrection*? (51) After we shall be dead, and reduced to dust and bones, shall we surely be judged? (52) Then he shall say *to his companions*, Will ye look down? (53) And he shall look down, and shall see him in the midst of hell: (54) *and* he shall say *unto him*, By God, it wanted little but thou hadst drawn me into ruin:

(35) See note on chap. xxxvi. 69.

(36) See note on chap. ii. 90.

(39-48) See notes on chaps. iii. 15, 196, iv. 123, and xiii. 23.

(47) *Resembling the eggs*. "This may seem an odd comparison to an European; but the Orientals think nothing comes so near the colour of a fine woman's skin as that of an ostrich's egg when kept perfectly clean."—*Salé*.

(55) and *had it not been* for the grace of my LORD, I had surely been *one* of those who have been delivered up to *eternal torment*. (56) Shall we die any other than our first death; (57) or do we suffer any punishment? (58) Verily this is great felicity: (59) for *the obtaining* a *felicity* like this let the labourers labour. (60) Is this a better entertainment, or the tree of al Zaqqûm? (61) Verily we have designed the same for an occasion of dispute unto the unjust. (62) It is a tree which issueth from the bottom of hell: (63) the fruit thereof resembleth the heads of devils; (64) and *the damned* shall eat of the same, and shall fill *their* bellies therewith; (65) and *there shall be given* them thereon a mixture of filthy and boiling water to drink; (66) afterwards shall they return into hell. (67) They found their fathers going astray, (68) and they trod hastily in their footsteps; (69) for the greater part of the ancients erred before them. (70) And we sent warners unto them heretofore: (71) and see how *miserable* was the end of those who were warned, (72) except the sincere servants of GOD. (73) Noah called on us in former days, and we heard him graciously;

|| (74) And we delivered him and his family out of the great distress, (75) and we caused his offspring *to be* those who survived *to people the earth*; (76) and we left *the following salutation to be bestowed* on him by the latest pos-

(60) *Al Zaqqûm*. "There is a thorny tree so called which grows in Tahâma, and bears fruit like an almond, but extremely bitter; and therefore the same name is given to this infernal tree."—*Sale*.

See also note on chap. xvii. 62 and vers. 62, 63, below.

(61) *An occasion of dispute*. "The infidels not conceiving how a tree could grow in hell, where the stones themselves serve for fuel."—*Sale*.

(63) *Heads of devils*, or, "of serpents to behold; the original word signifies both."—*Sale*.

(65) See notes on chap. ii. 38 and iii. 197.

(66) "Some suppose that the entertainment above mentioned will be the welcome given to the damned before they enter that place; and others, that they will be suffered to come out of hell from time to time to drink their scalding liquor."—*Sale*.

(73-80) See notes on chaps. vii. 60-65 and xi. 29-49.

terity, (77) *namely*, Peace be on Noah among all creatures ! (78) Thus do we reward the righteous, (79) for he *was* one of our servants the true believers. (80) Afterwards we drowned the others. (81) Abraham also *was* of his religion, (82) when he came unto his LORD with a perfect heart. (83) When he said unto his father and his people, What do ye worship ? (84) Do ye choose false gods preferably to *the true* GOD ? (85) What, therefore, *is* your opinion of the LORD of all creatures ? (86) And he looked and observed the stars (87) and said, Verily, I *shall be* sick, *and shall not assist at your sacrifices* ; (88) and they turned their backs and departed from him. (89) And *Abraham* went privately to their gods and said *scoffingly unto them*, Do ye not eat of the meat which is set before you ? (90) What aileth you that ye speak not ? (91) And he turned upon them, and struck *them* with his right hand, *and demolished them*. (92) And *the people* came hastily unto him, (93) *and* he said, Do ye worship the *images* which ye carve ? (94) whereas GOD hath created you, and also that which ye make. (95) They said, Build a pile for him, and cast him into the glowing fire. (96) And they devised a plot against him, but we made them the inferior *and delivered him*. (97) And *Abraham* said, Verily I *am* going unto my LORD, who will direct me. (98) O LORD, grant me a righteous *issue*. (99) Wherefore we acquainted him *that he should have a son, who should be* a meek youth. (100) And when he had attained to

(81-96) See notes on chaps. vi. 75-84 and xxi. 52-73.

(81) *Was of his religion*. "For Noah and he agreed in the fundamental points both of faith and practice, though the space between them was no less than 2640 years."—Sale, *Baidhāwi*.

(87) *I shall be sick*. "He made as if he gathered so much from the aspect of the heavens (the people being greatly addicted to the superstitions of astrology), and made it his excuse for being absent from their festival to which they had invited him."—Sale.

(88) *Turned their backs, &c.* "Fearing he had some contagious distemper."—Sale.

(99) *A meek youth*. The Qurān does not specify which of the sons of Abraham was laid on the altar as a sacrifice, but I think Ismā'il

years of discretion, and could join in acts of religion with him, (101) *Abraham* said unto him, O my son, verily I saw in a dream that I should offer thee in sacrifice, consider therefore what thou art of opinion *I should do*. (102) He answered, O my father, do what thou art commanded; thou shalt find me, if God please, a patient person. (103) And when they had submitted themselves to the divine will, and *Abraham* had laid his son prostrate on his face, (104) we cried unto him, O *Abraham*, (105) now hast thou verified the vision. Thus do we reward the righteous. (106) Verily this was a manifest trial. (107) And we ransomed him with a noble victim. (108) And we left

is clearly implied, seeing that the promise of Isaac, according to ver. 112 below, was given *after* the trial of *Abraham's* faith.

(100) *Years of discretion*. "He was then thirteen years old."—*Salé, Baidhāwī*.

(101) *Verily I saw in a dream, &c.* "The commentators say that *Abraham* was ordered in a vision, which he saw on the eighth night of the month *Dhul Hajja*, to sacrifice his son; and to assure him that this was not from the devil, as he was inclined to suspect, the same vision was repeated a second time the next night, when he *knew* it to be from God, and also a third time the night following, when he resolved to obey it and to sacrifice his son; and hence some think the eighth, ninth, and tenth days of *Dhul Hajja* are called *yom al tarwīya*, *yom 'arafat* and *yom al nahr*, that is, 'the day of the vision,' 'the day of knowledge,' and 'the day of the sacrifice.'

"It is the most received opinion among the Muhammadans that the son whom *Abraham* offered was *Ismā'il*, and not *Isaac*, *Ismā'il* being his only son at that time, for the promise of *Isaac's* birth is mentioned lower, as subsequent in time to this transaction. They also allege the testimony of their Prophet, who is reported to have said, 'I am the son of the two who were offered in sacrifice,' meaning his great ancestor *Ismā'il*, and his own father *Abdullah*; for *Abd al Mutallib* had made a vow that if God would permit him to find out and open the well *Zamzam*, and should give him ten sons, he would sacrifice one of them. Accordingly, when he had obtained his desire in both respects, he cast lots on his sons, and the lot falling on *Abdullah*, he redeemed him by offering a hundred camels, which was therefore ordered to be the price of a man's blood in the *Sunnat*."—*Salé, Baidhāwī, Jalāluddīn*.

(103) *Prostrate on his face*. "The commentators add that *Abraham* went so far as to draw the knife with all his strength across the lad's throat, but was miraculously hindered from hurting him."—*Salé, Baidhāwī, Jalāluddīn*.

(107) *We ransomed him*. The idea of a vicarious offering is here

the following salutation to be bestowed on him by the latest posterity, (109) namely, Peace be on Abraham! (110) Thus do we reward the righteous, (111) for he was one of our faithful servants. (112) And we rejoiced him with the promise of Isaac, a righteous prophet; (113) and we blessed him and Isaac; and of their offspring were some righteous doers, and others who manifestly injured their own souls.

R $\frac{4}{8}$. || (114) We were also gracious unto Moses and Aaron heretofore, (115) and we delivered them and their people from a great distress. (116) And we assisted them *against the Egyptians*, and they became the conquerors. (117) And we gave them the perspicuous book *of the law*, (118) and we directed them into the right way, (119) and we left *the following salutation to be bestowed on them by the latest posterity, (120) namely, Peace be on Moses and Aaron! (121) Thus do we reward the righteous, (122) for they were two of our faithful servants. (123) And Elias was also one of those who were sent by us. (124) When*

clearly recognised as belonging to the religion of Abraham. On Muhammad's use of such language see note on chap. iii. 194.

A noble victim. "The epithet of *great* or *noble* is here added, either because it was large and fat, or because it was accepted as the ransom of a prophet. Some suppose this victim was a ram, and, if we may believe a common tradition, the very same which Abel sacrificed, having been brought to Abraham out of Paradise; others fancy it was a wild goat, which came down from Mount Thabîr, near Makkah; for the Muhammadans lay the scene of this transaction in the valley of Mina; as a proof of which they tell us that the horns of the victim were hung up on the spout of the Kaabah, where they remained till they were burnt, together with that building, in the days of Abdullah Ibn Zubair; though others assure us that they had been before taken down by Muhammad himself, to remove all occasion of idolatry."—Sale, *Jalâluddîn*.

(114-122) See notes on chaps. vii. 104-172, x. 76-90, xx. 8-98, xxvi. 9-68, and xxviii. 1-43.

(123) *Elias*. "This prophet the Muhammadans generally suppose to be the same with al Khidhr, and confound him with Phineas (chap. xviii. 64), and sometimes with Idris or Enoch. Some say he was the son of Yâsin, and nearly related to Aaron, and others suppose him to have been a different person. He was sent to the inhabitants of Baalbec, in Syria, the Heliopolis of the Greeks, to reclaim them from the worship of their idol Baal, or the sun, whose name makes

he said unto his people, Do ye not fear *God*? (125) Do ye invoke Baal and forsake the most excellent Creator? (126) *GOD is your LORD* and the LORD of your forefathers. (127) But they accused him of imposture, (128) wherefore they shall be delivered up *to eternal punishment*, except the sincere servants of GOD. (129) And we left *the following salutation to be bestowed* on him by the latest posterity, (130) *namely, Peace be on Ilyásin!* (131) Thus do we reward the righteous, (132) for he *was one* of our faithful servants. (133) And Lot *was also one* of those who were sent *by us*. (134) When we delivered him and his whole family, (135) except an old woman, *his wife, who perished* among those that remained behind; (136) afterwards we destroyed the others. (137) And ye, *O people of Makkah*, pass by *the places where they once dwelt*, as ye journey in the morning (138) and by night; will ye not therefore understand?

|| (139) Jonas *was also one* of those who were sent *by us*. R⁵.
(140) When he fled into the loaded ship, (141) and *those who were on board* cast lots among themselves, and he

part of that of the city which was anciently called Becc.”—Sale, *Jaláluddín, Baidháwí*.

(127) This is a charge which was constantly brought against Muhammad by his townsmen. See notes on chaps. iii. 185 and vi. 48.

(130) *Ilyásin*. “The commentators do not well know what to make of this word. Some think it is the plural of Elias, or, as the Arabs write it, Ilyás, and that both that prophet and his followers, or those who resembled him, are meant thereby; others divide the word, and read *ál Yásín*, i.e., ‘the family of Yásín,’ who was the father of Elias, according to an opinion mentioned above; and others imagine it signifies Muhammad, or the Qurán, or some other book of Scripture. But the most probable conjecture is that Ilyás or Ilyásin are the same name, or design one and the same person, as Sinai or Sinin denote one and the same mountain, the last syllable being added here to keep up the rhyme or cadence at the close of the verse.”—Sale.

(133–136) See notes on chaps. vii. 81–85 and xi. 74–82.

(135) *Those that remained behind*. Muhammad does not seem to have known that Lot’s wife left Sodom before her destruction.

(139–148) See notes on chaps. x. 98 and xxi. 87, 88.

(141) *Cast lots*. “Al Baidháwí says the ship stood stock-still;

was condemned: (142) and the fish swallowed him; for he was worthy of reprehension. (143) And if he had not been *one* of those who praised God; (144) verily he had remained in the belly thereof until the day of resurrection.

NISF. || (145) And we cast him on the naked *shore*, and he *was* sick; (146) and we caused a plant of a gourd to grow up over him; (147) and we sent him to an hundred thousand *persons*, or they were a greater number, (148) and they believed: wherefore we granted them to enjoy *this life* for a season. (149) Inquire of the *Makkans* whether thy LORD hath daughters, and thy sons. (150) Have we created the angels of the female sex? and *were*

wherefore they concluded that they had a fugitive servant on board, and cast lots to find him out."—*Sale*.

Condemned, i.e., "he was taken by the lot."—*Sale*.

(142) "When the lot fell on Jonas he cried out, 'I am the fugitive!' and immediately threw himself into the sea."—*Sale, Jalāl-uddīn. Comp. Jonah i. 11-17.*

(143) *Who praised God.* "The words seem to relate particularly to Jona's supplication while in the whale's belly (Jonah chap. ii.)"—*Sale*.

(145) *He was sick.* "By reason of what he had suffered, his body becoming like that of a new-born child. It is said that the fish, after it had swallowed Jonas, swam after the ship with its head above water, that the prophet might breathe, who continued to praise God till the fish came to land and vomited him out.

"The opinions of the Muhammadan writers as to the time Jonas continued in the fish's belly differ very much; some suppose it was a part of a day, others three days, others seven, others twenty, and others forty."—*Sale, Jalāl-uddīn, Baidhāwī.*

(146) *A gourd.* "The original word properly signifies a plant which spreads itself upon the ground, having no erect stalk or stem to support it, and particularly a *gourd*; though some imagine Jonas's plant to have been a fig, and others the small tree or shrub called *Mauz*, which bears very large leaves and excellent fruit. The commentators add, that this plant withered the next morning, and that Jonas being much concerned at it, God made a remonstrance to him on behalf of the Ninevites, agreeable to what is recorded in Scripture."—*Sale, Baidhāwī.*

This account of Jonah, so meagre and so indefinite in statement, illustrates the manner in which Muhammad acquired his knowledge of Jewish history, and also how he incorporated such materials in the body of his Qurán. Is it possible for him to have been unconscious of any deception in this work?

(149) See Prelim. Disc., p. 38 *seq.*, and notes on chap. iv. 116.

they witnesses *thereof*? (151) Do they not say of their own false invention, (152) GOD hath begotten *issue*? and are they not really liars? (153) Hath he chosen daughters preferably to sons? (154) Ye have no *reason* to judge thus. (155) Will ye therefore not be admonished? (156) Or have ye a manifest proof of *what ye say*? (157) Produce now your book of *revelations*, if ye speak truth. (158) And they make him to be of kin unto the *genii*; whereas the *genii* know that they *who affirm such things* shall be delivered up to *eternal punishment*; (159) (far be that from GOD which they affirm of him!), (160) except the sincere servants of GOD. (161) Moreover, ye and that which ye worship (162) shall not seduce *any* concerning *God*, (163) except him who *is destined* to be burned in hell. (164) There *is* none of us but hath an appointed place: (165) we range ourselves in order, *attending the commands of God*; (166) and we celebrate *the divine praise*. (167) *The infidels* said, (168) If we had been favoured with a book of divine revelations, of *those which were delivered to the ancients*, (169) we had surely been sincere servants of GOD! (170) yet *now the Qurán is revealed*, they believe not therein; but hereafter shall they

(152) See note on chap. ii. 116.

(158) *The genii*. "That is, the angels, who are also comprehended under the name of *genii*, being a species of them. Some say that the infidels went so far as to assert that God and the devil were brothers, which blasphemous expression may have been occasioned by the *Magian* notions."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*. See also note on chap. vi. 101.

(163) See note on chap. vii. 179, 180.

(164–166) "These words are supposed to be spoken by the angels, disclaiming the worship paid to them by the idolaters, and declaring that they have each their station and office appointed them by God, whose commands they are at all times ready to execute, and whose praises they continually sing. There are some expositors, however, who think they are the words of Muhammad and his followers; the meaning being, that each of them has a place destined for him in Paradise, and that they are the men who range themselves in order before God to worship and pray to him, and who celebrate his praise by rejecting every false notion derogatory to the divine wisdom and power."—Sale.

This last is by far the best interpretation.

know *the consequence of their unbelief*. (171) Our word hath formerly been given unto our servants the apostles; (172) that they shall certainly be assisted *against the infidels*, (173) and that our armies should surely be the conquerors. (174) Turn aside therefore from them for a season, (175) and see *the calamities which shall afflict them*; for they shall see *thy future success and prosperity*. (176) Do they therefore seek to hasten our vengeance? (177) Verily when it shall descend into their courts, an evil morning *shall it be* unto those who were warned *in vain*. (178) Turn aside from them therefore for a season, (179) and see: hereafter shall they see *thy success and their punishment*. (180) Praise be unto thy LORD, the LORD who is far exalted above what they affirm *of him*! (181) And peace *be* on *his* apostles! (182) And praise *be* unto God, the LORD of all creatures!

(173) These words are applied by some of the commentators to the success of Islām in its struggle with idolatry and infidelity. Others regard it as a prophecy of the fall of Makkah. See *Tafsir-i-Raafi, in loco*. The passage looks like a Madīna revelation, some declaring that the words of ver. 177 were uttered by Muhammad on his appearing before Khaibar. The best authorities, however, regard it as Makkan. The passage therefore expresses the strong confidence of Muhammad in the triumph of his cause, based upon the success of all the former prophets.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

ENTITLED SURAT AL SWÁD (S.)

Revealed at Makkah.

INTRODUCTION.

THIS chapter owes its title to the letter of the Arabic alphabet with which it begins. It seems to have been written while the storm was brewing which resulted in the Muslims being shut up in the *Sheb* of Abu Tálib. The drift of the earlier verses, as well as that of the stories related (vers. 16-48), points to a decided conflict between the Muslims and their enemies. The title *confederates*, applied to the latter, leaves no doubt that the confederation of the Quraish against the Háshimites is referred to. The stories related here are puerile in the extreme. They do not encourage a belief in Muhammad's prophetic claim. They seem to be connected with the first verses of the chapter, and were probably intended to encourage the Muslims under persecution and trial. If so, we must suppose Muhammad to have looked upon his adverse circumstances as a chastisement and a trial of his faith—a chastisement, however, from which he confidently expected to be delivered.

The allusion to the Book of Psalms in ver. 28 shows that Muhammad recognised that portion of the Old Testament Scriptures as the Word of God.

Here, as elsewhere (chaps. vi., xi., xxi., &c.), we find Muhammad likening himself to the former prophets. Confederates had arrayed themselves against them, as the Quraish had confederated against him. They had been defeated and destroyed, and in like manner these should taste the Divine vengeance (vers. 10-15).

In ver. 70 we have a remarkable claim of Muhammad to inspiration, based upon the fact that he relates the story of the fall of Iblis. This story, he says, he received by revelation from God, and is a proof of his inspiration, because it would not have been revealed to

him but for the fact that he was a prophet ! Now, who can doubt that he learned the story from Jewish informants, either directly or indirectly ? If so, how reconcile the language of vers. 69, 70, with the sincerity and honesty claimed for him by his Christian apologists ?

Probable Date of the Revelations.

That this chapter is Makkan in its origin is evident from the style of its language, from the attitude the Prophet and his townsmen manifest throughout, and from the general opinion of Muslim commentators. It is true Jaláluddín as Syuti (*Itqân*, 27) mentions a commentator who held the opinion that it was Madínic ; but for such a view no good reason can be given. Noëldeke regards the whole chapter, as far as ver. 67, as connected, but thinks vers. 67-88 to be in no way connected with what precedes them. According to tradition, vers. 1-10 were revealed at the time when the Quraish endeavoured to persuade Abú Tálíb to no longer give Muhammad his protection. This would be A.D. 615, or B.H. 8. Other traditions refer these verses, or at least ver. 5, to the time when Abú Tálíb was on his deathbed (A.D. 620, or B.H. 3). But all these traditions are no more than so many inferences from the first part of ver. 5. Muir, following the latter tradition, assigns this chapter to the fifth stage of Muhammad's mission, *i.e.*, A.D. 620-622. I think the mildness of the opposition and persecution apparent in this chapter, coupled with the general style of composition—notably the crudity of the stories narrated (vers. 16-48), the description of heaven and hell (vers. 49 *seq.*), the titles “warner” and “public preacher,” applied to the Prophet (vers. 3 and 70), point to the earlier date given above.

Principal Subjects.

	VERSES
Unbelievers are addicted to pride and contention	1
They are unmoved by the fate of former infidels	2
They wonder at their warner, and call him a sorcerer and a liar	3
The Divine unity is denied by the infidels as a marvellous error	4-6
The confederates are challenged	7-9
Former bands of confederate infidels destroyed	10-13
Judgment impending over the scoffers of Makkah	14, 15
<i>The story of David—</i>	
He was a true believer	16
Mountains and birds joined him in praising God	17, 18
He is endowed with a kingdom, wisdom, &c.	19

	VERSES
He is rebuked by the two adversaries	20-23
David repents his fault and is forgiven	23, 24
He is exhorted to judge righteously	25-27
He receives the Book of Psalms	28
<i>The story of Solomon—</i>	
He is a devout servant of God	29
Reviewing his horses, he forgets his prayers	30, 31
He slays the horses to atone for his neglect	32
The trial of the counterfeit body	33, 34
The wind and the devils are made subject to Solomon	35-39
<i>The story of Job—</i>	
He cries to God in his calamity against Satan	40
God discovers fountains of water for his comfort	41
His family and property restored him double	42
He chastises his wife in fulfilment of his oath	43
He is patient and prayerful	43, 44
Other prophets commended as examples of piety	45-48
Paradise, its glories described	49-55
Hell, its miseries delineated	55-58
Idolaters and their leaders shall mutually reproach each other in hell	59-61
They shall not find the Muslims there	62-64
Muhammad enjoined to preach against idolatry	65-68
The story of the creation of Adam and the fall of Iblís revealed to Muhammad	69-74
Iblís refuses to worship Adam through pride	75-77
God curses Iblís, but respites him till the resurrection-day	78-82
Iblís declares to God he will seduce mankind, except the servants of God	83, 84
God declares his purpose to fill hell with Satan and his followers	85
Muhammad asks no reward for his services	86
The Qurán an admonition yet to be vindicated before unbelievers	87, 88

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

|| (1) S. By the Qurán full of admonition. Verily the R₁₀¹ unbelievers *are addicted* to pride and contention. (2)

(1) S. "The meaning of this letter is unknown ; some guess it stands for *Sidq*, i.e. *Truth*, or for *Sadqa*, i.e. *he* (viz., Muhammad)

How many generations have we destroyed before them ! and they cried *for mercy*, but it was not a time to escape. (3) They wonder that a warner from among themselves hath come unto them. And the unbelievers said, This *man* is a sorcerer *and* a liar : (4) doth he affirm the gods to be but one GOD ? Surely this is a wonderful thing. (5) And the chief men among them departed, *saying to one another*, Go, and persevere in the worship of your gods : verily this is the thing which is designed. (6) We have not heard *anything like* this in the last religion : this is no other than a false contrivance. (7) Hath an admonition been sent unto him *preferable to any other* among us ? Verily they are in a doubt concerning my admonition : but they have not yet tasted my vengeance. (8) Are the treasures of the mercy of thy LORD, the mighty, the munificent *God*, in their hands ? (9) Is the kingdom of the heavens and the earth, and of whatever is between them, in their possession ? *If it be so*, let them ascend by steps unto heaven. (10) *But* any army of the confederates shall even here be put to flight. (11) The people of Noah, and

speaketh the truth ; and others propose different conjectures, all equally uncertain."—Sale. See Prelim. Disc., pp. 100–102.

By the *Qurān*, &c. "Something must be understood to answer this oath, which the commentators variously supply."—Sale.

The *Tafsīr-i-Raūfī* says the answer is, "This word is not what the infidels think it to be."

(3) *A warner*. See notes on chap. ii. 119, iii. 184, and vi. 109.

A sorcerer and a liar. See notes on chaps. xxi. 3 and xxv. 5–9.

(5) *The chief men*. "On the conversion of Omar, the Quraish being greatly irritated, the most considerable of them went in a body to Abu Tālib to complain to him of his nephew Muhammad's proceedings ; but being confounded and put to silence by the Prophet's arguments, they left the assembly, and encouraged one another in their obstinacy."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*.

The thing . . . designed, viz. "to draw us from their worship."—Sale.

(6) *The last religion*, i.e., "in the religion which we received from our fathers ; or in the religion of Jesus, which was the last before the mission of Muhammad."—Sale.

(10) *Any army of the confederates*. The allusion may be to the confederacy of the Quraish against Muhammad and his followers. The *Tafsīr-i-Raūfī* regards the passage as prophetic of Muslim victory at Badr.

the tribe of Ad, and Pharaoh, the contriver of the stakes, (12) and *the tribe of Thamúd*, and the people of Lot, and the inhabitants of the wood *near Madian*, accused the *prophets* of imposture before them; these were the confederates *against the messengers of God*. (13) All of them did no other than accuse *their* apostles of falsehood: wherefore my vengeance hath been justly executed *upon them*.

|| (14) And these wait only for one sounding of the *R* $\frac{2}{11}$ trumpet, which there shall be no deferring. (15) And they *scoffingly* say, O LORD, hasten our sentence unto us, before the day of account. (16) Do thou patiently bear that which they utter, and remind *them* of our servant David, endued with strength; for he *was* one who seriously turned himself *unto God*. (17) We compelled the mountains to celebrate *our* praise with him, in the evening and at sunrise, (18) and also the birds, which gathered themselves together *unto him*: all of them returned frequently unto him *for this purpose*. (19) And we established his kingdom, and gave him wisdom and eloquence of speech. (20) Hath the story of the *two* adversaries come to *thy knowledge*? when they ascended over the wall into the upper apartment, (21) when they went in unto

(11) *Pharaoh, the contriver of stakes*. "For they say Pharaoh used to tie those he had a mind to punish by the hands and feet to four stakes fixed in the ground, and so tormented them. Some interpret the words, which may also be translated the *lord* or *master of the stakes*, figuratively, of the firm establishment of Pharaoh's kingdom, because the Arabs fix their tents with stakes; but they may possibly intend that prince's *obstinacy* and *hardness of heart*."—Sale, *Jalál-uddín, Baidháwí*.

(12) *Imposture*. See notes on chap. vii. 60 seq.: also introduction to chap. xi.

(16) *David, endued with strength*. "The commentators suppose that ability to undergo the frequent practice of religious exercises is here meant. They say David used to fast every other day, and to spend one-half of the night in prayer."—Sale.

(17, 18) See note on chap. xxi. 79.

(20) *The two adversaries*. "These were two angels, who came unto David in the shape of men, to demand judgment in the feigned controversy after mentioned. It is no other than Nathan's parable to David (2 Sam. xii.), a little disguised."—Sale.

David, and he was afraid of them. They said, Fear not: *we are two adversaries who have a controversy to be deceived.* The one of us hath wronged the other: wherefore judge between us with truth, and be not unjust; and direct us in the even way. (22) This my brother had ninety and nine sheep, and I had only one ewe; and he said, Give her me to keep; and he prevailed against me in the discourse *which we had together.* (23) David answered, Verily he hath wronged thee in demanding thine ewe *as an addition* to his own sheep; and many of them who are concerned together *in business* wrong one another, except those who believe and do that which is right; but how few are they! And David perceived that we had tried him *by this parable*, and he asked pardon of his LORD, and he fell down and bowed himself, and repented. (24) Wherefore we forgave him this *fault*; and he *shall be* admitted to approach near unto us, and *shall have* an excellent place of abode *in Paradise.* (25) O David, verily we have appointed thee a sovereign prince in the earth: judge therefore between men with truth; and follow not *thy own* lust, lest it cause thee to err from the way of GOD: for those who err from the way of GOD shall suffer a severe punishment, because they have forgotten the day of account.

R $\frac{3}{12}$ || (26) We have not created the heavens and the earth,

(21) *Fear not.* "Because they came suddenly upon him, on a day of privacy, when the doors were guarded, and no persons admitted to disturb his devotions. For David, they say, divided his time regularly, setting apart one day for the service of God, another day for rendering justice to his people, another day for preaching to them, and another day for his own affairs."—*Sale, Baidhāwi, &c.*

(23) "The crime of which David had been guilty, was the taking the wife of Uriah, and ordering her husband to be set in the front of the battle to be slain. Some suppose this story was told to serve as an admonition to Muhammad, who, it seems, was apt to covet what was another's."—*Sale.*

This piece of Jewish history is of a like character to the story of Jonah, given in the preceding chapter. See note on ver. 146.

(24) This verse is fatal to the Muslim theory that the prophets of God were sinless. See also note on chap. ii. 253.

and whatever is between them, in vain. This is the opinion of the unbelievers; but woe unto those who believe not, because of the fire of *hell*. (27) Shall we deal with those who believe and do good works as with those who act corruptly in the earth? Shall we deal with the pious as with the wicked? (28) A blessed book have we sent down unto thee, *O Muhammad*, that they may attentively meditate on the signs thereof, and that men of understanding may be warned. (29) And we gave unto David Solomon; how excellent a servant! for he frequently turned himself *unto God*. (30) When the horses standing on three feet, and touching the ground with the edge of the fourth foot, and swift in the course, were set in parade before him in the evening, he said, (31) Verily I have loved the love of *earthly* good above the remembrance of my LORD, and have spent the time in viewing these horses until the sun is hidden by the veil of night; (32) bring the horses back unto me. And when they were brought back, he began to cut off their legs and their necks. (33) We also tried Solomon, and placed on his throne a counterfeit body: afterwards he turned unto

(28) *A blessed book*. I agree with Noëldeke, who thinks these words are addressed to David. The *book* would therefore be the Psalms.

(30) *The horses, &c.* "Some say that Solomon brought these horses, being a thousand in number, from Damascus and Nisibis, which cities he had taken; others say that they were left him by his father, who took them from the Amalekites; while others, who prefer the marvellous, pretend that they came up out of the sea, and had wings. However, Solomon having one day a mind to view these horses, ordered them to be brought before him, and was so taken up with them that he spent the remainder of the day till after sunset in looking on them, by which means he neglected the prayer which ought to have been said at that time till it was too late; but when he perceived his omission, he was so greatly concerned at it, that ordering the horses to be brought back, he killed them all as an offering to God, except only a hundred of the best of them. But God made him ample amends for the loss of these horses, by giving him dominion over the winds."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*, *Zamakhsharī*, *Yahya*.

(33) *A counterfeit body*. "The most received exposition of this passage is taken from the following Talmudic fable. *Vide Talm. en Jacob*, Part ii., et *Yalkut in Lib. Reg.*, p. 182.

God, (34) *and* said, O LORD, forgive me, and give me a kingdom which may not be obtained by any after me; for thou *art* the giver of kingdoms. (35) And we made the wind subject to him; it ran gently at his command, whithersoever we directed. (36) And *we also put* the devils in subjection under him; and among them such as were every way skilled in building, and in diving for pearls; (37) and others *we delivered to him* bound in chains, saying, (38) This is our gift: therefore be bounteous, or be sparing unto whom thou shalt think fit, without rendering an account. (39) And he shall approach near unto us, and shall have an excellent abode in Paradise. (40) And remember our servant Job, when he cried unto his LORD,

“Solomon having taken Sidon and slain the king of that city, brought away his daughter Jiráda, who became his favourite; and because she ceased not to lament her father's loss, he ordered the devils to make an image of him for her consolation; which being done, and placed in her chamber, she and her maids worshipped it morning and evening, according to their custom. At length Solomon being informed of this idolatry which was practised under his roof by his vizir, Asaf, he broke the image, and having chastised the woman, went out into the desert, where he wept and made supplications to God, who did not think fit, however, to let his negligence pass without some correction. It was Solomon's custom, while he eased or washed himself, to intrust his signet, on which his kingdom depended, with a concubine of his named Amína; one day, therefore, when she had the ring in her custody, a devil named Sakhar came to her in the shape of Solomon, and received the ring from her, by virtue of which he became possessed of the kingdom, and sat on the throne in the shape which he had borrowed, making what alterations in the law he pleased. Solomon, in the meantime, being changed in his outward appearance, and known to none of his subjects, was obliged to wander about and beg alms for his subsistence; till at length, after the space of forty days, which was the time the image had been worshipped in his house, the devil flew away, and threw the signet into the sea: the signet was immediately swallowed by a fish, which being taken and given to Solomon, he found the ring in its belly, and having by this means recovered the kingdom, took Sakhar, and tying a great stone to his neck, threw him into the lake of Tiberias.”—Sale, Baidhāwī, Jalāluddīn.

(35, 36) See notes on chaps. xxi. 81, 82, and xxvii. 16 seq.

(38) *Be bounteous, &c.* “Some suppose these words relate to the genii, and that Solomon is thereby empowered to release or to keep in chains such of them as he pleased.”—Sale.

(40) *Remember Job.* See notes on chaps. vi. 85 and xxi. 83.

saying, Verily Satan hath afflicted me with calamity and pain.

|| (41) *And it was said unto him, Strike the earth with R $\frac{4}{15}$.* thy foot; which when he had done, a fountain sprang up, and it was said to him, This is for thee to wash in, to refresh thee, and to drink. (42) And we restored unto him his family, and as many more with them, through our mercy; and for an admonition unto those who are endued with understanding. (43) And *we said unto him, Take a handful of rods in thy hand, and strike thy wife* therewith; and break not thine oath. Verily we found him a patient person: (44) how excellent a servant *was he!* for he *was* one who frequently turned himself *unto us*. (45) Remember also our servants Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, *who were* men strenuous and prudent. (46) Verily we purified them with a *perfect* purification, through the remembrance of the life to come; (47) and they were in our sight elect *and good men*. (48) And remember Ismael, and Elisha, and Dhu'l Qifl; for all *these were*

(41) *This . . . to wash in.* "Some say there were two springs, one of hot water, wherein he bathed, and the other of cold, of which he drank."—Sale, Baidhāwī.

(43) *A handful of rods.* "The original not expressing what this handful was to consist of, one supposes it was to be only a handful of dry grass or of rushes, and another that it was a branch of a palm-tree."—Sale.

Strike thy wife. "The commentators are not agreed what fault Job's wife had committed to deserve this chastisement: we have mentioned one opinion already (see chap. xxi. 83, note). Some think it was only because she stayed too long on an errand."

Thine oath, viz., to beat his wife with one hundred stripes if he should recover. He fulfilled his oath by giving her one blow with a bundle containing one hundred small rods. Hence his "patience!"

(46) *Through the remembrance, &c.* "Or, as the words may be interpreted, according to al Zamakhshari, 'We have purified them, or peculiarly destined and fitted them for Paradise.'"—Sale.

(48) See note on chap. vi. 87.

Dhu'l Qifl. "Al Baidhāwī here takes notice of another tradition concerning this prophet, viz., that he entertained and took care of a hundred Israelites, who fled to him from a certain slaughter: from which action he probably had the surname of Dhu'l Qifl given him; the primary signification of the verb *qafala* being to *maintain* or *take care of* another. If a conjecture might be founded on this

good *men*. (49) This is an admonition. Verily the pious shall have an excellent place to return unto, (50) *namely*, gardens of perpetual abode, the gates *whereof shall stand open* unto them. (51) As they lie down therein, they shall there ask for many *sorts of* fruits, and for drink; (52) and near them *shall sit the virgins of Paradise*, refraining their looks *from beholding any besides their spouses*, and of equal age *with them*. (53) This is what ye are promised at the day of account.

SULS.

|| (54) This is our provision, which shall not fail. (55) This *shall be the reward of the righteous*. But for the transgressors is *prepared* an evil receptacle, (56) *namely*, hell: they shall be cast into the same to be burned, and a wretched couch *shall it be*. (57) This let them taste, *to wit*, scalding water, and corruption *flowing from the bodies of the damned*, (58) and divers other things of the same kind. (59) *And it shall be said to the seducers*, This troop *which was guided by you* shall be thrown together with you headlong *into hell*: they shall not be bidden welcome; for they shall enter the fire to be burned. (60) *And the seduced shall say to their seducers*, Verily ye shall not be bidden welcome: ye have brought it upon us; and a wretched abode *is hell*. (61) They shall say, O LORD, doubly increase the torment of him who hath brought this *punishment* upon us in the fire of *hell*. (62) *And the infidels shall say*, Why do we not see the men whom we numbered among the wicked, (63) *and* whom we received with scorn? Or do *our eyes miss them*? (64) Verily this is a truth, *to wit*, the disputing of the inhabitants of *hell-fire*. (65) Say, O *Muhammad*, unto the idolaters,

tradition, I should fancy the person intended was Obadiah, the governor of Ahab's house (1 Kings. xviii. 4).—*Salé*.

See also note on chap. xxi. 85.

(49-54) See notes on chaps. iii. 15, 196, and ix. 73.

(52) *Equal age, i.e.*, "about thirty or thirty-three."—*Salé*.

See also Prelim. Disc., p. 158.

Verily I *am* no other than a warner; and there *is* no god except the one only GOD, the Almighty,

|| (66) The LORD of heaven and earth, and of whatsoever R $\frac{5}{14}$.
is between them; the mighty, the forgiver of *sins*. (67) Say, It is a weighty message (68) from which ye turn aside. (69) I had no knowledge of the exalted princes when they disputed *concerning the creation of man*: (70) (it hath been revealed unto me only *as a proof* that I am a public preacher:) (71) when thy LORD said unto the angels, Verily I am about to create man of clay: (72) when I shall have formed him, therefore, and shall have breathed my spirit into him, do ye fall down and worship him. (73) And all the angels worshipped *him* in general, (74) except Iblís, *who* was puffed up with pride, and became an unbeliever. (75) *God* said *unto him*, O Iblís, what hindereth thee from worshipping that which I have created with my hands? (76) Art thou elated with vain pride? or art thou *really* one of exalted merit? (77) He answered, I am more excellent than he: thou hast created me of fire, and thou hast created him of clay. (78) *God* said *unto him*, Get thee hence, therefore; for thou shalt be driven away *from mercy*; (79) and my curse *shall be* upon thee until the day of judgment. (80) He replied, O LORD, respite me, therefore, until the day of resurrection. (81) *God* said, Verily thou shalt be *one* of those who are respited (82) until the day of the deter-

(65) *A warner*. See notes on chaps. ii. 119, iii. 184, and vi. 109.

(69) *Exalted princes, i.e.*, the angels, who disputed about the creation of man.

Revealed unto me only, &c. Sale adds the words *as a proof*, to fill up the ellipsis. Rodwell translates, "Revealed to me only, *because*," &c., which is better. The *Tafsir-i-Raufi* translates it thus, "Revealed to me for no other reason than because I am a public preacher." Thus early we find Muhammad presenting his *revelations* as proof of his prophetic office. These stories he undoubtedly learned from Jews or Christian slaves, and yet he here distinctly claims to have learned them by inspiration, *i.e.*, from God through the medium of the Angel Gabriel. I leave his Christian apologists to reconcile this fact with their theory of his honesty.

(71-85) See notes on ii. 30-34, vii. 11-19, and xv. 28-39.

mined time. (83) *Iblis* said, By thy might *do I swear*, I will surely seduce them all, (84) except thy servants *who shall be* peculiarly chosen from among them. (85) *God* said, *It is* a just sentence; and I speak the truth: I will surely fill hell with thee, and with such of them as shall follow thee, altogether. (86) Say *unto the Makkans*, I ask not of you any reward for this *my preaching*: neither am I *one* of those who assume a part which belongs not to them. (87) *The Qurán* is no other than an admonition unto all creatures: (88) and ye shall surely know what is delivered therein *to be true*, after a season.

(88) *After a season, i.e., at death or the resurrection, or at the triumph of Islám.—Tafsír-i-Rauf.*

CHAPTER XXXIX.

ENTITLED SURAT AL ZAMR (THE TROOPS).

Revealed at Makkah.

INTRODUCTION.

THE title given to this chapter is taken from the statement of vers. 71-73, that the Muslims and the infidels should be conducted to heaven and hell "by troops."

As to its contents, this chapter differs little from other Makkan suras. There is the usual assertion of prophetic claims on the part of the Prophet; the usual declamation against idolatry, with threats of divine wrath against the impenitent; the usual reference to former prophets, and the destruction of their unbelieving hearers; and finally, the usual emphatic testimony to the great doctrine of the resurrection, and the contrasted condition of true believers and the infidels after the judgment-day.

An important point of interest in this chapter is the reiterated claim of Muhammad to have been appointed a prophet and to have received the Qurán in order to exhibit "the pure religion" of God (see vers. 1-3, 14-16, 42, and 56). Everywhere Muhammad appears as simply a preacher of the truth of Islám (ver. 23) and a witness against the idolaters of Makkah (ver. 40).

Probable Date of the Revelations.

All authorities agree that this chapter originated at Makkah before the Hijra, excepting ver. 54, or vers. 54-56, or vers. 54-61, which some Muslim authorities regard as Madínic. A few writers assign vers. 13 and 24 also to Madína.

The story of Al Wahshi and other malefactors, given by the commentators on the authority of tradition to explain ver. 54, may be true (in which case the passage must be Madínic; but I confess to

a strong suspicion that the story has been fabricated to illustrate the passage in question. The words of that verse (ver. 54) very naturally follow what precedes it, and were no doubt intended to comfort penitent idolaters, who might feel themselves included in the sweeping condemnation of ver. 52. The connection is natural, and I can see no good reason for disconnecting them. I would therefore refer this passage also to Makkah.

On the ground of the words "God's earth is spacious" (ver. 13), it is thought that this chapter was written shortly before the Hijra. But granting that these words were addressed to those who either had fled their country or were meditating flight, surely it does not follow that the flight to Madina was intended. Would it not be more natural to apply these words to the first flight to Abyssinia, which occurred at a time when the idea of flight from persecution was new to the Muslims? The quiet, pacific style of the whole chapter seems to me fatal to the theory which would fix the date of composition so late as the near approach of the Hijra—a time when the fierce hatred aroused on both sides by persecution could not fail to have found expression in the style and matter of discourse. I therefore venture to assign this chapter to a period preceding the first flight to Abyssinia, *i.e.*, about the fourth year of Muhammad's ministry (B.H. 9).

Principal Subjects.

	VERSES
The Qurán a revelation from God to Muhammad . . .	1, 2
Muhammad to exhibit a pure religion to God . . .	2, 3
God will not show favour to idolaters . . .	4, 5
God hath not chosen to have a son . . .	6
God manifest in his works of creation and providence . . .	7, 8
God is Sovereign in his dealings with men . . .	9, 10
The ingratitude of idolaters . . .	11
The righteous and wicked not equal before God . . .	12
The righteous shall be rewarded . . .	13
Muhammad, the first Muslim, must exhibit the pure religion of God . . .	14-16
The loss of the idolaters . . .	17, 18
Idolaters who repent shall be rewarded . . .	19
Muhammad cannot deliver the reprobate . . .	20
The reward of the faithful . . .	21
God revealed in the growth and decay of Nature . . .	22
The Muslim and the infidel not equal . . .	23
The Qurán first frightens, then comforts, the Muslims . . .	24
The punishment of the wicked in hell . . .	25

	VERSES
Former infidels punished for maligning their prophets	26, 27
Every kind of parable in the Qurán	28-30
Muhammad and the infidels shall debate before the Lord	31, 32
The reward and punishment of believers and unbelievers	33-36
The infidels of Makkah threaten Muhammad	37
True believers shall be rightly directed	37, 38
Idolaters acknowledge God as creator	39
Muhammad yet to be vindicated	40-42
God shall raise the dead as he raiseth from sleep	43
None can intercede except by God's permission	44, 45
Idolaters dread God but joy in their false gods	46
God shall judge between the faithful and the idolaters	47
Idolaters will give two worlds to escape God's wrath	48
They shall not escape the evils of the judgment-day	49, 50
The infidels of former times were punished	51, 52
The idolaters of Makkah shall not escape	52, 53
Idolaters exhorted to repent; their sin will be forgiven	54-56
The regrets of the impenitent at the judgment-day	57-59
God shall reject their apologies and blacken their faces	60, 61
But he will save the righteous	62
God the Sovereign Ruler of heaven and earth	63
Muhammad cannot worship idols, seeing he has received a revelation from God	64-66
The resurrection and the judgment-day, fearful scenes of	67-69
Troop of the righteous and wicked, their reward and pun- ishment	70-73
God shall be praised by righteous men and angels	74, 75

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

|| (1) The revelation of *this* book is from the mighty, R ¹/₁₅.
the wise GOD. (2) Verily we have revealed *this* book
unto thee with truth: wherefore serve GOD, exhibiting
the pure religion unto him. (3) *Ought* not the pure
religion to be exhibited unto GOD? (4) But as to those
who take other patrons besides him, saying, We worship

(1-3) Muhammad claims at once inspiration for his Qurán and sets forth the reason of his own appointment to the prophetic office, viz., to re-establish pure religion upon the earth.

them only that they may bring us nearer unto GOD; verily GOD will judge between them concerning that wherein they disagree. (5) Surely GOD will not direct him who is a liar or ungrateful. (6) If GOD had been minded to have had a son, he had surely chosen what he pleased out of that which he hath created. But far be *such a thing* from him! He is the sole, the almighty GOD. (7) He hath created the heavens and the earth with truth: he causeth the night to succeed the day, and he causeth the day to succeed the night, and he obligeth the sun and the moon to perform their services; each of *them* hastening to an appointed period. Is not he the mighty, the forgiver of sins? (8) He created you of one man, and afterwards out of him formed his wife; and he hath bestowed on you four pair of cattle. He formeth you in the wombs of your mothers, by several gradual formations, within three veils

(4) *That they may bring us nearer unto God.* The Arab idolaters regarded the angels as mediators, and spoke of them as the offspring of God. See Prelim. Disc., pp. 38 and 39.

That wherein they disagree, i.e., in bestowing divine honours upon different gods and goddesses.

(6) *A son.* Palgrave translates *a child*, there being no distinction of sex implied in the original. The *Tafsir-i-Raufi* and *Abdul Qádir* have it *family*. The allusion is to the Arab notion that the angels were the offspring of God. See above on ver. 4. There is no allusion here to the Christian doctrine of the sonship of Christ, which doctrine, however, is confounded in the Qurán with the error animadverted in this passage.

He had surely chosen, &c. "Because, says Al Baidháwi, there is no being besides himself but what hath been created by him; since there cannot be two necessarily existent beings; and hence appears the absurdity of the imagination here condemned, because no creature can resemble the Creator, or be worthy to bear the relation of a son to him."—Sale.

(7) *With truth.* Literally, *in truth*.

(8) *He hath bestowed.* "Literally, 'He hath sent down;' from which expression some have imagined that these four kinds of beasts were created in Paradise, and thence sent down to earth."—Sale, *Zamakhshari*.

Four pair of cattle. See note on chap. vi. 143. The *Tafsir-i-Raufi* describes the *four pair* as "the male and female of camels, cow cattle, sheep, and goats."

Gradual formations. See chap. xxii. 4-7, and note there.

Three veils of darkness, i.e., "the belly, the womb, and the membranes which enclose the embryo."—Sale.

of darkness. This is GOD, your LORD: his is the kingdom: there is no GOD but he. Why therefore are ye turned aside *from the worship of him to idolatry*? (9) If ye be ungrateful, verily GOD hath no need of you: yet he liketh not ingratitude in his servants; but if ye be thankful, he will be well pleased with you. A burdened soul shall not bear the burden of another; hereafter shall ye return unto your LORD, and he shall declare unto you that which ye have wrought, *and will reward you accordingly*; (10) for he knoweth the innermost parts of *your* breasts. (11) When harm befalleth a man, he calleth upon his LORD, and turneth unto him: yet afterwards, when *God* hath bestowed on him favour from himself, he forgetteth that *Being* which he invoked before, and setteth up equals unto GOD, that he may seduce *men* from his way. Say *unto such a man*, Enjoy *this life* in thy infidelity for a little while; *but hereafter* shalt thou surely be one of the inhabitants of *hell-fire*. (12) Shall he who giveth himself up to prayer in the hours of the night, prostrate and standing, *and* who taketh heed as to the life to come, and hopeth for the mercy of his LORD, *be dealt with as the wicked unbeliever*? Say, Shall they who know *their duty* and they who know *it* not be held equal? Verily the men of understanding only will be warned.

|| (13) Say, O my servants who believe, fear your LORD. They who do good in this world shall obtain good *in the next*; and GOD's earth is spacious: verily those who persevere with patience shall receive their

R ²/₁₆.

(11) Compare chap. x. 22-24.

Forgetteth, &c. Or, "He forgetteth the evil which he before prayed against."

Inhabitants of hell-fire. See note on chap. ii. 80.

(13) *In the next*, or, "they who do good shall obtain good even in this world."

God's earth is spacious. "Wherefore let him who cannot safely exercise his religion where he was born or resides fly to a place of liberty and security."—*Salé, Baidhāwī*.

Rodwell thinks the wording of this verse indicates a time when Muhammad was meditating flight from Makkah; with this agree

recompense without measure. (14) Say, I am commanded to worship GOD, and to exhibit the pure religion unto him; and I am commanded to be the first Muslim. (15) Say, Verily I fear, if I be disobedient unto my LORD, the punishment of the great day. (16) Say, I worship GOD, exhibiting my religion pure unto him; (17) but do ye worship that which ye will, besides him. Say, Verily they *will be* the losers, who shall lose their own souls, and their families, on the day of resurrection: is not this manifest loss? (18) Over them *shall be* roofs of fire, and under them *shall be* floors of fire. With this doth GOD terrify his servants: wherefore, O my servants, fear him. (19) But those who eschew the worship of idols and are turned unto GOD shall receive good tidings. Bear good tidings therefore unto my servants, who hearken unto *my* word, and follow that which is most excellent therein: these *are they* whom GOD directeth, and these are *men* of understanding. (20) Him, therefore, on whom the sentence of *eternal* punishment shall be justly pronounced, canst thou, *O Muhammad*, deliver him who *is destined to dwell* in the fire of *hell*? (21) But for those who fear their LORD *will be prepared* high apartments in *Paradise*, over which *shall be* other apartments built; and rivers shall run beneath them: *this is* the promise of GOD; and GOD will not be contrary to the promise. (22) Dost thou not see that GOD sendeth down water from heaven, and causeth the same to enter *and form* sources in the earth, and produceth thereby corn of various sorts? Afterwards he causeth *the same* to wither; and thou seest it

the commentators (see *Tafsir-i-Raufi in loco*) in so far that they understand the reference to be to flight from persecution. I can see in the words no allusion to Muhammad's own flight from Makkah. The words were probably intended to encourage his poorer followers to flee for refuge either to Abyssinia or to Madina.

See note on chap. xxix. 56.

(14) *The first Muslim, i.e.,* "the first of the Quraish who professeth the true religion, or the leader in chief of the Muslims."—*Sale*.

See also note on chap. vii. 143.

(17) *Verily they will be losers, &c.* Compare Matt. xvi. 26.

become yellow : afterwards he maketh it crumble into dust. Verily, herein is an instruction to men of understanding.

|| (23) Shall he, therefore, whose breast GOD hath enlarged to *receive the religion of Islám*, and who followeth the light from his LORD, *be as he whose heart is hardened?* But woe unto those whose hearts are hardened against the remembrance of GOD! they are in a manifest error. (24) GOD hath revealed a most excellent discourse : a book conformable to itself, *and* containing repeated *admonitions*. The skins of those who fear their LORD shrink for fear thereat ; afterwards their skins grow soft, and their hearts *also*, at the remembrance of their LORD. This *is* the direction of GOD : he will direct thereby whom he pleaseth ; and whomsoever GOD shall cause to err, he shall have no director. (25) Shall he therefore who shall *be obliged to* screen himself with his face from the severity of the punishment on the day of resurrection *be as he who is secure therefrom?* And it shall be said unto the ungodly, Taste that which ye have deserved. (26) Those who *were* before them accused *their apostles* of imposture ;

(24) *Conformable to itself.* This claim of the Qurán is fatal to its prophetic character ; for while it should be no special recommendation to prophetic honours that a man write a book consistent with itself throughout, yet as matter of fact the Qurán is far from being *conformable to itself*. Aside from contradictory passages, the whole *spirit* of the Qurán, as seen in the earlier chapters, differs from that of the later chapters. The one inculcates forbearance, tolerance, kindness to enemies, peace, and long-suffering ; the other breathes out a spirit of intolerance, hate, and bloodshed against all the enemies of Islám. Last of all, it inculcates a creed requiring tomes of tradition for its elucidation and emendation.

Containing repeated admonitions. Rodwell translates "teaching by iteration." Palgrave renders it literally "repeating." The allusion is probably to the rhyming style. See a similar statement in chap. xv. 87.

(25) *Be obliged to screen himself with his face.* "For his hands shall be chained to his neck, and he shall not be able to oppose anything but his face to the fire."—Sale, *Baidhawí*.

(26, 27) See notes on chap. iii. 185, and the histories of the prophets found in chap. xi.

wherefore a punishment came upon them from whence they expected *it* not: (27) and God caused them to take shame in this present life; but the punishment of the life to come *will* certainly *be* greater. If they were men of understanding, *they would know this*. (28) Now have we proposed unto mankind, in this Qurán, every kind of parable, that they may be warned; (29) an Arabic Qurán, wherein there is no crookedness; that they may fear *God*. (30) God propoundeth as a parable a man who hath *several* companions which are at mutual variance, and a man who committeth himself wholly to one person: shall these be held in equal comparison? God forbid! But the greater part of them do not understand. (31) Verily thou, *O Muhammad*, shalt die, and they also shall die: (32) and ye shall debate *the matter* with one another before your LORD at the day of resurrection.

|| (33) Who *is* more unjust than he who uttereth a lie concerning God, and denieth the truth when it cometh unto him? Is there not a dwelling *provided* in hell for the unbelievers? (34) But he who bringeth the truth and giveth credit thereto, these are they who fear *God*; (35) they *shall obtain* whatever they shall desire in the

(28) *Every kind of parable*. The deficiency of the Qurán in this respect is very marked. The example given in the next verse is rather unfortunate as an illustration.

Crookedness, i.e., "no contradiction, defect, or doubt."—Sale.

See note on chap. vii. 2.

(30) "This passage represents the uncertainty of the idolater, who is distracted in the service of different masters, and the satisfaction of mind which attends the worshipper of the only true God."—Sale, *Baidháwi*.

(31) *Thou, O Muhammad, shalt die*. See note on chap. iii. 144.

(32) *Ye shall debate the matter*. "For the Prophet will represent his endeavours to reclaim them from idolatry and their obstinacy; and they will make frivolous excuses; as that they obeyed their chiefs, and kept to the religion of their fathers, &c."—Sale, *Baidháwi*.

(34) *He who . . . giveth credit, i.e., "Muhammad and his followers: some suppose that by the latter words Abu Baqr is particularly intended, because he asserted the Prophet's veracity in respect to his journey to heaven."*

See note on chap. xvii. 1.

sight of their LORD: this *shall be* the recompense of the righteous; (36) that GOD may expiate from them the *very* worst of that which they have wrought, and may render them their reward according to the utmost merit of the good which they have wrought. (37) Is not GOD a sufficient *protector* of his servant? yet they will attempt to make thee afraid of the *false deities* which *they worship* besides GOD. But he whom GOD shall cause to err shall have none to direct *him*; (38) and he whom GOD shall direct shall have none to mislead *him*. Is not God most mighty, able to avenge? (39) If thou ask them who hath created the heavens and the earth, they will surely answer, GOD. Say, Do ye think, therefore, that the *deities* which ye invoke besides GOD, if GOD be pleased to afflict me, are able to relieve *me* from his affliction? or if he be pleased to show mercy unto me, that they are able to withhold his mercy? Say, GOD is my sufficient support: in him let those put their trust who *seek in whom to confide*. (40) Say, O my people, do ye act according to your state; verily I will act *according to mine*: (41) hereafter shall ye know on which of us will be inflicted a punishment that shall cover him with shame, and on whom a lasting punishment shall fall. (42) Verily we have revealed unto

(36) *That God may expiate, &c.* See note on chap. iii. 194.

(37) *Yet they will attempt, &c.* "The Quraish used to tell Muhammad that they feared their gods would do him some mischief, and deprive him of the use of his limbs or of his reason, because he spoke disgracefully of them. It is thought by some that this passage was verified in Khálid Ibn al Walíd, who being sent by Muhammad to demolish the idol of Uzza, was advised by the keeper of her temple to take heed what he did, because the goddess was able to avenge herself severely: but he was so little moved at the man's warning, that he immediately stepped up to the idol and broke her nose. To support the latter explication, they say that what happened to Khálid is attributed to Muhammad, because the former was then executing the Prophet's orders. A circumstance not much different from the above mentioned is told of the demolition of Al Lát."—Sale, *Baidhāwi*.

(39) I have been unable to find any good reason for believing that these words were revealed soon after the circumstance noted under chap. liii. 19. See Rodwell *in loco*.

thee the book of the *Qurán*, for the instruction of mankind, with truth. Whoso shall be directed *thereby shall be directed to the advantage of his own soul*; and whoso shall err shall only err against the same: and thou *art* not a guardian over them.

R $\frac{5}{2}$. || (43) GOD taketh unto himself the souls of *men* at the time of their death; and those which die not *he also taketh* in their sleep: and he withholdeth those on which he hath passed the decree of death, but sendeth back the others till a determined period. Verily herein *are* signs unto the people who consider. (44) Have the *Quraish* taken idols for their intercessors *with God*? Say, What, although they have not dominion over anything, neither do they understand? (45) Say, Intercession is altogether in the disposal of GOD: his *is* the kingdom of heaven and earth; and hereafter shall ye return unto him. (46) When the one sole GOD is mentioned, the hearts of those who believe not in the life to come shrink with horror; but when the *false gods* which *are worshipped* besides him are mentioned, behold they are filled with joy. (47) Say, O GOD, the creator of heaven and earth, who knowest that which is secret and that which is manifest; thou shalt judge between thy servants concerning that wherein they disagree. (48) If those who act unjustly were masters of whatever is in the earth, and as much more therewith, verily they would give it to ransom themselves from the

(43) *In their sleep.* "That is, seemingly and to outward appearance, sleep being the image of death."—Sale.

He withholdeth those, &c. "Not permitting them to return again into their bodies."—Sale.

The idea here is, that God *really* takes to himself the souls of men when they sleep, returning them to those who awake.

Sendeth back the others, viz., "into their bodies when they awake."—Sale.

A determined period. See notes on chap. iii. 145 and 147.

(45) *Intercession is altogether in the disposal of God.* "For none can or dare presume to intercede with him, unless by his permission."—Sale.

Compare chaps. ii. 47, vi. 50, vii. 188, and ix. 81, and see notes there.

evil of the punishment on the day of resurrection: and there shall appear unto them from GOD *terrors* which they never imagined; (49) and there shall appear unto them the evils of that which they shall have gained; and that which they mocked at shall encompass them. (50) When harm befalleth man, he calleth upon us; yet afterwards, when we have bestowed on him favour from us, he saith, I have received it merely because of *God's* knowledge of *my deserts*. On the contrary, it *is* a trial; but the greater part of them know *it* not. (51) Those who *were* before them said the same; but that which they had gained profited them not; (52) and the evils which they had deserved fell upon them. And whoever of these *Makkans* shall have acted unjustly, on them likewise shall fall the evils which they shall have deserved; neither shall they frustrate *the divine vengeance*. (53) Do they not know that GOD bestoweth provision abundantly on whom he pleaseth, and is sparing *unto whom he pleaseth*? Verily herein *are* signs unto people who believe.

|| (54) Say, O my servants who have transgressed against R 6.
your own souls, despair not of the mercy of GOD, seeing that GOD forgiveth all sins, for he is gracious *and* merciful.

(50) *He saith, I have received it merely because of God's knowledge of my deserts.* "Or by means of my own wisdom."—Sale. Rodwell translates this passage thus: "He saith, God knew that I deserved it." Palgrave has it literally thus: "He says, Verily, I am given it through knowledge." Abdul Qádir comments thus: "It has turned out as I desired it should." The meaning of this obscure sentence I would express thus: "I all along thought it would be so."

(51) *Said the same.* "As did Qárún in particular."—Sale.

See chap. xxviii. 76, note.

(52) *On them . . . shall fall, &c.* "As it happened accordingly; for they were punished with a sore famine for seven years, and had the bravest of their warriors cut off at the battle of Badr."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*.

(54) *Transgressed, &c., i.e.,* by apostasy from Islám (Rodwell, and Muir in *Life of Mahomet*, vol. ii. p. 131, note); or, better, "the manifold sins of Muslims," both before their conversion to Islám and afterwards (*Tafsir-i-Raufi*). Compare chap. xvi. 108. The exhortation here seems to me to be addressed to the unbelieving Quraish. See vers. 55-60.

God forgiveth all sins. "To those who sincerely repent and pro-

(55) And be turned unto your LORD, and resign yourselves unto him before the *threatened* punishment overtake you; for then ye shall not be helped. (56) And follow the most excellent *instructions* which have been sent down unto you from your LORD before the punishment come suddenly upon you, and ye perceive not *the approach thereof*; (57) and a soul say, Alas! for that I have been negligent in my duty to GOD, verily I have been *one* of the scorers: (58) or say, If GOD had directed me, verily I had been one of the pious: (59) or say, when it seeth the *prepared* punishment, If I could return once more *into the world*, I would become *one* of the righteous. (60) But *God shall answer*, My signs came unto thee heretofore, and thou didst charge them with falsehood, and wast puffed up with pride; and thou becamest *one* of the unbelievers. (61) On the day of resurrection thou shalt see the faces of those who have uttered lies concerning GOD become black: is there not an abode *prepared* in hell for the arrogant? (62) But GOD shall deliver those who shall fear *him*, and shall set them in their place of safety: evil shall not touch them, neither shall they be grieved. (63) GOD *is* the creator of all things, and he *is* the governor of all things. His are the keys of heaven and earth; and they who believe not in the signs of GOD they shall perish. (64) Say, Do ye therefore bid me to worship other than GOD, O ye fools?

R 7. (65) Since it hath been spoken by revelation unto thee, and also unto *the prophets* who *have been* before thee, *saying*, Verily if thou join any partners *with God* thy work will be altogether unprofitable, and thou shalt certainly be *one* of those who perish; (66) wherefore rather fear God, and be *one* of those who give thanks. (67) But they make not a due estimation of GOD, since the whole earth *shall*

fess his unity; for the sins of idolaters will not be forgiven."—*Sale*.

See note on chap. ii. 80. Comp. Matt. xii. 31, 32.

(61) See Prelim. Disc., pp. 149, 150.

(67) See note on chap. vi. 92. Comp. Isa. xl. 12 and xxxiv. 4.

be but his handful on the day of resurrection, and the heavens *shall be* rolled together in his right hand. Praise be unto him! and far be he exalted above the *idols* which they associate *with him!* (68) The trumpet shall be sounded, and whoever *are* in heaven, and whoever *are* on earth shall expire, except those whom GOD shall please *to exempt from the common fate.* Afterwards it shall be sounded again, and behold they shall arise and look *up.* (69) And the earth shall shine by the light of its LORD; and the book shall be laid *open,* and the prophets and the martyrs shall be brought *as witnesses;* and judgment shall be given between them with truth, and they shall not be treated unjustly. (70) And every soul shall be fully rewarded, according to that which it shall have wrought, for he perfectly knoweth whatever they do.

|| (71) And the unbelievers shall be driven unto hell by R $\frac{8}{5}$ troops, until, when they shall arrive at the same, the gates thereof shall be opened, and the keepers thereof shall say unto them, Did not apostles from among you come unto you who rehearsed unto you the signs of your LORD, and warned you of the meeting of this your day? They shall

(68) *The trumpet shall be sounded.* "The first time, says al Baïdhawî, who consequently supposes there will be no more than two blasts (and two only are distinctly mentioned in the Qurân), though others suppose there will be three (see Prelim. Disc., p. 139 and note)."—Sale.

Except those whom God shall please. "These, some say, will be the Angels Gabriel, Michael, and Israil, and the Angel of Death, who yet will afterwards all die at the command of God; it being the constant opinion of the Muhammadan doctors that every soul, both of men and of animals, which live either on land or in the sea, and of the angels also, must necessarily taste of death; others suppose those who will be exempted are the angels who bear the throne of God, or the black-eyed damsels and other inhabitants of Paradise.

"The space between these two blasts of the trumpet will be forty days, according to Yahya and others; there are some, however, who suppose it will be as many years (Prelim. Disc., p. 139)."—Sale, *Baïdhawî, Jalâluddîn, Yahya.*

(69) *The book, &c.* See Prelim. Disc., p. 144.

(71) *The keepers.* See chap. lxxiv. 30, 31, and the Prelim. Disc., p. 148.

They shall answer, Yea; but, &c. See notes on chaps. vii. 179, 183,

answer, Yea; but the sentence of *eternal* punishment hath been justly pronounced on the unbelievers. (72) It shall be said *unto them*, Enter ye the gates of hell, to dwell therein for ever; and miserable *shall be* the abode of the proud! (73) But those who shall have feared their LORD shall be conducted by troops towards Paradise, until they shall arrive at the same, and the gates thereof shall be ready set open, and the guards thereof shall say unto them, Peace *be* on you! ye have been good, wherefore enter ye into *Paradise*, to remain therein for ever. (74) And they shall answer, Praise be unto GOD, who hath performed his promise unto us, and hath made us to inherit the earth, that we may dwell in Paradise wherever we please! How excellent *is* the reward of those who work *righteousness*! (75) And thou shalt see the angels going in procession round the throne celebrating the praises of their LORD; and judgment shall be given between them with truth; and they shall say, Praise be unto GOD, the LORD of all creatures!

xi. 118, 119. Sale says, "It seems as if the damned, by these words, attributed their ruin to God's decree of predestination."

(74) *Hath made us to inherit the earth.* "This is a metaphorical expression, representing the perfect security and abundance which the blessed will enjoy in Paradise."—Sale.

Heaven is here represented as a country possessing land, trees, rivers, &c. It is constantly called *a garden* in the Qurán. See chaps. ii. 25, iii. 15, 136, v. 88, &c. The passage is therefore to be understood in a strictly literal sense.

CHAPTER XL.

ENTITLED 'SURAT AL MUMIN (THE TRUE BELIEVER).

Revealed at Makkah.

INTRODUCTION.

THE title of this chapter is taken from ver. 29, where mention is made of "a man who was a true believer, of the family of Pharaoh." The circumstances under which at least a portion of this chapter was written were those of discouragement and lack of zeal on the part of Muhammad himself, and may be on the part of his followers also (ver. 57). What the cause of this discouragement was can be learned with considerable certainty from a careful consideration of the contents of this chapter. That it was due in part to the obstinate unbelief of the Quraish is certain (vers. 57 and 77). They had confederated against the Prophet and his adherents (vers. 5 and 31). The prosperity of the confederates seems to have been a temptation to even Muhammad himself (ver. 4). If we are right in believing that the experiences of former prophets, whose history is related as a warning to the infidels of Makkah, reflect the experiences of Muhammad himself at the time such *revelations* were enunciated to his followers, we may conclude from the narratives of Moses and others found here that the enmity of the Quraish towards their "warner" was now not only very bitter but organised. As we have already noted, a confederacy had been formed, Muhammad was called a liar, a sorcerer, and an impostor (vers. 5, 25, and 39), and his life was even threatened (vers. 27-29). We learn further that his cause was espoused by an influential person related to the leader of the opposition, who was enabled to save his life, though unsuccessful in his effort to convert his enemies. This determined resistance on the part of the chief men of Makkah, now organised for his destruction, was most probably the cause of the discouragement alluded to in this chapter.

There was another cause of sorrow and disappointment. There was a *fault on the part of Muhammad himself* of more than ordinary heinousness. It is spoken of in ver. 57, where Muhammad is commanded to ask pardon for his fault. The commentators tell us either that there was no fault, the command to ask pardon having relation to his followers, or that the fault was remissness in preaching owing to fear of the infidels. On a point of this character the sayings of the commentators are quite worthless owing to their dogma that the prophets are sinless. This is specially true when the moral character of Muhammad is in question. Looking at the circumstances noted above, and comparing them with the experience of Muhammad as recorded in history, it seems pretty clear that the fault of Muhammad alluded to here was his compromise with the national idolatry, described so graphically by Muir in his *Life of Mahomet*, vol. ii. chap. v. The only flaw in the comparison of the circumstances of Muhammad after his disowning the compromise with the national religion with those reflected from the story of Moses in this chapter is that we must regard Abu Tálíb as corresponding to the "true believer" of vers. 27-29. But may not Muhammad have either regarded his uncle as a secret believer, since he braved all to defend him, or have alluded to his defender under the sobriquet of "true believer"? This understanding as to the *fault* gathers strength from vers. 45 and 46, where Muhammad not only declines to accept the invitation of the Quraish to return to idolatry, but where he expressly declares that their false gods "deserve not to be invoked, either in this world or in the next," words which very well express his disavowal of the strange words he had uttered in praise of these deities only a short time before (see notes on chap. xxii. 53). This theory fits in well with all parts of this chapter, explaining the cause of the fierce hatred of the Quraish, the danger of the Prophet, how it was averted, his discouragement and penitence.

The remainder of this chapter contains the usual exhortations to faith in Islám, with threatenings of divine wrath against the unbelievers.

Probable Date of the Revelations.

From what has been said above it follows that the date of this chapter must be placed soon after the lapse of Muhammad, which would be in the latter part of the fifth year of Muhammad's mission (B.H. 7). Some writers (Umr Bin Muhammad, &c. (see *Itqán*, 35), Noëldeke) regard ver. 58 as Madínic, but this is due to a misinterpretation of the passage, which makes it allude to the Jews of Madína.

Principal Subjects.

	VERSES
The Qurán a revelation from the only true God . . .	1-3
It is denied by none but unbelievers . . .	4
Confederated infidels, however prosperous, are doomed . . .	4-6
The angels intercede for true believers . . .	7-9
Infidels shall repent in hell, but in vain . . .	10-12
God to be worshipped as the Supreme Being . . .	13-15
The judgment-day shall come suddenly . . .	16-18
Ungodly men shall have no intercessor . . .	19-21
Former infidels destroyed to warn those coming after . . .	22, 23
Moses called a sorcerer and a liar . . .	24, 25
He and his followers persecuted by Pharaoh and his people . . .	26, 27
Moses takes refuge in the Lord . . .	28
A true believer espouses the cause of Moses . . .	29, 30
He warns Pharaoh and his people against unbelief . . .	31-37
Pharaoh orders a tower to be built up to heaven . . .	38, 39
Pharaoh regards Moses as a liar . . .	40
The true believer exhorts the Egyptians to believe in the God of Moses . . .	41-47
God delivers the true believer from the devices of Pharaoh and his people . . .	48
Pharaoh and his people condemned to hell-fire . . .	49
Infidels shall reproach each other in hell, and call on their keepers for help in vain . . .	50-53
God assists his apostles in this world and in the next . . .	54, 55
Moses received the Book of the Law . . .	56
Muhammad commanded to be patient, and to ask pardon for his sin . . .	57
Muhammad to fly for refuge to God against proud infidels . . .	58
God manifested to creation, but few men understand . . .	59
The righteous and the evil not equal . . .	60
The judgment-day sure to come . . .	61
Rejectors of God shall be rejected . . .	62
The true God rejected by ungrateful men . . .	63-66
The true God alone to be worshipped . . .	67, 68
God the Sovereign Creator of all things . . .	69, 70
The miserable lot of those who reject the Scriptures . . .	71-76
Muhammad to persevere patiently . . .	77
No apostle ever wrought miracles without God's permission . . .	78
God revealed in his works of providence . . .	79-81
Former infidels were destroyed for their unbelief . . .	82, 83
They all repented when too late to avail . . .	84, 85

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

RUBA.

R $\frac{1}{6}$.

|| (1) H. M. The revelation of *this* book is from the mighty, the wise God, (2) the forgiver of sin and the acceptor of repentance, severe in punishing, (3) long suffering. There is no GOD but he; before him *shall be* the *general* assembly at the last day. (4) None disputeth against the signs of GOD except the unbelievers; but let not their prosperous dealing in the land deceive thee *with vain allurements*. (5) The people of Noah, and the confederated *infidels* which were after them, accused *their respective prophets* of imposture before these, and each nation hatched *ill designs* against their apostle, that they might get him *into their power*; and they disputed with *vain reasoning*, that they might thereby invalidate the truth; wherefore I chastised them, and how *severe* was my punishment! (6) Thus hath the sentence of thy LORD justly passed on the unbelievers, and they *shall be* the inhabitants of *hell-fire*. (7) *The angels* who bear the throne of God, and those who *stand* about it, celebrate the praise of their LORD and believe in him, and they ask pardon for the true believers, *saying*, O LORD, thou encom-

(1) H. M. See Prelim. Disc., pp. 101, 102.

(4) *Prosperous dealing*. "The original word properly signifies success in the affairs of life, and particularly in trade. It is said that some of Muhammad's followers observing the prosperity the idolaters enjoyed, expressed their regret that those enemies of God should live in such ease and plenty while themselves were perishing of hunger and fatigue, whereupon this passage was revealed."—Sale (note belonging to chap. iii. 197).

The land. "By trading into Syria and Yaman."—Sale.

(5) See chap. xi. 26-100 and notes thereon.

(7) *The angels who bear, &c.* "These are the cherubim, the highest order of angels, who approach nearest to God's presence."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*.

They ask pardon, &c. In chap. xlii. 3 the angels are said to ask pardon for those who dwell on the earth. In chap. liii. 26, 27, it is said the intercession of angels will be of no avail until God grant permission, which will be at the judgment-day. But chaps. ii. 47, 123, 254, vi. 50, vii. 188, ix. 81, xxxii. 3, and xxxix. 45, &c.,

pascest all things by *thy* mercy and knowledge ; wherefore forgive those who repent and follow thy path, and deliver them from the pains of hell. (8) O LORD, lead them also into gardens of eternal abode, which thou hast promised unto them, and unto every one who shall do right, of their fathers, and their wives, and their children ; for thou art the mighty, the wise *God*. (9) And deliver them from evil ; for whomsoever thou shalt deliver from evil, on that day on him wilt thou show mercy, and this will be great salvation.

|| (10) But the infidels *at the day of judgment* shall hear a voice crying unto them, Verily the hatred of God *towards you is* more grievous than your hatred towards yourselves ; since ye were called unto the faith, and would R 7. not believe. (11) They shall say, O LORD, thou hast given us death twice, and thou hast twice given us life ;

either that there are no intercessors, or that none will be permitted to intercede before the judgment-day ; while chap. xxxix. 54 declares that God will forgive all penitent sinners, *i.e.*, Muslims, precluding the need of any intercession so far as they are concerned. Now all non-Muslims are doomed to hell-fire, and for such all intercession will be useless. Since, therefore, the future condition of all men is decided in this life, the unbelieving being lost and the believing saved, we fail to see what, according to the Qurán, the intercession of Muhammad or any other will accomplish on the judgment-day.

(8) *Of their fathers, &c.* This passage does not teach, as some commentators imagine, that the faithful by good works may bestow upon their relatives who have died in the faith a higher degree of merit than they would be entitled to on the ground of their own good works. See Abdul Qádir *in loco*. The passage is a call to the relatives of the Muslim converts among the Quraish to embrace the hopes of Islám.

(11) *Thou hast twice given us life.* "Having first created us in a state of death, or void of life and sensation, and then given life to the inanimate body ; and afterwards caused us to die a natural death, and raised us again at the resurrection. Some understand the first death to be a natural death, and the second that in the sepulchre, after the body shall have been there raised to life in order to be examined ; and consequently suppose the two revivals to be those of the sepulchre and the resurrection."—*Sale*.

See also note on chap. ii. 28, and Prelim. Disc., p. 127.

It is more natural to understand by the two deaths the death of the body and the damnation of the soul in hell, and by the two lives the natural life and the life after the resurrection.

and we confess our sins : *is there* therefore no way to get forth *from this fire* ? (12) *And it shall be answered them,* This *hath befallen you*, for that when one GOD was preached *unto you*, ye believed not ; but if *a plurality of gods* had been associated with him, ye had believed : and judgment *belongeth* unto the high, the great GOD. (13) *It is* he who showeth you his signs, and sendeth down food unto you from heaven ; but none will be admonished, except he who turneth himself *unto God*. (14) Call therefore upon GOD, exhibiting *your* religion pure unto him, although the infidels be averse *thereto*. (15) *He is the Being* of exalted degree, the possessor of the throne ; who sendeth down the spirit at his command on such of his servants as he pleaseth, that he may warn *mankind* of the day of meeting, (16) the day *whereon* they shall come forth *out of their graves*, and nothing of *what concerneth* them shall be hidden from GOD. Unto whom *will* the kingdom *belong* on that day ? Unto the only, the Almighty GOD. (17) On that day shall every soul be rewarded according to its merits : *there shall be* no injustice *done* on that day. Verily GOD *will be* swift in taking an account. (18) Wherefore warn them, *O Prophet*, of the day which shall suddenly approach, when *men's* hearts *shall come up* to their throats and strangle *them*. (19) The ungodly shall have no friend or intercessor who shall be heard. [(20) *God* will know the deceitful eye, and that which *their* breasts conceal ; (21) and GOD will judge with truth ; but *the false gods* which they invoke

(15) *The spirit*. By "spirit" is meant the Angel Gabriel, the medium of inspiration (chap. ii. 96).

At his command should be "by his command."

Day of meeting, "when the Creator and his creatures, the inhabitants of heaven and of earth, the false deities and their worshippers, the oppressor and the oppressed, the labourer and his works, shall meet each other."—*Sale, Baidhawi*.

See also chap. vi. 28.

(17) Here salvation by good works is clearly taught, but see note on chap. iii. 31.

(19) See note above on ver. 7.

besides him shall not judge at all; for GOD is he who heareth *and* seeth.

|| (22) Have they not gone through the earth, and seen R $\frac{3}{8}$.
 what hath been the end of those who were before them? They were more mighty than these in strength, and *left more considerable footsteps of their power* in the earth; yet GOD chastised them for their sins, and there was none to protect them from GOD. (23) This *they suffered* because their apostles had come unto them with evident *signs*, and they disbelieved: wherefore GOD chastised them; for he *is* strong *and* severe in punishing. (24) We heretofore sent Moses with our signs and manifest power (25) unto Pharaoh, and Hámán, and Qárún; and they said, *He is* a sorcerer *and* a liar. (26) And when he came unto them with the truth from us, they said, Slay the sons of those who have believed with him, and save their daughters alive: but the stratagem of the infidels *was* no other than vain. (27) And Pharaoh said, Let me alone, that I may kill Moses; and let him call upon his LORD: verily I fear lest he change your religion, or cause violence to appear in the earth. (28) And Moses said *unto his people*, Verily I have recourse unto my LORD and your LORD, *to defend me* against every proud person, who believeth not in the day of account.

|| (29) And a man *who was* a true believer, of the R $\frac{4}{8}$.
 family of Pharaoh, *and* concealed in his faith, said, Will ye put a man to death because he saith, GOD *is* my LORD; seeing he is come unto you with evident signs from your

(25) See notes on chap. xxviii. 38 and 76.

(26) *Slay their sons, &c., i.e.,* "pursue the resolution which has been formerly taken, and execute it more strictly for the future. See chap. vii. 128, note."—Sale.

(27) *That I may kill Moses.* "For they advised him not to put Moses to death, lest it should be thought he was not able to oppose him by dint of argument."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*.

Lest he . . . cause violence, &c., "by raising of commotion and seditions, in order to introduce his new religion."—Sale.

(29) See note on chap. xxviii. 19. Compare this speech with Gamaliel's in Acts v. 38, 39.

LORD? If he be a liar, on him *will the punishment of his falsehood light*; but if he speaketh the truth, some of *those judgments* with which he threateneth you will fall upon you: verily GOD directeth not him who is a transgressor or a liar: (30) O my people, the kingdom is yours this day; *and ye are conspicuous in the earth*; but who shall defend us from the scourge of GOD, if it come unto us? Pharaoh said, I only propose to you what I think *to be most expedient*; and I guide you only into the right path. (31) And he who had believed said, O my people, verily I fear for you a day like that of the confederates *against the prophets in former times*, (32) a condition like that of the people of Noah, and *the tribes of Ád and Thamúd*, (33) and of those who *have lived* after them; for GOD willeth not *that any injustice be done* unto his servants. (34) O my people, verily I fear for you the day whereon men shall call unto one another, (35) the day whereon ye shall be turned back *from the tribunal and driven to hell*: then shall ye have none to protect you against GOD. And he whom GOD shall cause to err shall have no director. (36) Joseph came unto you before *Moses* with evident *signs*; but ye ceased not to doubt of the *religion* which he preached unto you, until, when he died, ye said, GOD will by no means send *another* apostle

(31-35) This "believer" is here presented in the light of a prophet addressing the Egyptians as "My people," and using the phraseology ordinarily employed by Muhammad in exhorting the Quraish. Moses is here the facsimile of Muhammad. See Introd. to chaps. vii. and xi.

(34) *The day whereon men shall call, &c., i.e., "the day of judgment, when the inhabitants of Paradise and of hell shall enter into mutual discourse: when the latter shall call for help, and the seducers and seduced shall cast the blame upon each other."*—Sale, *Baidhāwī, Jalāluddīn*.

(36) Joseph is here presented as a prophet of the Egyptians, and though he wrought miracles in their sight; yet, like the infidel Quraish, they were doubted and disbelieved. This is of a piece with that which makes Moses the prophet of the Egyptians (vers. 24, 25, &c.) and confounds the Israelites with the Egyptians. See notes on chap. vii. 133-137.

after him. Thus doth GOD cause him to err who is a transgressor *and* a sceptic. (37) They who dispute against the signs of GOD, without any authority which hath come unto them, are in great abomination with GOD and with those who believe. Thus doth GOD seal up every proud *and* stubborn heart. (38) And Pharaoh said, O Hámán, build me a tower that I may reach the tracts, (39) the tracts of heaven, and may view the GOD of Moses; for verily I think him *to be* a liar. (40) And thus the evil of his work was prepared for Pharaoh, and he turned aside from the *right* path: and the stratagems of Pharaoh ended only in loss.

|| (41) And he who had believed said, O my people, R_{10}^5 follow me: I will guide you into the right way. (42) O my people, verily this present life *is* but a temporary enjoyment; but *the life* to come is the mansion of firm continuance. (43) Whoever worketh evil shall only be rewarded in equal proportion to the same; but whoever worketh good, whether male or female, and *is* a true believer, they shall enter Paradise: they shall be provided for therein superabundantly.

|| (44) And, O my people, as for me, I invite you to NISF. salvation; but ye invite me to *hell*-fire; (45) ye invite me to deny GOD, and to associate with him that whereof I have no knowledge; but I invite you to the most mighty, the forgiver *of sins*. (46) *There is* no doubt but that the *false gods* to which ye invite me deserve not to be invoked, either in this world or in the next; and that we must return unto GOD; and that the transgressors shall be the inhabitants of *hell*-fire: (47) and ye shall *then* remember what I *now* say unto you. And I commit my affair unto GOD; for GOD regardeth his servants. (48) Wherefore GOD delivered him from the evils which they had devised;

(38, 39) See note on chap. xxviii. 38.

(41-47) The sentiment of this exhortation agrees very well with that of vers. 1-21 above, illustrating Muhammad's habit of making all the prophets speak like himself.

and a grievous punishment encompassed the people of Pharaoh. (49) They shall be exposed to the fire of *hell* morning and evening; and the day whereon the hour of *judgment* shall come *it shall be said unto them*, Enter, O people of Pharaoh, into a most severe torment. (50) And *think on the time when the infidels* shall dispute together in *hell-fire*; and the weak shall say unto those who behaved with arrogance, Verily, we were your followers: will ye therefore relieve us from *any* part of *this* fire? (51) Those who behaved with arrogance shall answer, Verily we *are* all *doomed to suffer* therein; for GOD hath now judged between *his* servants. (52) And they who *shall be* in the fire shall say unto the keepers of *hell*, Call ye on your LORD, that he would ease us for one day from *this* punishment. (53) They shall answer, Did not your apostles come unto you with evident *proofs*? They shall say, Yea. *The keepers* shall reply, Do ye therefore call *on God*; but the calling of the unbelievers *on him* shall be only in vain.

R₁₁⁶

|| (54) We will surely assist our apostles and those who believe in this present life, and on the day whereon the witnesses shall stand forth, (55) a day whereon the excuse of the unbelievers shall not avail them, but a curse *shall attend* them, and a wretched abode. (56) We heretofore gave unto Moses a direction, and we left as an inheritance unto the children of Israel the book of *the law*; a direc-

(48) *A grievous punishment, &c.* "Some are of opinion that those who were sent by Pharaoh to seize the true believer, his kinsman, are the persons more particularly meant in this place; for they tell us that the said believer fled to a mountain, where they found him at prayers, guarded by the wild beasts, which ranged themselves in order about him; and that his pursuers thereupon returned in a great fright to their master, who put them to death for not performing his command."—Sale, *Baidhāwi*.

(49) *They shall be exposed to fire, &c.* "Some expound these words of the previous punishment they are doomed to suffer according to a tradition of Ibn Masūd, which informs us that their souls are in the crops of black birds, which are exposed to hell-fire every morning and evening until the day of judgment."—Sale, *Baidhāwi*.

(50) *The weak shall say, &c.* See note on chap. xiv. 24.

(52) *Keepers of hell.* See chap. lxxiv. 30, 31, and comp. xxxix. 71.

(56) *The book . . . a direction and admonition, &c.* The meaning

tion and an admonition to *men* of understanding. (57) Wherefore do thou, *O Prophet*, bear the insults of the *infidels* with patience; for the promise of GOD is true; and ask pardon for thy fault, and celebrate the praise of thy LORD in the evening and in the morning. (58) *As to* those who impugn the signs of GOD, without any convincing proof which hath been revealed unto them, there is nothing but pride in their breasts; *but* they shall not attain *their desire*: wherefore fly for refuge unto GOD; for *it is* he who heareth *and* seeth. (59) Verily the creation of heaven and earth *is* more considerable than the creation of man; but the greater part of men do not understand. (60) The blind and the seeing shall not be held equal; nor they who believe and work righteousness and the evildoer: how few revolve *these things* in their mind! (61) The *last* hour will surely come; *there is* no doubt thereof; but the greater part of men believe *it* not. (62) Your LORD said, Call upon me, *and* I will hear you; but they

of these words is that the Book of Moses was regarded by Muhammad as not only in existence, but genuine and credible—"a direction and admonition to men of understanding," that is, to the true people of God. The plain inference is, that Muslims are still bound so to regard the former Scriptures, and that all those passages in which the Scriptures are said to have been corrupted by Jews and Christians must be explained as referring to their interpretations of their Scriptures, and not to the text.

I am indebted to the Rev. Mr. Sell for calling my attention to the import of the word *haimana*, to keep safe, used in chap. v. 52, which plainly implies that *the Qurán is pledged to preserve the former Scriptures from corruption*. If, therefore, they have been corrupted, the Qurán has failed as a safeguard (*Muhaimina*).

(57) *Ask pardon for thy fault*. See notes on chaps. ii. 253; iv. 105, and ix. 43. Other passages of a similar import are chaps. xlvii. 21, xlviii. 2, and xciii. 7. The particular *fault* here alluded to, says Baidháwi, was remissness in preaching the religion of Islám through fear of the infidels. But see above in the introduction to this chapter.

(58) *Pride in their breasts*. "This sentence may be understood generally, though it was revealed on account of the idolatrous Makans or of the Jews, who said of Muhammad, 'This man is not our lord, but the Messias, the son of David, whose kingdom will be extended over sea and land.'"—*Sale, Baidháwi*.

who proudly disdain my service shall enter with ignominy into hell.

R $\frac{7}{12}$. || (63) *It is* GOD who hath appointed the night for you to take your rest therein, and the day to give *you* light : verily GOD *is* endued with beneficence towards mankind ; but the greater part of men do not give thanks. (64) *This is* GOD your LORD, the creator of all things ; *there is* no GOD beside him ; how therefore are ye turned aside *from his worship* ? (65) Thus are they turned aside who oppose the signs of GOD. (66) *It is* GOD who hath given you the earth for a stable floor, and the heavens for a ceiling, and who hath formed you, and made your forms beautiful, and feedeth you with good things. *This is* GOD your LORD. Wherefore blessed be GOD, the LORD of all creatures. (67) *He is* the living *God* : *there is* no GOD but he. Wherefore call upon him, exhibiting unto him the pure religion. Praise be unto GOD, the LORD of all creatures ! (68) Say, Verily I am forbidden to worship the *deities* which ye invoke besides GOD, after that evident proofs have come unto me from my LORD ; and I am commanded to resign myself unto the LORD of all creatures. (69) *It is* he who first created you of dust, and afterwards of seed, and afterwards of coagulated blood ; and afterwards brought you forth infants *out of your mothers' wombs* : then *he permitteth* you to attain your age of full strength, and afterwards to grow old men (but some of you die before *that age*), and to arrive at the determined period *of your life* ; that peradventure ye may understand. (70) *It is* he who giveth life and causeth to die ; and when he decreeth a thing he only saith unto it, Be, and it is.

R $\frac{8}{13}$. || (71) Dost thou not observe those who dispute against the signs of GOD, how they are turned aside *from the true faith* ? (72) They who charge with falsehood the book

(69) See chaps. xxii. 5 and xcvi. 2.

(70) *Be, and it is.* See note on chap. xxxvi. 82.

(72) See notes on chaps. x. 39 and xi. 14.

of the *Qurán*, and the other scriptures and revealed doctrines which we have sent our former apostles to preach, shall hereafter know *their folly*, (73) when the collars shall be on their necks, and the chains *by which* they shall be dragged into hell; then shall they be burned in the fire. (74) And it shall be said unto them, Where are the *gods* which ye associated besides GOD? They shall answer, They have withdrawn themselves from us: yea, we called on nothing heretofore. Thus doth GOD lead the unbelievers into error. (75) This *hath befallen you* for that ye rejoiced *insolently* on earth in that which was false; and for that ye were elated with immoderate joy. (76) Enter the gates of hell, to remain therein *for ever*: and wretched *shall be* the abode of the haughty! (77) Wherefore persevere with patience, *O Muhammad*; for the promise of GOD is true. Whether we cause thee to see any part of the *punishment* with which we have threatened them, or whether we cause thee to die *before thou see it*; before us shall they be assembled *at the last day*. (78) We have sent a *great number of* apostles before thee; *the histories of some of* whom we have related unto thee, and *the histories of others* of them we have not related unto thee: but no apostle had the power to produce a sign unless by the permission of GOD. When the command of GOD, therefore, shall come, judgment shall be given with truth; and then shall they perish who endeavour to render *the signs of God* of no effect.

|| (79) *It is* GOD who hath given you the cattle, that ye may ride on *some of* them, and may eat of *others* of them; R $\frac{9}{14}$.

(73) See notes on chaps. xiii. 6 and xxiii. 105.

(74) *Nothing*. "Seeing an idol is nothing in the world."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*.

(78) *Apostles before thee, &c.* See Prelim. Disc., p. 122 *seq.*, and notes on chap. iv. 162.

Unless by the permission of God. But Muhammad himself seems not to have been of the favoured few. See notes on chaps. ii. 118, 119, iii. 184, vi. 34-36, 109, 111, x. 21, &c.

(79-81) See chap. xvi. 5 *seq.*

(80) (ye also receive *other* advantages therefrom;) and that on them ye may arrive at the business *proposed* in your mind; and on them are carried *by land*, and on ships *by sea*. (81) And he showeth you his signs; which, therefore, of the signs of GOD will ye deny? (82) Do they not pass through the earth, and see what hath been the end of those who *were* before them? They were more numerous than these, and more mighty in strength, and *left more considerable monuments of their power* in the earth; yet that which they had acquired profited them not. (83) And when their apostle came unto them with evident *proof of their mission*, they rejoiced in the knowledge which was with them; but that which they mocked at encompassed them. (84) And when they beheld our vengeance, they said, We believe in GOD alone, and we renounce *the idols* which we associated with him; (85) but their faith availed them not, after they had beholden our vengeance. *This was* the ordinance of GOD, which was formerly observed in respect to his servants, and then did the unbelievers perish.

(82) Compare ver. 22 above. See Rodwell's note here, and Prelim. Disc., pp. 26, 27.

(83) *They rejoiced, &c.* "Being prejudiced in favour of their own erroneous doctrines, and despising the instructions of the prophets."
—Sale.

(85) *Then did the unbelievers perish.* Here again the Quraish are warned against unbelief by the fate of former unbelievers, who, like them, had rejected their prophets, and been destroyed in consequence. This is the burden of the *histories* of the prophets given in chap. xi.



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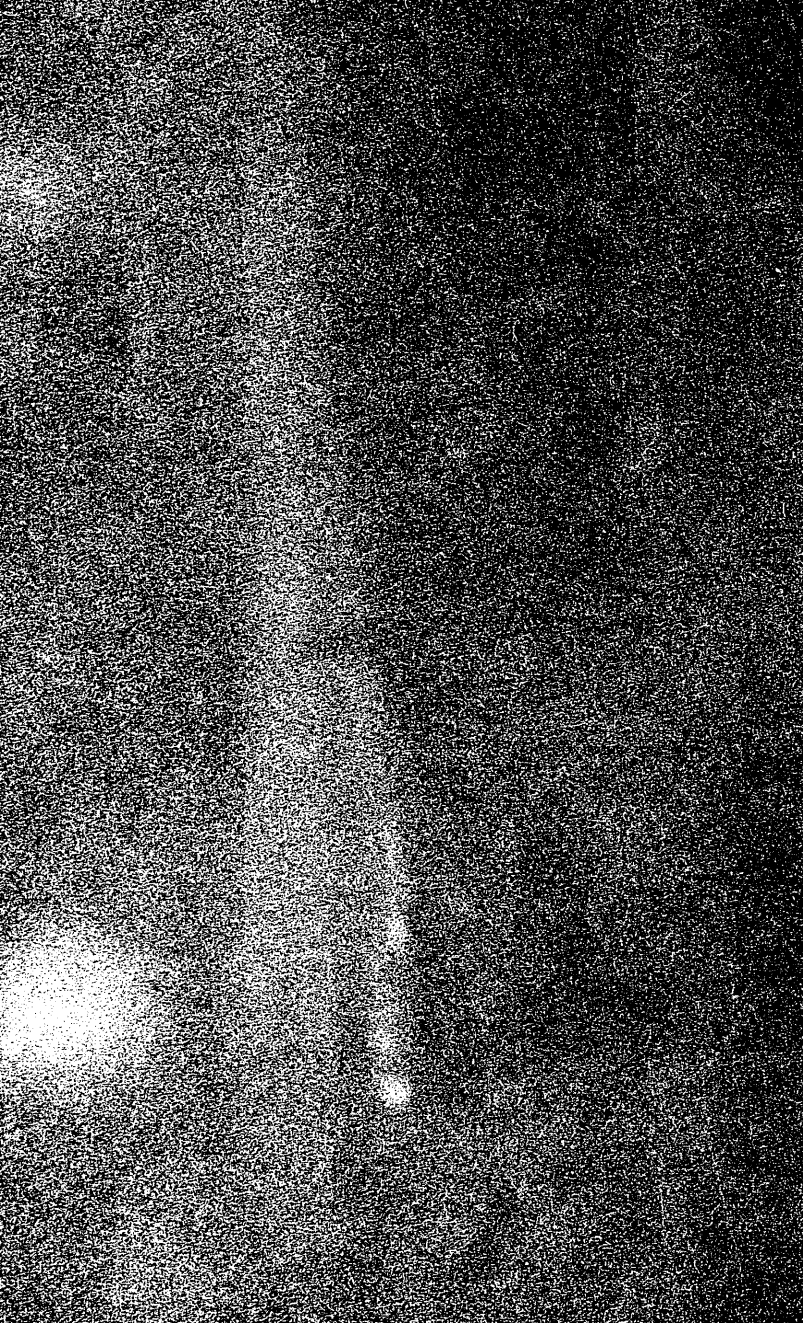


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CONTENTS.

vii

CHAP.	PAGE
LXXXIII.—ENTITLED SURAT AL TATFÍF (THOSE WHO GIVE SHORT MEASURE)	226
LXXXIV.—ENTITLED SURAT AL INSHIQÁQ (THE RENDING IN SUNDER)	230
LXXXV.—ENTITLED SURAT AL BURÚJ (THE CELESTIAL SIGNS)	232
LXXXVI.—ENTITLED SURAT AL TÁRIQ (THE STAR WHICH APPEARED BY NIGHT)	235
LXXXVII.—ENTITLED SURAT AL ÁLÁ (THE MOST HIGH)	237
LXXXVIII.—ENTITLED SURAT AL GHÁSHIYA (THE OVERWHELMING)	239
LXXXIX.—ENTITLED SURAT AL FAJR (THE DAYBREAK)	242
XC.—ENTITLED SURAT AL BALAD (THE TERRITORY)	246
XCI.—ENTITLED SURAT AL SHAMS (THE SUN)	249
XCII.—ENTITLED SURAT AL LAIL (THE NIGHT)	251
XCIII.—ENTITLED SURAT AL ZUHÁ (THE BRIGHTNESS)	253
XCIV.—ENTITLED SURAT AL INSHIRÁH (HAVE WE NOT OPENED?)	255
XCV.—ENTITLED SURAT AL TÍN (THE FIG)	257
XCVI.—ENTITLED SURAT AL ALAQ (THE CONGEALED BLOOD)	259 ✓
XCVII.—ENTITLED SURAT AL QADR (NIGHT OF POWER)	263
XCVIII.—ENTITLED SURAT AL BAIYANA (THE EVIDENCE)	265
XCIX.—ENTITLED SURAT AL ZILZÁL (THE EARTHQUAKE)	268
C.—ENTITLED SURAT AL ADIYÁT (THE WAR-HORSES WHICH RUN SWIFTLY)	270
CI.—ENTITLED SURAT AL QÁRIÁ (THE STRIKING)	272
CII.—ENTITLED SURAT AL TAKÁSUR (THE EMULOUS DESIRE OF MULTIPLYING)	274 ✓
CIII.—ENTITLED SURAT AL ASAR (THE AFTERNOON)	276
CIV.—ENTITLED SURAT AL HAMZA (THE SLANDERER)	277

CONTENTS.

CHAP.	PAGE
CV.—ENTITLED SURAT AL FÍL (THE ELEPHANT) .	279
CVI.—ENTITLED SURAT AL QURAISH (THE QURAISH) .	282
CVII.—ENTITLED SURAT AL MÁÚN (NECESSARIES) .	284
CVIII.—ENTITLED SURAT AL KAUTHAR (ABUNDANCE) .	286
CIX.—ENTITLED SURAT AL KÁFIRÚN (THE UNBELIEVERS)	288
CX.—ENTITLED SURAT AL NASR (ASSISTANCE)	290
CXI.—ENTITLED SURAT AL ABU LAHAB	292
CXII.—ENTITLED SURAT AL IKHLÁS (DECLARATION OF GOD'S UNITY)	294
CXIII.—ENTITLED SURAT AL FALAQ (THE DAYBREAK) .	296
CXIV.—ENTITLED SURAT AL NÁS (MEN)	299
INDEX	301

THE QURÁN.

CHAPTER XLI.

ENTITLED SURAT AL FUSSILAT (EXPLANATION).

Revealed at Makkah.

INTRODUCTION.

IN some manuscripts this chapter is entitled *Worship* or *Adoration*, "because," says Sale, "the infidels are herein commanded to forsake the worship of idols and to worship God ; but the thirty-second chapter bearing the same title, that which we have here prefixed is, for distinction, generally used."

According to Hishám, 186 (Coussin de Perc, i. 375 *seq.*), the design of Muhammad in enunciating the revelations of this chapter was the conversion of Utba bin Rábia to Islám. This story accords well enough with the teaching of the chapter, but there is nothing in it to bar the idea of a more general application.

There is little in this chapter to distinguish it from other Makkan Suras, unless it be the vehemence with which Muhammad asserts his own prophetic claims and the inspired character of the Qurán. The Qurán is declared to be the Word of God (vers. 1-3, 41, 42), which has been revealed in the Arabic language (vers. 2 and 44) in order that the Quraish might have no good excuse for rejecting it (ver. 44). The Quraish are, however, charged with having rejected it (vers. 3 and 4) ; but this was not to be regarded as affording any evidence of the falsity of its claims, but rather of the contrary, inasmuch as the writings of Moses had met with similar treatment (ver. 45). The unbelievers are therefore threatened with the fate of the

Ádites and of the Thamúdites (vers. 13-15), while believers are assured of protection in this life and of glorious rewards in Paradise (vers. 17 and 30-32). The folly of the worship of the idolaters is exposed by reference to the fact that God is the Creator of all things, especially of the objects of Makkan worship.

Throughout the chapter Muhammad appears as a prophet of God, yet a simple preacher of Islám, a "warner" of the people of Arabia.

Probable Date of the Revelations.

Granting that this chapter was written in order to convert Utba bin Rábia to Islám, yet, as Noéldeke points out, this gives us no certain data wherewith to fix the date of the writing of it. True, Ibn Hishám gives the narrative of this attempt at conversion immediately after that of the conversion of Hamza, yet, when we remember that, in relating the events prior to the Hijra, this writer pays little attention to exact chronological order, we cannot infer that this attempt was really made at that time; moreover, nothing certain is known as to the time of Hamza's conversion. It therefore follows that nothing certain can be learned from tradition as to the date of this chapter.

Having regard, however, to the style and contents of the chapter, we may fix the date approximately at about B.H. 8, a time when there was offered to the Muslims a sturdy opposition at Makkah, but as yet without violence to the person of the Prophet or his followers.

Principal Subjects.

	VERSES
The Qurán declared to be given by inspiration	1-3
The people generally reject it	3, 4
Muhammad only a man, yet a prophet	5
The woe of the wicked and the blessedness of the righteous	6, 7
God's power manifested in the creation of earth and heaven	8-11
The Quraish are threatened with the fate of Ád and Thamúd	12-16
Believers among the Ádites and Thamúdites were saved . .	17
In the judgment the unbelievers shall be condemned by the members of their own bodies	18-22
The fate of the genii to befall the infidels	23, 24
Unbelievers counsel blasphemous levity—their punishment	25-28
False teachers to be trodden under foot by their own fol- lowers in hell	29
The glorious rewards of the faithful	30-32
The consistent Muslim commended	33
Evil to be turned away by good	34, 35
God the refuge of the Prophet against Satan's suggestions .	36

	VERSES
God's works testify to himself as alone worthy of worship . . .	37-39
Unbelievers shall not escape in the resurrection . . .	40
The Qurán a revelation of God . . .	41, 42
The infidels offer no new objections to Muhammad and the Qurán . . .	43
Why the Qurán was revealed in the Arabic language . . .	44
The books of Moses at first rejected by his people . . .	45
God rewardeth according to works . . .	46
The hour of the judgment known only to God . . .	47
The false gods will desert their worshippers in the judgment . . .	47, 48
The perfidy of hypocrites . . .	49-51
Rejecters of God's Word exposed to awful punishment . . .	52-54

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

|| (1) H. M. *This is a revelation from the most Merciful* ^{SULS.} *ful*; (2) a book the verses whereof are distinctly explained, **R** ¹⁵ *an Arabic Qurán, for the instruction of people who understand*; (3) bearing good tidings and denouncing threats; but the greater part of them turn aside, and hearken not *thereto*. (4) And they say, Our hearts are veiled from *the doctrine* to which thou invitest us; and *there is* a deafness in our ears, and a curtain between us and thee: wherefore act thou *as thou shalt think fit*; for we shall act *according to our own sentiments*. (5) Say, Verily I am only a man like you. It is revealed unto me that your GOD is one GOD: wherefore direct your way straight unto him; and ask pardon of him *for what is past*. And woe *be* to the idolaters; (6) who give not the appointed alms, and believe not in the life to come! (7) But *as to* those who believe and work righteousness, they shall receive an everlasting reward.

(1) H. M. See Prelim. Disc., pp. 100-102.

(2, 3) See notes on chap. xi. 2 and 3.

Arabic Qurán. This is said in order to prove to the Arabs that Muhammad is their Prophet and his Qurán the Word of God. See chap. xiv. 4. Observe the wide sense in which the word *Qurán* is here used.

(6) *Alms.* See notes on chap. ii. 42, 219, and ix. 60.

R₁₆².

|| (8) Say, Do ye indeed disbelieve in him who created the earth in two days; and do ye set up equals unto him? He is the LORD of all creatures. (9) And he placed in *the earth mountains* firmly rooted, *rising* above the same: and he blessed it; and provided therein the food *of the creatures designed to be the inhabitants* thereof, in four days; equally, for those who ask. (10) Then he set his mind to *the creation* of heaven, and it was smoke; and he said unto it, and to the earth, Come, either obediently, or against your will. They answered, We come, obedient *to thy command*. (11) And he formed them into seven heavens, in two days; and revealed unto every heaven its office. And we adorned the lower heaven with lights, and *placed therein* a guard of angels. This is the disposition of the mighty, the wise God. (12) If *the Makkans* withdraw from these instructions, say, I denounce unto you a sudden destruction, like the destruction of Ád and Thamúd. (13) When the apostles came unto them before them and behind them,

(8) *Two days.* "The two first days of the week."—Sale, *Jaláluddín*. Comp. chaps. vii. 55, x. 3, and xi. 8.

(9) *Mountains firmly rooted.* See chaps. xv. 19, and xvi. 15 notes.

Four days. "That is, including the two former days wherein the earth was created."—Sale. I would say, with the two former days making six days. The *two* of ver. 11 are only reckoned among the six to escape the discrepancy otherwise apparent.

For those who ask. "For all, in proportion to the necessity of each, and as their several appetites require. Some refer the word *sawáan*, here translated *equally*, and which also signifies *completely*, to the four days; and suppose the meaning to be, that God created these things in just so many *entire* and *complete* days."—Sale, *Jaláluddín*.

(10) *Smoke.* "Or darkness. Al Zamakhshari says this smoke proceeded from the waters under the throne of God (which throne was one of the things created before the heavens and the earth), and rose above the water; that the water being dried up, the earth was formed out of it, and the heavens out of the smoke which had mounted aloft."—Sale.

(11) *Two days, viz.,* "On the fifth and sixth days of the week. It is said the heavens were created on Thursday, and the sun, moon, and stars on Friday; in the evening of which last day Adam was made."—Sale, *Baidháwi*, *Jaláluddín*.

See note above on ver. 9.

A guard of angels. See note on chap. xv. 17.

(13) *Apostles . . . before and behind.* "That is, on every side, per-

saying, Worship GOD alone; they answered, If our LORD had been pleased to send messengers, he had surely sent angels; and we believe not the message with which ye are sent. (14) As to the tribe of Ad, they behaved insolently in the earth, without reason, and said, Who is more mighty than we in strength? Did they not see that God, who had created them, was more mighty than they in strength? And they knowingly rejected our signs. (15) Wherefore we sent against them a piercing wind, on days of ill luck, that we might make them taste the punishment of shame in this world: but the punishment of the life to come will be more shameful; and they shall not be protected therefrom. (16) And as to Thamúd, we directed them: but they loved blindness better than the true direction: wherefore the terrible noise of an ignominious punishment assailed them, for that which they had deserved; (17) but we delivered those who believed and feared God.

|| (18) And warn them of the day on which the enemies R $\frac{3}{17}$ of GOD shall be gathered together unto hell-fire, and shall march in distinct bands; (19) until, when they shall arrive thereat, their ears, and their eyes, and their skins shall bear witness against them of that which they shall have wrought. (20) And they shall say unto their skins, Wherefore do ye bear witness against us? They shall answer, GOD hath caused us to speak, who giveth speech unto all things: he created you the first time; and unto

suading and urging them continually, and by arguments drawn from past examples and the expectation of future rewards and punishments."—Sale.

(14) *Ad*. See Prelim. Disc., pp. 20–22, and notes on chaps. vii. 66, and xi. 50–60.

(15) *Days of ill luck*. "It is said that this wind continued from Wednesday to Wednesday inclusive, being the latter end of the month Shawwál; and that a Wednesday is the day whereon God sends down his judgments on a wicked people."—Sale, *Baidháwi*.

(16) *Thamúd*. See Prelim. Disc., p. 22 seq., and notes on chap. xi. 61–68.

(18) *Distinct bands*. Comp. chap. xxxix. 71.

him are ye returned. (21) Ye did not hide yourselves *while ye sinned*, so that your ears, and your eyes, and your skins could not bear witness against you; but ye thought that GOD was ignorant of many things which ye did. (22) This *was* your opinion, which ye imagined of your LORD: it hath ruined you, and ye are become lost *people*. (23) Whether they bear *their torment*, *hell-fire shall be* their abode; or whether they beg for favour, they shall not obtain favour. (24) And we will give them *the devils to be their companions*; for they dressed up for them *the false notions which they entertained of* this present world, and of that which is to come: and the sentence justly fitteth them, which was formerly pronounced on the nations of genii and men who were before them; for they perished.

R $\frac{4}{18}$.

|| (25) The unbelievers say, Harken not unto this Qurán, but use vain discourse during *the reading* thereof; that ye may overcome *the voice of the reader by your scoffs and laughter*. (26) Wherefore we will surely cause the unbelievers to taste a grievous punishment, (27) and we will certainly reward them for the evils which they shall have wrought. (28) This *shall be* the reward of the enemies of GOD, *namely, hell-fire*; therein *is prepared* for them an everlasting abode, *as a reward* for that they have wittingly rejected our signs. (29) And the infidels shall say *in hell*, O LORD, show us the two that seduced us, of the genii and men, and we will cast them under our feet,

(21) *i.e.*, "Ye hid your crimes from men, little thinking that your very members, from which you could not hide them, would rise up as witnesses against you."—Sale. See note on chap. xxxvi. 65.

(24) *Companions*. See notes on chaps. vii. 39, 180, and x. 19, &c.

(25) *Vain discourse*. "Or loud talk."—Sale. The practice here animadverted on is very common among modern Muslims whenever the Gospel is preached among them.

(29) *The two, &c, i.e.*, "Those of either species who drew us into sin and ruin. Some suppose that the two more particularly intended here are Iblis and Cain, the two authors of infidelity and murder."—Sale, Baidhāwī.

By *the two* is probably meant the false god and the human teacher. See chaps. x. 29-31, and xxv. 18-20, &c.

that they may become most base *and despicable*. (30) *As for* those who say, Our LORD is GOD, and who behave uprightly; the angels shall descend unto them, *and shall say*, Fear not, neither be ye grieved; but rejoice in the hopes of Paradise which ye have been promised. (31) We *are* your friends in this life, and in that which is to come: therein shall ye have that which your souls shall desire, and therein shall ye obtain whatever ye shall ask for; (32) *as a gift from a gracious and merciful God*.

|| (33) Who speaketh better than he who inviteth unto R $\frac{5}{19}$ GOD, and worketh righteousness, and saith, I *am* a Muslim? (34) Good and evil shall not be held equal. Turn away *evil* with that which is better; and behold, the *man* between whom and thyself *there was* enmity *shall become*, as it were, *thy* warmest friend: (35) but none shall attain to this *perfection* except they who are patient; nor shall any attain thereto except he who is endued with a great happiness of *temper*. (36) And if a malicious suggestion be offered unto thee from Satan, have recourse unto GOD; for *it is* he who heareth *and* knoweth. (37) Among the signs of *his power* are the night and the day, and the sun and the moon. Worship not the sun, neither the moon: but worship GOD, who hath created them; if ye serve him. (38) But if they proudly disdain *his service*, verily the *angels*, who are with thy LORD, praise him night and

(30) *The angels shall descend*. "Either while they are living on earth, to dispose their minds to good, to preserve them from temptations, and to comfort them; or at the hour of death, to support them in their last agony; or at their coming forth from their graves at the resurrection."—Sale, *Jalāluddīn*.

Comp. Ps. xxxiv. 7, and Heb. i. 14.

(35) *Endued with a great happiness of temper*. Rodwell translates *the most highly favoured*.

(36) See chap. cxiv.

(37) *Worship God*. Comp. Rev. xix. 10. Passages like this illustrate the superiority of Muhammad over his countrymen as well as his power as a preacher.

(38) Comp. Rev. iv. 8.

day, and are not wearied. (39) And among his signs *another is*, that thou seest the land waste; but when we send down rain thereon, it is stirred and fermenteth. And he who quickeneth *the earth* will surely quicken the dead; for he is almighty. (40) Verily those who impiously wrong our signs are not concealed from us. *Is he*, therefore, better who shall be cast into *hell-fire*, or he who shall appear secure on the day of resurrection? Work that which ye will: he certainly beholdeth whatever ye do. (41) Verily they who believe not in the admonition of *the Qurán*, after it hath come unto them, *shall one day be discovered*. It is certainly a book of infinite value: (42) vanity shall not approach it, either from before it, or from behind it: *it is* a revelation from a wise *God*, whose praise is justly to be celebrated. (43) No other is said unto thee *by the infidels of Makkah* than what hath been formerly said unto the apostles before thee: verily thy LORD *is* inclined to forgiveness, and *is also* able to chastise severely. (44) If we had revealed *the Qurán* in a foreign language, they had surely said, Unless the signs thereof be distinctly explained, *we will not receive the same: is the book written in* a foreign tongue, and *the person unto whom it is directed* an Arabian? Answer, It is, unto those who believe, a sure guide, and a remedy *for doubt and uncertainty*: but unto those who believe not, *it is* a thickness of hearing in their ears, and it is a darkness which covereth them; these are *as they who are* called unto from a distant place.

|| (45) We heretofore gave the book of *the law* unto

(42) *Either from before, &c.* "That is, it shall not be prevailed against, nor frustrated by any means or in any respect whatever."—Sale.

(44) See note on chap. xvi. 105.

A sure guide. See chap. xvii. 84, 85.

These are as they, &c. "Being so far off that they hear not, or understand not the voice of him who calls to them."—Sale.

(45) Here again we see Muhammad likening himself to the former prophets. See Introd. chap. xi. The allusion probably is to the unbelief of the Israelites in the wilderness.

Moses; and a dispute arose concerning the same: and if a previous decree had not proceeded from thy LORD, to *respite the opposers of that revelation*, verily the matter had been decided between them *by the destruction of the infidels*; for they were in a very great doubt as to the same. (46) He who doth right, *doth it to the advantage of his own soul*; and he who doth evil, *doth it against the same*: for thy LORD *is not unjust towards his servants*. (47) Unto him is reserved the knowledge of the hour of *judgment*: and no fruit cometh forth from the knops which involve it; neither doth any female conceive *in her womb*, nor is she delivered *of her burden*, but with his knowledge. On the day whereon he shall call them to him, *saying*, Where are my companions *which ye ascribed unto me?* they shall answer, We assure thee *there is no witness of this matter among us*: (48) and the idols which they called on before shall withdraw themselves from them; and they shall perceive that *there will be no way to escape*. (49) Man is not wearied with asking good; but if evil befall him, he despondeth and despaireth. (50) And if we cause him to taste mercy from us after affliction hath touched him, he surely saith, *This is due to me on account of my deserts*: I do not think the hour of *judgment* will ever come: and if I be brought before my LORD, I shall surely attain, with him, the most excellent condition. But we will *then* declare unto those who shall not have believed that which they have wrought; and we will surely cause them to taste a most severe punishment. (51) When we confer favours on man, he turneth aside, and departeth *without returning thanks*; but when evil toucheth him, he *is frequent at prayer*. (52) Say, What think ye? if the *Qurán* be from GOD, and ye believe not

TWENTY
FIFTH
SIPARA.

(46) Comp. chap. xlv. 14.

(47) *No witness*. "For they shall disclaim their idols at the resurrection."—*Sale*. See above in note on ver. 29.

(48) See chap. xxviii. 62-66 and 74.

(50) See chap. xvii. 69.

therein; who will lie under a greater error than he who dissenteth widely *therefrom*? (53) Hereafter we will show them our signs in the regions *of the earth*, and in themselves; until it become manifest unto them that *this book* is the truth. Is it not sufficient *for thee* that thy LORD is witness of all things? (54) Are they not in a doubt as to the meeting of their LORD *at the resurrection*? Doth not he encompass all things?

(53) *We will show them our signs . . . in themselves.* "By the surprising victories and conquests of Muhammad and his successors." —Sale, *Baidhāwī*. A better interpretation, and one in accord with the spirit of the chapter, is that the unbelievers would recognise the truth of Muhammad's teaching in the resurrection and the judgment. See vers. 41 and 52. Many years subsequent to the date of this chapter Muhammad disclaimed the ability to foretell future events. See chap. vi. 49, and note there.

CHAPTER XLII.

ENTITLED SURAT AL SHORÍ (CONSULTATION).

Revealed at Makkah.

INTRODUCTION.

THIS chapter receives its title from what is said in ver. 36 of the believers, "Whose affairs are directed by *consultation* among themselves." The five single letters at the beginning are used by some as a title of the chapter. Rodwell and Palmer call it the *Chapter of Counsel*. It might have been called the *Chapter of Apology* but for the fact that the laboured effort of the Prophet to establish his prophetic claims and to vindicate his Qurán from the accusation of forgery brought against it by his enemies is by no means limited to this chapter.

The feature of the chapter just alluded to reveals to us the main design of the author in writing it, while a careful reading of the contents will reveal the following circumstances of the Prophet at this time. (1) He was strongly opposed by his townsmen, and his prophetic pretensions were rejected, especially by the Jewish and Christian portion of his hearers. (2) Though he professed to attest the doctrines of the Bible, and declared himself a believer in all the prophets from Adam to Jesus (vers. 11-14), yet both Jews and Christians hesitated not to call him an impostor (ver. 23), insinuating that their opinion was attested by the fact that no one had ever seen him receive a revelation from God or Gabriel (vers. 50, 51). (3) Some of the people, however, had believed in him (vers. 5 and 25), while others, once believers, had become apostates (ver. 15).

Throughout the chapter Muhammad represents himself as simply a preacher, holding himself in no way responsible for the unbelievers, satisfied to vindicate his prophetic claims before the people of Makkah and "to direct them into the right way."

Probable Date of the Revelations.

From what has been said above, it will appear that this chapter belongs to Makkah. Its date is fixed by Noéldeke somewhat later than that of the preceding chapter.

Some writers, as Baidháwi and Umr bin Muhammad, have regarded vers. 22-25 as Madínic, and Jaláluddín, as Syúti (Itqán 35), regards vers. 35-37 as also belonging to Madína. The reasons given, however, do not carry conviction, being based upon the assumption that there could be no reference to *almsgiving* and *prayer* in passages revealed before the Hijra.

Principal Subjects.

	VERSES
The Almighty reveals his will to Muhammad	1, 2
Angels intercede with God on behalf of sinful man . . .	3
Muhammad not a steward over the idolaters	4
The Qurán revealed in the Arabic language to warn Makkah	5
God the only helper, creator, and preserver, the all-knowing	6-10
Islám the religion of all the former prophets	11-13
Muhammad commanded to declare his faith in the Bible .	14
Disputers with God shall be severely punished	15
God only knows the hour of the judgment	16, 17
The Almighty will reward the righteous and the wicked according to their deeds	18, 19
Sinners only spared through God's forbearance	20
Rewards of the just and of the unjust	21, 22
Muhammad charged with imposture	23
The sovereign God forgives and blesses whom he will .	24-27
God's power manifested in his works	28-33
A true believer's character decided	34-41
The miserable fate of those whom God causes to err .	42-45
Sinners exhorted to repent before it is too late . . .	46
Muhammad only a preacher	47
God controls all things	48, 49
Why God reveals himself by inspiration and through apostles	50, 51
Muhammad himself ignorant of Islám until he had received the revelation of the Qurán	52, 53

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

|| (1) H. M. A. S. Q. Thus doth the mighty, the wise R $\frac{1}{2}$
 GOD reveal *his will* unto thee ; and *in like manner did he*
reveal it unto the *prophets* who *were* before thee. (2) Unto
 him *belongeth* whatever *is* in heaven and in earth ; and he
 is the high, the great *God*. (3) It wanteth little but that
 the heavens be rent in sunder from above *at the awfulness*
of his majesty : the angels celebrate the praise of their
 LORD, and ask pardon for those who *dwell* in the earth.
 Is not GOD the forgiver *of sins* the merciful ? (4) But *as*
to those who take *other gods* for their patrons, besides him,
 GOD observeth their *actions* : for thou art not a steward
 over them. (5) Thus have we revealed unto thee an
 Arabic Qurán, that thou mayest warn the metropolis of
Makkah, and the *Arabs* who *dwell* round about it ; and
 mayest threaten *them* with the day of the *general*
assembly, of which there is no doubt : *one part shall then*
be placed in Paradise, and *another part* in hell. (6) If
 GOD had pleased, he had made them *all* of one religion ;
 but he leadeth whom he pleaseth into his mercy ; and the
 unjust shall have no patron or helper. (7) Do they take
other patrons, besides him ? whereas GOD is the *only true*
 patron : he quickeneth the dead, and he *is* almighty.

(8) Whatever matter ye disagree about, the decision R $\frac{2}{3}$
 thereof *appertaineth* unto GOD. This is GOD my LORD :
 in him do I trust, and unto him do I turn me : (9) the
 Creator of heaven and earth : he hath given you wives of
 your own species, and cattle both male and female ; by
 which means he multiplieth you : there is nothing like

(1) H. M. A. S. Q. See Prelim. Disc., pp. 100-102.

Reveal . . . unto thee. Comp. chap. xxxix. 1. "The Korán was not revealed in the same way as the Law or the Gospel. Neither of them were brought by Gabriel."—*Brinckman*.

(3) *Angels . . . ask pardon for, &c.* See note on chap. xl. 7.

(5) See note on chaps. xxi. 105, and xli. 44. As yet Muhammad conceived of himself as merely the prophet of Arabia.

(9) *Wives of your own species.* See notes on chap. xvi. 74.

him; and *it is* he who heareth *and* seeth. (10) His are the keys of heaven and earth; he bestoweth provision abundantly on whom he pleaseth, and he is sparing *unto whom he pleaseth*; for he knoweth all things. (11) He hath ordained you the religion which he commanded Noah, and which we have revealed unto thee, *O Muhammad*, and which we commanded Abraham, and Moses, and Jesus: *saying*, Observe *this* religion, and be not divided therein. (12) The *worship of one God*, to which thou invitest them, is grievous unto the unbelievers: GOD will elect thereto whom he pleaseth, and will direct unto the same him who shall repent. (13) *Those who lived in times past* were not divided among themselves, until after that the knowledge of *God's unity* had come unto them; through their own perverseness: and unless a previous decree had passed from thy LORD, *to bear with them* till a determined time, verily *the matter* had been decided between them *by the destruction of the gainsayers*. They who have inherited the scriptures after them *are* certainly in a perplexing doubt concerning *the same*. (14) Wherefore invite *them to receive the sure faith*, and be urgent *with them*, as thou hast been commanded; and follow not their *vain* desires: and say, I believe in *all* the scriptures which GOD hath sent down; and I am commanded to

(11) In this passage Muhammad claims that his religion is the one true religion revealed from the beginning to all true prophets. This claim is fatal to his own prophetic pretensions; nothing is clearer than this, since Islám contradicts the whole plan of salvation revealed in the scriptures of the Old and New Testaments. See notes on chaps. ii. 40, 90, 100, iii. 2, iv. 44, 45, 162, v. 48-50, &c. For other similar passages, see Index under the word QURÁN. See also Prelim. Disc., chap. iv.

(13) *They who have inherited, &c.* "The modern Jews and Christians."—Sale.

In a perplexing doubt, &c. "Not understanding the true meaning nor believing the real doctrines thereof."—Sale. This is the interpretation of the commentators. The allusion is to the controversies relative to the doctrines of the Sonship of Christ and the Trinity.

(14) *I believe in all the scriptures.* See above under ver. 11.

establish justice among you: GOD is our LORD and your LORD: unto us *will* our works be *imputed*, and unto you *will* your works be *imputed*: let there be no wrangling between us and you; for GOD will assemble us *all at the last day*, and unto him shall we return. (15) *As to* those who dispute concerning GOD, after obedience hath been paid him *by receiving his religion*, their disputing shall be vain in the sight of their LORD; and wrath shall fall on them, and they shall suffer a grievous punishment. (16) *It is* GOD who hath sent down the scripture with truth; and the balance of *true judgment*: and what shall inform thee whether the hour be nigh at hand? (17) They who believe not therein wish it to be hastened *by way of mockery*: but they who believe dread the same, and know it to be the truth. Are not those who dispute concerning the *last hour* in a wide error?

|| (18) GOD is bounteous unto his servants: he provideth for whom he pleaseth; and he is the strong, the mighty. (19) Whoso chooseth the tillage of the life to come, unto him will we give increase in his tillage: and whoso chooseth the tillage of this world, we will give him *the fruit* thereof; but he shall have no part in the life to come. (20) Have *the idolaters* deities which ordain them a religion which GOD hath not allowed? But *had it not been* for the decree of *respiting their punishment to the day of separating the infidels from the true believers*, judgment had been *already* given between them: for the unjust shall surely suffer a painful torment. (21) *On that day* thou shalt see the unjust in great terror, because of their demerits; and *the penalty thereof* shall fall upon them: but they who believe and do good works shall dwell in the delightful meadows of Paradise; they shall obtain whatever they shall desire, with their LORD. This is the

(19) *Whoso chooseth, &c.* "Labouring here to obtain a reward hereafter; for what is sown in this world will be reaped in the next."—Sale.

Comp. Gal. vi. 8.

greatest acquisition. (22) This *is* what GOD promiseth unto his servants who believe and do good works. Say, I ask not of you, for this *my preaching*, any reward, except the love of *my* relations: and whoever shall have deserved well by *one* good action, unto him will we add *the merit of another* action thereto; for GOD *is* inclined to forgive and ready to reward. (23) Do they say *Muhammad* hath blasphemously forged a lie concerning GOD? If GOD pleaseth, he will seal up thy heart: and GOD will absolutely abolish vanity, and will establish the truth in his words; for he knoweth the innermost part of *men's* breasts. (24) *It is* he who accepteth repentance from his servants, and forgiveth sins, and knoweth that which ye do. (25) He will incline his ear unto those who believe and work righteousness, and will add unto them *above what they shall ask or deserve*, of his bounty: but the unbelievers shall suffer a severe punishment. (26) If GOD should bestow abundance upon his servants, they would certainly behave insolently in the earth: but he sendeth down by measure *unto every one* that which he pleaseth; for he well knoweth *and seeth the condition of his* servants. (27) *It is* he who sendeth down the rain, after *men* have despaired *thereof*, and spreadeth abroad his

(22) Comp. chap. xxv. 58, 59.

(23) See chaps. iii. 185, vii. 85 and 203, x. 39, and xi. 14, &c.

He will seal up thy heart. The translation should be *He could seal, &c.* "The meaning of these words is somewhat obscure. Some imagine they express a detestation of the forgery charged on the Prophet by the infidels; because none could be capable of so wicked an action but one whose heart was close shut, and knew not his Lord: as if he had said, 'God forbid that thou shouldst be so void of grace, or have so little sense of thy duty!' Others think the signification to be, that God might strike all the revelations which had been vouchsafed to Muhammad out of his heart at once; and others, that God would strengthen his heart with patience against the insults of the believers."—*Sule, Baidhāwi.*

And God will absolutely abolish vanity, &c. The translation should be, *But God, &c.* "Wherefore if the doctrine taught in this book be of man, it will certainly fail and come to nothing; but if it be of God, it can never be overthrown."—*Sule, Baidhāwi.*

mercy ; and he is the patron, justly to be praised. (28) Among his signs *is* the creation of heaven and earth, and of the living creatures with which he hath replenished them both ; and he *is* able to gather them together *before his tribunal* whenever he pleaseth.

|| (29) Whatever misfortune befall^{R 4}eth you *is sent unto you by God*, for that which your hands have deserved ; and *yet* he forgiveth many things : (30) ye shall not frustrate *the divine vengeance* in the earth ; neither shall ye have any protector or helper against GOD. (31) Among his signs *also are* the *ships* running in the sea, like high mountains : if he pleaseth, he causeth the wind to cease, and they lie still on the back of *the water* : (verily herein *are* signs unto every patient and grateful person) : (32) or he destroyeth them *by shipwreck*, because of that which *their crews* have merited ; though he pardoneth many things. (33) And they who dispute against our signs shall know that *there will be* no way for them to escape *our vengeance*.

|| (34) Whatever things are given you, *they are* the pro-^{RUBA}vision of this present life ; but the *reward* which is with GOD is better, and more durable, for those who believe, and put their trust in the LORD ; (35) and who avoid heinous and filthy crimes, and when they are angry, forgive ; (36) and who hearken unto their LORD, and are constant at prayer, and whose affairs *are directed by* consultation among themselves, and who give *alms* out of what we have bestowed on them ; (37) and who, when an injury is done them, *avenge themselves*, (38) (and the retaliation of evil *ought to be* an evil proportionate thereto) : but he who forgiveth and is reconciled *unto his enemy* shall receive his reward from GOD ; for he loveth not the unjust doers. (39) And whoso shall *avenge himself*, after he

(28) Comp. John ix. 1-3. Muhammad seems to have entertained the error of Job's friends.

(37-39) *Avenge themselves*. "Using the means which God has put into their hands for their own defence. This is added to com-

hath been injured; as to these, it is not lawful to punish them *for it*: (40) but it is only lawful to punish those who wrong men, and act insolently in the earth, against justice; these shall suffer a grievous punishment. (41) And whoso beareth *injuries* patiently and forgiveth, verily this is a necessary work.

R $\frac{5}{8}$.

|| (42) Whom GOD shall cause to err, he shall afterwards have no protector. And thou shalt see the ungodly, (43) who shall say, when they behold the punishment *prepared for them*, *Is there no way to return back into the world?* (44) And thou shalt see them exposed unto *hell-fire*; dejected, because of the ignominy *they shall undergo*: they shall look *at the fire* sideways and by stealth; and the true believers shall say, Verily the losers are they who have lost their own souls, and their families, on the day of resurrection: *shall not the ungodly continue* in eternal torment? (45) They shall have no protectors to defend them against GOD; and whom GOD shall cause to err, he shall find no way *to the truth*. (46) Harken unto your LORD before the day come, which GOD will not keep back: ye shall have no place of refuge on that day; neither shall ye be able to deny *your sins*. (47) But if *those to whom thou preachest* turn aside from *thy admonitions*, verily we have not sent thee *to be a guardian over them*: thy duty is preaching only. When we cause man to taste mercy from us, he rejoiceth thereat; but if evil befall them, for that which their hands have formerly committed, verily man *becometh* ungrateful. (48) Unto GOD *appertaineth* the kingdom of heaven and earth: he createth that which he pleaseth; (49) he giveth females unto whom he pleaseth, and he giveth males unto whom

plete the character here given; for valour and courage are not inconsistent with clemency, the rule being, *Parcere subjectis et debellare superbos*."—Sale.

See note on chap. ii. 194.

Who forgiveth, &c. See chap. v. 49.

(45) *Whom God shall cause to err, &c.* See notes on chaps. vii. 179, 180, xvi. 95, and xx. 87.

he pleaseth ; or he giveth them males and females jointly : and he maketh whom he pleaseth to be childless ; for he is wise *and* powerful. (50) It is not *fit* for man that GOD should speak unto him otherwise than, by *private* revelation, or from behind a veil, (51) or by his sending of a messenger to reveal, by his permission, that which he pleaseth ; for he is high *and* wise. (52) Thus have we revealed unto thee a revelation, by our command. Thou didst not understand *before this* what the book of the *Qurán* was, nor *what* the faith was ; but we have ordained the same *for* a light ; we will thereby direct such of our servants as we please ; and thou shalt surely direct *them* into the right way, (53) the way of GOD, unto whom *belongeth* whatever is in heaven and in earth. Shall not *all* things return unto GOD ?

(50-51) This was said in answer to those who objected that no one ever saw Muhammad when *receiving* his revelations from God.

Messenger. See note on chap. ii. 96.

(52) *A revelation.* "Or, as the words may also be translated, 'Thus have we sent the Spirit Gabriel unto thee with a revelation.'"—*Sale.*

Thou didst not understand before this, &c. See note on chap. x. 17.

CHAPTER XLIII.

ENTITLED SURAT AL ZUḤRÁF (THE ORNAMENTS OF GOLD).

Revealed at Makkah.

INTRODUCTION.

ALTHOUGH the faith of Christians is alluded to in this chapter, the contents seem to have been solely intended for the instruction and warning of the idolaters of Makkah. The exposure of their idolatry is clear and convincing, while the truth of the new religion is everywhere assumed. The worship of female deities, who were called by the Arabs "daughters of God," is visited with scathing irony. "When one of them," says the revelation, "hath the news brought of the birth of a child of that sex, which they attribute unto the Merciful as his similitude, his face becometh black, and he is oppressed with sorrow!"

The allusion made to the Christian faith, though intended to be a reply to the Quraish, who had compared the worship of their deities with the Christian worship of Jesus, yet contains a distinct denial of the divinity of the Son of Mary. The Gospel of Jesus, according to Muhammad, was "Fear God and obey me: verily God is my Lord and your Lord; wherefore worship him: this is the right way."

The close of the chapter indicates that while Muhammad had no doubt about the triumph of God's cause, yet he despaired of the conversion of his townsmen (vers. 39-41, 88, 89). They have ears, but they hear not. He cries out, "O Lord, verily these are people who believe not." To which the Lord replies, "Therefore turn aside from them; and say, Peace." They are now rejected of God and his Prophet as reprobates.

Probable Date of the Revelations.

There can be no doubt that the whole of this chapter must be referred to Makkah. The imagination of the traditionists that ver.

44 was enunciated at Jerusalem during the celebrated night-journey (Rodwell, *note in loco*), is refuted by the absence of any proof that such a journey was ever performed.

As to the date, aside from the general style of the contents, we have, in the last verse, a distinct allusion to a breach between Muhammad and the Quraish. That this was not the final breach, when Muhammad determined to leave Makkah and go to Madína, is evident from the absence of any allusion to persecution of the Muslims. It is probable, therefore, that the allusion here refers to Muhammad's withdrawal with his followers to the house of Arqám to escape the taunts and threatened violence of the Quraish. This understanding of this passage would relegate this chapter to the fourth year of Muhammad's ministry (B.H. 9), with which the style of the contents very well agrees. Noëldéke, however, places it somewhat later, about the beginning of the fifth year of Muhammad's call.

Principal Subjects.

	VERSES
The Arabic Qurán copied from a divine original . . .	1-3
Former nations, like the Quraish, rejected the prophets . .	4-7
Idolaters acknowledge God to be creator, yet worship the creature	8-14
The Arabs hate female offspring, and yet attribute such to God	15-18
Idolaters vainly excuse their unbelief by saying they will follow the religion of their fathers	19-24
Abraham rejected the idolatry of his fathers	25-27
God prospered the idolatrous Quraish until a prophet came, and now they reject him	28, 29
The unbelievers rebuked for saying they would have received the Qurán from some great man	30, 31
Poverty only permitted to save men from idolatry	32-34
Devils are constituted the companions of infidels, who lead them to destruction	35-38
Muhammad exhorted to remain steadfast in faith notwithstanding the unbelief of his countrymen	39-44
Moses rejected with contempt by Pharaoh and the Egyptians, who were drowned	45-56
The Arab idolaters justified their idolatry by reference to the Christian worship of Jesus	57, 58
But Jesus did not say he was a god, but was a servant and a prophet of God	59-64
Unbelievers warned of approaching judgment	65-67
The joys of Paradise reserved for Muslims and their wives	68-73

	VERSES
The damned shall vainly seek relief in annihilation . . .	74-78
Angels record the secret plottings of infidels . . .	79, 80
If God had a son, Muhammad would be the first to worship him . . .	81, 82
God knoweth the folly of idolaters . . .	83-87
Muhammad commanded to turn aside from the unbelieving Quraish . . .	88, 89

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

R $\frac{1}{7}$

|| (1) H. M. By the perspicuous book; (2) verily we have ordained the same an Arabic Qurán that ye may understand: (3) and it is certainly *written* in the original book, *kept* with us, *being* sublime and full of wisdom. (4) Shall we therefore turn away from you the admonition, and deprive *you thereof*, because ye are a people who transgress? (5) And how many prophets have we sent among those of old? (6) and no prophet came unto them but they laughed him to scorn: (7) wherefore we destroyed *nations who were* more mighty than these in strength; and the example of those who were of old hath been already *set before them*. (8) If thou ask them who created the heavens and the earth, they will certainly answer, The mighty, the wise *God* created them: (9) who hath spread the earth *as* a bed for you, and hath made you paths therein, that ye may be directed: (10) and who sendeth down rain from heaven by measure, whereby we quicken a dead country; (so shall ye be brought forth *from your graves*;) (11) and who hath created all the *various* species of *things*, and hath given you ships and cattle, whereon ye are carried; (12) that ye may sit firmly on the backs thereof, and may remember the favour of your LORD, when ye sit thereon, and may say, Praise be

(1) H. M. See Prelim. Disc., pp. 100-102.

(2) See chaps. xi. 2, 3, xvi. 105, xli. 2, and notes there.

(3) *Original book*. The Preserved Table. Prelim. Disc., p. 108.

(5, 6) Comp. chaps. xxiii. 24-26, and xxv. 5-10.

unto him, who hath subjected these unto our service ! for we could not have mastered them *by our own power* : (13) and unto our LORD shall we surely return. (14) Yet have they attributed unto him some of his servants *as his offspring* : verily man is openly ungrateful. (15) Hath *God* taken daughters out of *those beings* which he hath created, and hath he chosen sons for you ? (16) But when one of them hath the news brought of *the birth of a child of that sex*, which they attribute unto the Merciful as *his* similitude, his face becometh black, and he is oppressed with sorrow.

|| (17) Do they therefore *attribute unto God female issue*, R $\frac{2}{8}$. which are brought up among ornaments, and are contentious without cause ? (18) And do they make the angels, who are the servants of the Merciful, females ? Were they present at their creation ? Their testimony shall be written down, and they shall be examined *concerning the same on the day of judgment*. (19) And they say, If the Merciful had pleased, we had not worshipped them. They have no knowledge herein : they only utter a vain lie. (20) Have we given them a book of *revelations* before this ; and do they keep the same in their custody ? (21) But they say, Verily we found our fathers practising a religion, and we *are* guided in their footsteps. (22) Thus we sent no preacher before thee unto *any* city, but the inhabitants thereof, who lived in affluence, said, Verily we found our fathers practising a religion, and we tread in their footsteps. (23) *And the preacher* answered, What, although I bring you a more right *religion* than that which ye found your fathers to practise ? *And* they replied, Verily we believe not that which ye are sent to *preach*. (24) Wherefore we took vengeance on them :

(14-17) See notes on chap. iv. 116, 169.

(16) See chap. xvi. 60.

(21) See note on chap. ii. 171.

(24) See the *Histories* of the former prophets in chap. xi., &c.

R $\frac{3}{4}$.

and behold what hath been the end of those who accused *our apostles* of imposture.

|| (25) *Remember* when Abraham said unto his father and his people, Verily I am clear of *the gods* which ye worship, (26) except him who hath created me; for he will direct me *aright*. (27) And he ordained this *to be* a constant doctrine among his posterity, that they should be turned *from idolatry to the worship of the only true God*. (28) Verily I have permitted these *Makkans* and their fathers to live in prosperity, until the truth should come unto them, and a manifest apostle; (29) but now the truth is come unto them, they say, This *is* a piece of sorcery, and we believe not therein. (30) And they say, Had this Qurán been sent down unto some great man of *either of the two cities*, *we would have received it*. (31) Do they distribute the mercy of thy LORD? We distribute the necessary provision among them in this present life, and we raise some of them *several* degrees above the others, that the one of them may take the other to serve him: and the mercy of thy LORD is more valuable than the *riches* which they gather together. (32) If *it were* not that mankind would have become one sect *of infidels*, verily we had given unto those who believe not in the Merciful roofs of silver to their houses, and stairs *of silver* by which they might ascend *thereto*, (33) and doors of

(29) See notes, chaps. x. 39, and xi. 14.

(30) *Some great man, i.e.*, "To one of the principal inhabitants of Makkah or of Tayif, such as al Walíd, Ibn al Mughaira, or Urwa Ibn Masúd the Thakífite."—*Sale, Baidháwi*.

"This verse is worth marking. Many hold that half of Moham-med's first success is to be attributed to his rank and influence among the Meccans. The story of his being chosen to put the black stone in its place shows, at all events, that he was respected for his moral character."—*Brinckman in Notes on Islám*. However this may be, he had long since lost his prestige among the Quraish. His early successes were due entirely to the superiority of his religion to that of the Arabs, as he claims in ver. 23 of this chapter.

(31) *Do they distribute, &c.* "By this expression the prophetic office is here particularly intended."—*Sale*.

(32-34) But comp. chap. xxxv. 30.

silver to their houses, and couches of *silver* for them to lean on; (34) and ornaments of gold: for all this *is* the provision of the present life; but the next *life* with thy LORD *shall be* for those who fear *him*.

|| (35) Whoever shall withdraw from the admonition of the Merciful, we will chain a devil unto him, and he shall be his inseparable companion: (36) (and *the devils* shall turn them aside from the way of *truth*; yet they shall imagine themselves *to be* rightly directed;) (37) until, when he shall appear before us *at the last day*, he shall say *unto the devil*, Would to GOD that between me and thee *there was* the distance of the east from the west! (38) Oh how wretched a companion *art thou*! But *wishes* shall not avail you on this day, since ye have been unjust; for ye shall be partakers of the *same* punishment. (39) Canst thou, *O Prophet*, make the deaf to hear, or canst thou direct the blind, and him who is in a manifest error? (40) Whether we take thee away, we will surely take vengeance on them; (41) or whether we cause thee to see *the punishment* with which we have threatened them *executed*, we will certainly prevail over them. (42) Wherefore hold fast *the doctrine* which hath been revealed unto thee; for thou *art* in a right way; (43) and it is a memorial unto thee and thy people, and hereafter shall ye be examined *concerning your observance thereof*. (44) And ask our apostles whom we have sent before thee whether we have appointed gods for them to worship besides the Merciful.

|| (45) We formerly sent Moses with our signs unto Pharaoh and his princes, and he said, Verily I am the apostle of the LORD of all creatures. (46) And when he came unto them with our signs, behold, they laughed him

(35) *A devil, &c.* See chap. xix. 69, 86.

(40) This verse intimates that Muhammad was in doubt as to the ultimate success of his mission.

(44) "That is, Ask those who profess the religions which they taught, and their learned men."—*Sale, Baidhāwī, &c.*

to scorn; (47) although we showed them no sign, but it was greater than the other: and we inflicted a punishment on them, that peradventure they might be converted. (48) And they said *unto Moses*, O magician, pray unto thy LORD for us, according to the covenant which he hath made with thee; for we *will* certainly *be* directed. (49) But when we took the plague from off them, behold, they brake their promise. (50) And Pharaoh made proclamation among his people, saying, O my people, is not the kingdom of Egypt mine, and these rivers which flow beneath me? Do ye not see? (51) Am not I better than this *Moses*, who is a contemptible person, (52) and can scarce express himself intelligibly? (53) Have bracelets of gold, therefore, been put upon him; or do the angels attend him in orderly procession? (54) And *Pharaoh* persuaded his people to light behaviour; and they obeyed him: for they were a wicked people. (55) And when they had provoked us to wrath, we took vengeance on them: and we drowned them all: (56) and we made them a precedent, and an example unto others.

R $\frac{6}{12}$.

|| (57) And when the son of Mary was proposed for an example, behold, thy people cried out *through excess of joy*

(47) *No sign but it was greater, &c.* "Literally, *than its sister*. The meaning is, that the miracles were *all very great and considerable*, or as the French may express it, by a phrase nearly the same, *les uns plus grands que les autres*."—Sale.

A punishment, viz., "the successive plagues which they suffered previous to their final destruction in the Red Sea."—Sale.

That peradventure, &c. This contradicts Exod. iii. 19, 20.

(50–56) See notes, chap. vii. 104–136.

These rivers. "The Nile and its branches."—Sale.

Can scarce express himself intelligibly. See chap. xx. 28.

(53) *Have bracelets, &c.* "Such bracelets were some of the insignia of royalty; for when the Egyptians raised a person to the dignity of a prince, they put a collar or chain of gold about his neck (Gen. xli. 42), and bracelets of gold on his wrists."—Sale, *Baidhāwi*.

(57) *Thy people cried out, &c.* "This passage is generally supposed to have been revealed on occasion of an objection made by one Ibn al Zabāri to those words in the twenty-first chapter (ver. 92) by which all in general who were worshipped as deities besides God are doomed to hell: whereupon the infidels cried out, 'We are content that our gods should be with Jesus; for he also is worshipped

thereat; (58) and they said, *Are our gods better, or he?* They have proposed this *instance* unto thee no otherwise than for an occasion of dispute; yea, they are contentious men. (59) *Jesus* is no other than a servant, whom we favoured *with the gift of prophecy*; and we appointed him for an example unto the children of Israel: (60) (if we pleased, verily we could from ourselves produce angels, to succeed *you* in the earth;) (61) and he *shall be* a sign of the *approach of the last hour*; wherefore doubt not thereof. And follow me: this *is* the right way. (62) And let not

as God.' Some, however, are of opinion it might have been revealed in answer to certain idolaters, who said that the Christians, who received the Scriptures, worshipped Jesus, supposing him to be the son of God; whereas the angels were more worthy of that honour than he."—*Sale, Baidhāwi*.

(59) *Jesus is no other than a servant, &c.* Muir says: "This was . . . the only position which, at the present advanced period of his mission, Mahomet could consistently fall back upon; and it was ever after carefully maintained. Some terms of veneration in use among Christians are indeed applied to Jesus, as 'the Word of God,' and 'His Spirit which he breathed into Mary' (chap. iii. 39, iv. 16, xxi. 91, &c.) But the Divine Sonship was constantly denied."—*Life of Mahomet*, vol. ii. pp. 287, 288.

See also notes on chaps. iii. 39, and iv. 169.

An example. "Or an instance of our power, by his miraculous birth."—*Sale*. See chap. xxi. 91, where he is called "a sign unto all creatures."

(60) *We could . . . produce angels, &c.* "As easily as we produced Jesus without a father. The intent of the words is to show how just and reasonable it is to think that the angels should bear the relation of children to men, rather than to God; they being his creatures as well as men, and equally in his power."—*Sale, Baidhāwi*.

(61) *A sign . . . of the last hour.* "For some time before the resurrection Jesus is to descend on earth, according to the Muhammadans, near Damascus (Prelim. Disc., pp. 132–133), or, as some say, near a rock in the Holy Land named Afik, with a lance in his hand wherewith he is to kill Antichrist, whom he will encounter at Ludd, or Lydda, a small town not far from Joppa. They add that he will arrive at Jerusalem at the time of morning prayer; that he shall perform his devotions after the Muhammadan institution, and officiate instead of the Imām, who shall give place to him; that he will break down the cross and destroy the churches of the Christians, of whom he will make a general slaughter, excepting only such as shall profess Islām," &c.—*Sale, Baidhāwi, Jalāluddīn*.

See also Prelim. Disc., p. 133.

(62) See note on chaps. iv. 116, and vi. 112.

Satan cause you to turn aside: for he *is* your open enemy. (63) And when *Jesus* came with evident *miracles*, he said, Now am I come unto you with wisdom, and to explain unto you part of *those things* concerning which ye disagree; wherefore fear God and obey me. (64) Verily GOD is my LORD and your LORD; wherefore worship him: this *is* the right way. (65) And the confederated sects among them fell to variance: but woe unto those who have acted unjustly, because of the punishment of a grievous day. (66) Do *the unbelievers* wait for any other than the hour of judgment; that it may come upon them suddenly, while they foresee it not? (67) The intimate friends on that day *shall be* enemies unto one another; except the pious.

R $\frac{7}{13}$.

|| (68) O my servants, *there shall* no fear come on you this day, neither shall ye be grieved, (69) who have believed in our signs and have been Múslims; (70) enter ye into Paradise, ye and your wives, with great joy. (71) Dishes of gold shall be carried round unto them, and cups without handles: and therein *shall they enjoy* whatever *their* souls shall desire, and *whatever their* eyes shall delight in: and ye shall remain therein for ever. (72) This is Paradise, which ye have inherited *as a reward* for that which ye have wrought. (73) Therein shall ye have fruits in abundance, of which ye shall eat. (74) But the wicked

(63) *Wisdom*. "That is, with a book of revelations and an excellent system of religion."—*Sale*.

Part of those things, &c. "Muhammad again is careful only to allow that Jesus only came to explain '*part of those things*,' &c."—*Brinckman in Notes on Islám*. He, however, refers to *the things* about which *the Jews* differed in his time. The Christians having departed from the true faith, as he believed, a new prophet was needed to witness to and establish the doctrine of the Divine unity.

(65) "This may be understood either of the Jews in the time of Jesus, who opposed his doctrine, or of the Christians since, who have fallen into various opinions concerning him, some making him to be God, others the Son of God, and others one of the persons of the Trinity, &c."—*Sale, Bairdhávi*. I think the reference is clearly to the Christians only.

(70) *Your wives*. Who are presumed to be true believers.

(71-73) See note on chap. iii. 15.

shall remain for ever in the torment of hell: (75) it shall not be made lighter unto them; and they *shall* despair therein. (76) We deal not unjustly with them, but they deal unjustly *with their own souls*. (77) And they shall call aloud, *saying*, O Málík, *intercede for us* that thy LORD would end us *by annihilation*. He shall answer, Verily ye shall remain *here for ever*. (78) We brought you the truth heretofore, but the greater part of you abhorred the truth. (79) Have *the infidels* fixed on a method to *circumvent our Apostle*? Verily we will fix *on a method to circumvent them*. (80) Do they imagine that we hear not their secrets and their private discourse? Yea, and our messengers who attend them write down *the same*. (81) Say, If the Merciful had a son, verily I *would be* the first of those who should worship *him*. (82) Far be the LORD of heaven and earth, the LORD of the throne, from that which they affirm *of him*! (83) Wherefore let them wade *in their vanity*, and divert themselves until they arrive at their day with which they have been threatened. (84) He who is GOD in heaven is GOD on earth also; and he *is* the wise, the knowing. (85) And blessed be he unto whom *appertaineth* the kingdom of heaven and earth, and of whatever is between them; with whom *is* the knowledge of the *last hour*; and before whom ye shall be assembled. (86) They whom they invoke besides him have not the privilege to intercede *for others*; except those who bear

(77) *O Málík*. "This the Muhammadans suppose to be the name of the principal angel who has charge of hell."—Sale. See chap. lxxiv. 30.

He shall answer. "Some say that this answer will not be given till a thousand years after."—Sale.

(80) *Our messengers, i.e.*, "the guardian angels."—Sale. But see chap. l. 16.

(81) *If the Merciful had a son, &c.* Comp. chap. xxxix. 6.

(86) *Except those who bear witness, i.e.*, "to the doctrine of God's unity. The exception comprehends Jesus, Ezra, and the angels, who will be admitted as intercessors, though they have been worshipped as gods."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*, *Jalāluddīn*. But see notes on chaps. ii. 47, 123, vi. 50, and xxxix. 45.

witness to the truth, and know *the same*. (87) If thou ask them who hath created them, they will surely answer, GOD. How therefore are they turned away *to the worship of others?* (88) *God also heareth the saying of the Prophet,* O LORD, verily these *are* people who believe not: (89) *and he answereth,* Therefore turn aside from them; and say, Peace: hereafter shall they know *their folly*.

(88) *The saying* Rodwell translates *And one saith*. Of this passage Noëldeke says a few words must have been lost here, as the words وقيله, even if the diacritical points are changed, cannot be satisfactorily connected with the preceding verse.

(89) *Say, Peace, &c.* See note on chap. xxv. 64.

CHAPTER XLIV.

ENTITLED SURAT AL DUKHAN (SMOKE).

Revealed at Makkah.

INTRODUCTION.

THIS is a distinctively Makkan chapter. Its title is found in ver. 9, where a visible smoke is mentioned. The subject of the preacher is the necessity of accepting Islám. The Qurán, he declares, is a revelation from the only true God. This revelation the people had rejected, especially its teaching concerning the resurrection and the judgment. They had even charged their Prophet with forgery and with being a madman. They are now warned of coming calamity of Divine vengeance, unless they immediately repent and accept Islám. This instruction is enforced by reference to the destruction of Pharaoh and his hosts, and of the people of Tubbá, for their unbelief, and for their ignominious treatment of the prophets of God. To this is added a description of the horrors of hell and the joys of Paradise. The chapter ends with a notice of the Divine condescension in giving the Arab people his Word in their own language.

Probable Date of the Revelations.

All agree that the revelations of this chapter are of Makkan origin. Some have thought, without good reason, that vers. 14 and 15 are Madínic, because of the supposition that the *plague* alluded to in ver. 14 refers to a famine which visited Makkah after the Hijra, and that the *vengeance* of ver. 15 was taken at Badr. The reference in these verses, however, is to the plague and vengeance of God to be visited upon the unbelievers in the judgment-day, and in the perdition to follow.

We learn from ver. 13 that while some of the people of Makkah charged their Prophet with forgery, others, moved by either more charitable or more contemptuous feelings, merely called him a madman. These charges, in the absence of any show of violence towards

the preacher or followers of the new faith, point to an early period as the date of this chapter. Muir places it in the early part of the fourth stage, *i.e.*, at a period extending from the sixth to the tenth years of Muhammad's mission. Noéldeke places it in his second Makkan period, or the fifth and sixth years of Muhammad's mission.

Principal Subjects.

	VERSES
The Qurán sent down on the Blessed Night	1-6
God the only source of life	7
Unbelievers threatened with the tormenting smoke of the judgment-day	8-15
Pharaoh and his people destroyed for rejecting Moses	16-32
The people of Makkah threatened with the fate of the people of Tubbá	33-37
God did not create the universe in jest	38, 39
The judgment-day a day when none shall be helped	40-42
Punishment of the wicked in hell	43-50
Rewards of the righteous in Paradise	51-57
The Qurán revealed in Arabic as an admonition	58

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

R $\frac{1}{14}$.

|| (1) H. M. By the perspicuous book of the Qurán; (2) verily we have sent down the same on a blessed night (for we had engaged *so to do*), (3) *on the night* wherein is distinctly sent down the decree of every determined thing, (4) *as a command from us*. Verily we have *ever* used to send *apostles with revelations at proper intervals*, (5) *as a*

(1) *H. M.* See Prelim. Disc., pp. 100-102.

(2) *A blessed night.* "Generally supposed to be that between the twenty-third and twenty-fourth of Ramadhán. See Prelim. Disc., p. 108, and chap. xcvii. and the notes there."—*Sale*.

(3) "For annually on this night, as the Muhammadans are taught, all the events of the ensuing year, with respect to life and death and the other affairs of this world, are disposed and settled. Some, however, suppose that these words refer only to that particular night on which the Qurán, wherein are completely contained the Divine determinations in respect to religion and morality, was sent down; and, according to this exposition, the passage may be rendered, 'The night whereon every determined or adjudged matter was sent down.'" — *Sale, Baidhāwī, and Jalāluddīn*.

mercy from thy LORD; for it is he who heareth *and* knoweth: (6) the LORD of heaven and earth, and of whatever *is* between them; if ye are *men* of sure knowledge. (7) There *is* no GOD but he: he giveth life, and he causeth to die; *he is* your LORD, and the LORD of your forefathers. (8) Yet do they amuse themselves with doubt. (9) But observe *them* on the day *whereon* the heaven shall produce a visible smoke, (10) which shall cover mankind: this *will be* a tormenting plague. (11) *They shall say*, O LORD, take *this* plague from off us: verily we *will become* true believers. (12) How *should* an admonition *be of avail* to them *in this condition*; when a manifest apostle came unto them, (13) but they retired from him, saying, *This man is* instructed *by others*, or *is* a distracted person? (14) We will take the plague from off *you*, a little: *but* ye will certainly return *to your infidelity*. (15) On the day whereon we shall fiercely assault *them* with great power, verily we will take vengeance *on them*. (16) We made

(9) *Smoke*. The commentators differ in their expositions of this passage. Some think it spoke of a smoke which seemed to fill the air during the famine which was inflicted on the Makkans in Muhammad's time, and was so thick that, though they could hear, yet they could not see one another. But, according to a tradition of Ali, the smoke here meant is that which is to be one of the previous signs of the day of judgment, and will fill the whole space from east to west, and last for forty days. This smoke, they say, will intoxicate the infidels, and issue at their noses, ears, and posteriors, but will very little inconvenience the true believers."—Sale, *Jaláluddín*.

(13) *This man is instructed by others; &c.* See note on chap. xvi. 105.

(14) *The plague*. "If we follow the former exposition, the words are to be understood of the ceasing of the famine upon the intercession of Muhammad, at the desire of the Quraish, and on their promise of believing on him, notwithstanding which, they fell back to their old incredulity; but if we follow the latter exposition, they are to be understood of God's taking away the plague of the smoke, after the expiration of the forty days, at the prayer of the infidels, and on their promise of receiving the true faith, which being done, they will immediately return to their wonted obstinacy."—Sale. See also chap. xxiii. 65, note.

(15) "Some expound this of the slaughter at Badr, and others of the day of judgment."—Sale.

trial of the people of Pharaoh before them, and an honourable messenger came unto them, (17) *saying*, Send unto me the servants of GOD; verily I *am* a faithful messenger unto you: (18) and lift not yourselves up against GOD; for I come unto you with manifest power. (19) And I fly for protection unto my LORD, and your LORD, that ye stone me not. (20) If ye do not believe me, *at least* depart from me. (21) And *when they accused him of imposture*, he called upon his LORD, *saying*, These are a wicked people. (22) *And God said unto him*, March forth with my servants by night; for ye *will be* pursued: (23) and leave the sea divided, *that the Egyptians may enter the same*; for they *are* a host doomed to be drowned.

SULS.

|| (24) How many gardens, and fountains, (25) and fields of corn, and fair dwellings, (26) and advantages which they enjoyed, did they leave behind them! (27) Thus *we dispossessed them thereof*; and we gave the same for an inheritance unto another people. (28) Neither heaven nor earth wept for them; neither were they respited *any longer*.

R₁₅².

|| (29) And we delivered the children of Israel from a shameful affliction; (30) from Pharaoh; for he was haughty, and a transgressor: (31) and we chose them, knowingly, above *all* people; (32) and we showed them *several* signs, wherein was an evident trial. (33) Verily

(17) *Send unto me, &c., i.e., "Let the Israelites go with me to worship their God."*—Sale.

(19) *Stone me not.* "Or that ye injure me not, either by word or deed."—Sale, Baidhāwī.

(20) *Depart from me.* Without opposing me, or offering me any injury, which I have not deserved from you."—Sale.

(27) *We gave the same, &c.* See chap. xxvi. 57-59, and note on chap. vii. 137.

(28) *Wept.* "That is, none pitied their destruction."—Sale.

(31) *We chose them knowingly, i.e., "knowing that they were worthy of our choice; or notwithstanding we knew they would, in time to come, fall into idolatry, &c."*—Sale.

(32) *Signs.* "As the dividing of the Red Sea; the cloud which shaded them; the raining on them of manna and quails, &c."—Sale, Baidhāwī.

these *Makkans* say, (34) Assuredly *our final end* will be no other than our first *natural* death; neither shall we be raised again: (35) bring now our forefathers *back to life*, if ye speak truth. (36) Are they better, or the people of Tubbá, (37) and those who *were* before them? we destroyed them, because they wrought wickedness. (38) We have not created the heavens and the earth, and whatever *is* between them, by way of sport: (39) we have created them no otherwise than in truth; but the greater part of them do not understand. (40) Verily the day of separation *shall be* the appointed term of them all: (41) a day whereon the master and the servant shall be of no advantage to one another, neither shall they be helped; (42) excepting those on whom GOD shall have mercy; for he *is* the mighty, the merciful.

|| (43) Verily, *the fruit of* the tree of az Zaqqúm (44) R³₁₆ *shall be* the food of the impious; (45) as the dregs of oil shall it boil in the bellies *of the damned*, (46) like the boiling of the hottest water. (47) *And it shall be said to the tormentors*, Take him, and drag him into the midst of hell: (48) and pour on his head the torture of boiling water, (49) *saying*, Taste *this*; for thou art that mighty *and* honourable person. (50) Verily this is the *punish-*

(36) *The people of Tubbá*, viz., "the Hamyarites, whose kings had the title of Tubbá (Prelim. Disc., p. 26). The commentators tell us that the Tubbá here meant was very potent, and built Samarcand, or, as others say, demolished it; and that he was a true believer, but his subjects were infidels.

"This prince seems to have been Abu Qarib Asad, who flourished about seven hundred years before Muhammad, and embraced Judaism, which religion he first introduced into Yaman (being the true religion at that time, inasmuch as Christianity was not then promulgated), and was, for that cause probably, slain by his own people."—Sale, *Baidhawí, al Jannábi*.

(39) *In truth*. See notes on chaps. xxi. 16, 17, and xxxviii. 26.

(40) *The day of separation*, i.e., "the day of judgment, when the wicked shall be separated from the righteous, &c."—Sale.

(43) *Az Zaqqúm*. See chap. xxxvii. 60. "Jaláluddín supposes this passage to have been particularly levelled at Abu Jahl."—Sale.

(44-50) See note and references at chap. ii. 38.

ment of which you doubted. (51) But the pious *shall be lodged* in a place of security, (52) among gardens and fountains: (53) they shall be clothed in fine silk, and in satin; *and they shall sit* facing one another. (54) Thus *shall it be*: and we will espouse them to fair damsels, having large black eyes. (55) In that place shall they call for all *kinds of* fruits, in full security: (56) they shall not taste death therein, after the first death; and *God* shall deliver from the pains of hell: (57) through the gracious bounty of thy LORD. This will be great felicity. (58) Moreover we have rendered *the Qurán* easy for thee, *by revealing it* in thine own tongue; to the end that they may be admonished; (59) wherefore do thou wait *the event*; for they wait to see some misfortune befall thee.

(51-57) See notes on chaps. iii. 15, and 196-198, and xxxvii. 39-48.

(58) *Thine own tongue*. See note on chap. xli. 2, 3.

CHAPTER XLV.

ENTITLED SURAT AL JÁSÍYAH (KNEELING).

Revealed at Makkah.

INTRODUCTION.

THE title of this chapter is derived from verse 27, where it is said that in the judgment every nation shall be seen *kneeling* before God. The general outline of the teaching of this chapter differs little from that of other chapters enunciated at Makkah. God is declared to have revealed himself to Muhammad in the Qurán. Before this he had revealed himself to men in his works of creation and providence, and to the children of Israel in the Law and the Prophets. Infidels may reject this new revelation, but they shall realise, only too late for repentance to avail, that they have committed a fatal error.

The main point of interest to the Christian is the plain recognition of the Jewish Scriptures as the Word of God, preceding in date of revelation the Qurán. Muslims are, therefore, bound to receive the Bible as the Word of God.

Probable Date of the Revelations.

Noéldeke places the date of this chapter immediately after that of chap. xli. This agrees very well with the circumstances of the Muslims revealed in this chapter. Much depends upon what is implied in the exhortation of vers. 13 and 14. If the exhortation is intended to restrain the Muslims from violent resentment of the insults poured upon them, the date assigned above may be regarded as pretty correct. If, however, the exhortation implies actual persecution of Muslims, the date must be fixed at a later day.

Principal Subjects.

	VERSES
The Qurán a revelation from God	I
God revealed in his works	2-5
Punishment of those who reject the Qurán	6-10

	VERSES
God's mercy seen in his works of providence	11, 12
Muslims exhorted to forgive the unbelievers	13, 14
The Book of the law, wisdom, and prophecy given to the Israelites	15, 16
Muhammad received the Qurán	17-19
The wicked and just not rewarded alike	20
Unbelievers and idolaters threatened	21, 22
God the author of life, therefore may raise the dead . . .	23-25
Contrasted condition of believers and unbelievers in the judgment	26-34
Praise to the Lord of the universe	35, 36

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

R ¹₁₇. || (1) H. M. The revelation of *this* book is from the mighty, the wise GOD. (2) Verily *both* in heaven and earth *are* signs of *the divine power* unto the true believers: (3) and in the creation of yourselves, and of the beasts which are scattered *over the face of the earth* *are* signs unto people of sound judgment; (4) and *also in* the vicissitude of night and day, and the rain which GOD sendeth down from heaven, whereby he quickeneth the earth after it hath been dead: in the change of the winds *also are* signs unto people of understanding. (5) These *are* the signs of GOD; we rehearse them unto thee with truth. In what revelation therefore will they believe, after *they have*

(1) H. M. See Prelim. Disc., pp. 100-102.

This book is, &c. See note on chap. xi. 2.

(3) "By the days of God, in this place, are meant the prosperous successes of his people in battle against the infidels. The passage is said to have been revealed on account of Omar, who being reviled by one of the tribes of Ghafár, was thinking to revenge himself by force. Some are of opinion that this verse is abrogated by that of *War.*"—Sale, *Baidhâwî*.

Since, according to Muslim belief, God will not pardon those who, having injured their fellow-men, have failed to secure pardon from them, this precept would amount to a refusal to allow enemies to escape the Divine wrath. See Prelim. Disc., pp. 145, 146. The forbearance towards enemies inculcated here was, however, dictated by policy. See note on chap. ii. 108.

rejected GOD and his signs? (6) Woe unto every lying and impious person; (7) who heareth the signs of GOD, which are read unto him, and afterwards proudly persisteth in *infidelity*, as though he heard them not: (denounce unto him a painful punishment:) (8) and who, when he cometh to the knowledge of any of our signs, receiveth the same with scorn. For these *is prepared* a shameful punishment: (9) before them *lieth* hell; and whatever they shall have gained shall not avail them at all, neither shall the *idols* which they have taken for *their* patrons besides GOD; and they shall suffer a grievous punishment. (10) This *is* a *true* direction; and for those who disbelieve the signs of their LORD, *is prepared* the punishment of a painful torment.

|| (11) *It is* GOD who hath subjected the sea unto R $\frac{2}{18}$ you, that the ships may sail therein, at his command; and that ye may seek *advantage unto yourselves by commerce*, of his bounty; and that ye may give thanks: (12) and he obligeth whatever *is* in heaven and on earth to serve you; the whole *being* from him. Verily herein *are* signs unto people who consider. (13) Speak unto the true believers, that they forgive those who hope not for the days of GOD, that he may reward people according to what they shall have wrought. (14) Whoso doeth that which is right *doth it to the advantage of* his own soul; and whoso doeth evil *doth it* against the same: hereafter shall ye return unto your LORD. (15) We gave unto the children of Israel the book *of the law*, and wisdom, and prophecy; and we fed them with good things, and preferred them above all nations: (16) and we gave them plain *ordinances* concerning the business *of religion*; neither do they fall to variance, except after that knowledge had come unto them, through envy among themselves: but thy LORD will decide the controversy between them on the day of resurrection, concerning that wherein

(16) See notes on chap. xliii. 63.

they disagree. (17) Afterwards we appointed thee, *O Muhammad*, to *promulgate* a law concerning the business of religion: wherefore follow the same, and follow not the desires of those who are ignorant. (18) Verily they shall not avail thee against GOD at all; the unjust *are* the patrons of one another; but GOD *is* the patron of the pious. (19) This *Qurán* delivereth evident *precepts* unto mankind; and *is* a direction and a mercy unto people who judge aright. (20) Do the workers of iniquity imagine that we will deal with them as with those who believe and do good works, *so that* their life and their death *shall be equal*? An ill judgment do they make.

R $\frac{3}{19}$. || (21) GOD hath created the heavens and the earth in truth, that he may recompense every soul according to that which it shall have wrought; and they shall not be treated unjustly. (22) What thinkest thou? He who taketh his own lust for his God, and whom GOD causeth knowingly to err, and whose ears and whose heart he hath sealed up, and over whose eyes he hath cast a veil; who shall direct him, after GOD *shall have forsaken him*? Will ye therefore not be admonished? (23) They say, *There is no other life*, except our present life: we die, and we live; and nothing but time destroyeth us. But they have no knowledge in this *matter*; they only follow a *vain* opinion. (24) And when our evident signs are rehearsed unto them, their argument *which they offer against the same* is no other than that they say, Bring to life our fathers *who have been dead*; if ye speak truth. (25) Say, GOD giveth you life; and afterwards causeth you to die: hereafter will he assemble you together on the day of resurrection; there is no doubt thereof; but the greater part of men do not understand.

(17) *Of those who are ignorant.* "That is, of the principal Quraish, who were urgent with Muhammad to return to the religion of his forefathers."—*Salé*.

(22) *Whom God causeth knowingly to err.* See note and references in chap. vii. 179, 180.

|| (26) Unto GOD *appertaineth* the kingdom of heaven R 26⁴
 and earth; and the day whereon the hour shall be fixed,
 on that day shall those who charge *the Qurán* with vanity
 perish. (27) And thou shalt see every nation kneeling:
 every nation shall be called unto its book of *account*; and
it shall be said unto them, This day shall ye be rewarded
 according to that which ye have wrought. (28) This our
 book will speak concerning you with truth; *therein* have
 we written down whatever ye have done. (29) As to
 those who shall have believed and done good works, their
 LORD shall lead them into his mercy: this shall be
 manifest felicity. (30) But as to the infidels, *it shall be*
said unto them, Were not my signs rehearsed unto you?
 but ye proudly rejected *them*, and became a wicked people!
 (31) And when it was said *unto you*, Verily the promise
 of GOD is true: and as to the hour of *judgment*, *there is* no
 doubt thereof: ye answered, We know not what the hour
 of *judgment is*: we hold an *uncertain* opinion only; and
 we are not well-assured of *this matter*. (32) But *on that*
day the evils of that which they have wrought shall
 appear unto them; and that which they mocked at shall
 encompass them: (33) and it shall be said *unto them*,
 This day will we forget you, as ye did forget the meeting
 of this your day: and your abode *shall be hell-fire*; and ye
 shall have none to deliver you. (34) This *shall ye suffer*,
 because ye turned the signs of GOD to ridicule; and the
 life of the world deceived you. On this day, therefore,
 they shall not be taken forth from thence, neither shall
 they be asked *any more* to render themselves well-pleasing
unto God. (35) Wherefore praise be unto GOD, the LORD
 of the heavens, and the LORD of the earth; the LORD of
 all creatures: (36) and unto him be glory in heaven and
 earth; for he is the mighty, the wise God.

(27) *Every nation*. "The original word, *ummat*, properly signifies a people who profess one and the same law or religion."—Sale. The followers of each of the great prophets constitute an *ummat*.

This day shall ye be rewarded, &c. See Prelim. Disc., pp. 144, 145.

CHAPTER XLVI.

ENTITLED SURAT AL AHQÁF (THE SANDHILLS).

Revealed at Makkah.

INTRODUCTION.

IN this chapter the dwelling-place of the Ádites is called al Ahqáf; hence the title. Sale says, "Al Ahqáf is the plural of *haqf*, and signifies *sands which lie in a crooked or winding manner*, whence it became the name of a territory in the province of Hadhramaut."

Rodwell locates the *sandhills* at Tayif. This is in accordance with Sprenger's theory of the Ádites, adopted by Muir in his *Life of Mahomet*, vol. i., Introd., p. cxxxviii. note.

The object of this chapter was to warn the people of Makkah of the impending judgments of God on account of their sin of rejecting Muhammad and the Qurán. They had charged their Prophet with being an impostor, who had forged a book which he called the Qurán. In this they were encouraged by certain Jews. On the other hand, certain other Jews, probably adherents from Madína, upheld the claims of Muhammad, declaring that the teaching of the Qurán was confirmatory of the doctrine of their own Scriptures. Thus encouraged, Muhammad answers the charges of his enemies by a solemn warning. He can now afford to be patient and calmly await the destruction of the unbelievers.

It is here specially noteworthy how Muhammad likens himself to the former prophets (vers. 20-31), putting his own message to the Quraish, with their taunting reply, into the mouths of Húd and the Ádites, yea, even into the mouths of the believing genii. But on this point see introduction to chapter xi.

Probable Date of the Revelations.

Ver. 9 of this chapter is supposed by some to be Madínic, because of the Jews being mentioned; but this reason is not valid, since the Jews mentioned here were no doubt Jews of Madína visiting

Makkah, with whom Muhammad was now in close correspondence, if indeed they were not his adherents. The "*witness*" surely does not refer to any particular person, as Baidhāwī and others suppose, when referring it to Abdullah Ibn Salām.

On similarly weak grounds, vers. 14-17, and 34, 35, have been regarded as Madīnic. We may therefore safely regard the whole chapter as Makkan. Vers. 30-31 were not, however, originally in this place (see notes), but they nevertheless belong to the same period.

As to the date of the revelations, we have the mention of the discourse of Muhammad to the genii, which occurred on his return from Tayif, just before the Hijra. This agrees with the allusion to the fate of the people of al Ahqáf, who inhabited the region about Tayif, and with the attitude of Muhammad (ver. 34) toward the unbelievers, and also with the mention made of the Jews of Madīna, with whom Muhammad was now in correspondence. Noéldeke places this chapter immediately after chap. vii.

Principal Subjects.

	VERSES
The Qurán a revelation from God	1
Creation a witness for God against idolaters and idolatry	2-5
Muhammad charged with forging the Qurán	6, 7
Muhammad, like other apostles, only a warner	8
Believing Jews confirm the Qurán; unbelieving Jews call it an antiquated lie	9, 10
The Qurán confirms the Book of Moses	11
True believers, their happy condition	12, 13
Obedient sons and true believers, their life here and here- after	14, 15
The conduct and fate of the disobedient son	16, 17
Rewards and punishments bestowed in accordance with works	18, 19
The fate of the people of al Ahqáf, &c., a warning to Makkah	20-27
The genii converted by hearing Muhammad recite the Qurán	28-31
God able to raise the dead; Muhammad exhorted to patience and forbearance	32-35

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

TWENTY-
SIXTH
SIPARA.

R 1.

|| (1) H. M. The revelation of *this* book is from the mighty, the wise GOD. (2) We have not created the heavens and the earth, and whatever is between them, otherwise than in truth and for a determined period; but the unbelievers turn away from the warning which is given them. (3) Say, What think ye? Show me what *part* of the earth *the idols* which ye invoke, besides GOD, have created? Or had they any share in the *creation* of the heavens? Bring me a book of *scripture revealed* before this, or some footstep of *ancient* knowledge, to *countenance your idolatrous practices*; if ye are men of veracity. (4) Who is in a wider error than he who invoceth, besides GOD, that which cannot return him an answer, to the day of resurrection; and *idols* which regard not their calling on them; (5) and which, when men shall be gathered together to *judgment*, will become their enemies, and will ungratefully deny their worship? (6) When our evident signs are rehearsed unto them, the unbelievers say of the truth, when it cometh unto them, This is a manifest piece of sorcery. (7) Will they say, *Muhammad* hath forged it? Answer, If I have forged it, verily ye shall not obtain for me any *favour* from GOD: he well knoweth the *injurious language* which ye utter concerning it: he is a sufficient witness between me and you; and he is *gracious and merciful*. (8) Say, I am not singular among the apostles;

(1) *H. M.* See Prelim. Disc., pp. 100-102.

This book. See note on chap. xi. 2.

(2) *In truth.* See notes on chaps. xxi. 16, 17, and xxxviii. 26.

A determined period. "Being to last for a certain space of time, and not for ever."—Sale.

(3) *The idols.* This should be *the gods or the angels*.

(4) *To the day, &c., i.e.,* until the day of the resurrection, when they will repudiate their worshippers.

(6) *The truth, i.e.,* the Qurán.

A manifest piece of sorcery. See chaps. iii. 48, x. 39, and xxi. 5.

(8) *I am not singular among the apostles.* "That is, I do not teach a doctrine different from what the former apostles and prophets

neither do I know what will be done with me or with you *hereafter* : I follow no other than what is revealed unto me ; neither am I any more than a public warner. (9) Say, What is your opinion ? If *this book* be from God, and ye believe not therein ; and a witness of the children of Israel bear witness to its consonancy *with the law*, and believeth therein ; and ye proudly reject *the same* : *are ye not unjust doers* ? Verily God directeth not unjust people.

|| (10) But those who believe not say of the true be- R $\frac{2}{2}$ -
lievers, If *the doctrine of the Qurán* had been good, they had not embraced the same before us. And when they are not guided thereby they say, This is an antiquated lie. (11) Whereas the Book of Moses *was revealed* before *the Qurán*, *to be* a guide and a mercy : and this *is* a book confirming

have taught, nor am I able to do what they could not, particularly to show the signs which every one shall think fit to demand."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*.

The meaning seems to me to be, that his being called a sorcerer and an impostor is not wonderful, inasmuch as other prophets were treated in like manner. See chap. xxi. 26–100.

A public warner. See notes on chaps. ii. 119, iii. 184, and vi. 109.

(9) A witness. "This witness is generally supposed to have been the Jew Abdullah Ibn Salām, who declared that Muhammad was the prophet foretold by Moses. Some, however, suppose the witness here meant to have been Moses himself."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*, *Jalāluddīn*.

See notes on chaps. vi. 20 and x. 93. "Whether the 'witness' and other Jewish supporters of Mahomet were among his professed followers, slaves perhaps, at Mecca, or were casual visitors there from Israelitish tribes, or belonged to the Jewish residents of Medina (with the inhabitants of which city the Prophet was on the point of establishing friendly relations), we cannot do more than conjecture."—Muir in *Life of Mahomet*, vol. ii. p. 185.

(10) If . . . the Qurán, &c. "These words were spoken, as some think, by the Jews, when Abdullah professed Islām ; or, according to others, by the Quraish, because the first followers of Muhammad were for the most part poor and mean people ; or else by the tribes of Amar, Ghatfán, and Asad, on the conversion of those of Juhainah, Muzainah, Aslam, and Ghifár."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*.

An antiquated lie. See chaps. x. 39, and xxi. 5.

(11) A book confirming, &c. See notes and references at chap. ii. 40.

the same, delivered in the Arabic tongue; to denounce threats unto those who act unjustly, and to bear good tidings unto the righteous doers. (12) *As to* those who say, Our LORD is GOD; and who behave uprightly, on them *shall* no fear come, neither shall they be grieved. (13) *These shall be* the inhabitants of Paradise, they shall remain therein for ever: in recompense for that which they have wrought. (14) We have commanded man *to show* kindness to his parents: his mother beareth him *in her womb* with pain, and bringeth him forth with pain: and *the space of* his being carried *in her womb*, and of his weaning, *is* thirty months; until, when he attaineth his age of strength, and attaineth *the age of* forty years, he saith, O LORD, excite me, by thy inspiration, that I may be grateful for their favours, wherewith thou hast favoured me and my parents; and that I may work righteousness, which may please thee: and be gracious unto me in my issue; for I am turned unto thee, and am a Muslim. (15) *These are* they from whom we accept the good work which they have wrought, and whose evil *works* we pass by; and *they shall be* among the inhabitants of Paradise: *this is* a true promise, which they are promised *in this world*. (16) He who saith unto his parents, Fie on you! Do ye promise me that I shall be taken

Arabic tongue. See note on chap. xli. 2, 3.

(14) *Thirty months.* "At the least; for if the full time of suckling an infant be two years (chap. ii. 233), or twenty-four months, there remain but six months for the space of his being carried in the womb, which is the least that can be allowed."—Sale; *Baidhāwī*.

Forty years, &c. "These words, it is said, were revealed on account of Abu Baqr, who professed Islām in the fortieth year of his age, two years after Muhammad's mission, and was the only person, either of the Muhājirīn or the Ansārs, whose father and mother were also converted; his son Abdurrahmán and his grandson Abu Atík likewise embracing the same faith."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*.

Rodwell thinks this interpretation was invented by the Muslims after the accession of Abu Baqr to the khalīfat.

(16) *Fie on you.* "The words seem to be general; but it is said they were revealed particularly on occasion of Abdurrahmán, the son

forth from the grave, and restored to life; when many generations have passed away before me, and none of them have returned back? And his parents implore GOD's assistance, and say to their son, Alas for thee! Believe! for the promise of GOD is true. But he answereth, This is no other than silly fables of the ancients. (17) These are they whom the sentence passed on the nations which have been before them, of genii and of men, justly fitteth; they shall surely perish. (18) For every one is prepared a certain degree of happiness or misery, according to that which they shall have wrought: that God may recompense them for their works: and they shall not be treated unjustly. (19) On a certain day the unbelievers shall be exposed before the fire of hell; and it shall be said unto them, Ye received your good things in your lifetime, while ye were in the world; and ye enjoyed yourselves therein: wherefore this day ye shall be rewarded with the punishment of ignominy; for that ye behaved insolently in the earth, without justice, and for that ye transgressed.

|| (20) Remember the brother of Ád, when he preached R $\frac{3}{3}$.
unto his people in al Ahqáf (and there were preachers before him and after him), saying, Worship none but GOD: verily I fear for you the punishment of a great day. (21) They answered, Art thou come unto us that thou mayest turn us aside from the worship of our gods? Bring on us now the punishment with which thou threatenest us, if thou art a man of veracity. (22) He said, Verily the knowledge of the time when your punishment will be inflicted is with GOD; and I only declare unto you that which I am sent to preach; but I see ye are an ignorant people. (23) And when they saw the preparation made for their

of Abu Baqr, who used these expressions to his father and mother before he professed Islám."—Sale, Baidhâwî.

Silly fables, &c. See chap. xxi. 5.

(17) *Shall surely perish.* "Unless they redeem their fault by repentance and embracing the true faith, as did Abdurrahmán."—Sale.

(20) *The brother of A'd, i.e., the prophet Húd.* See chap. xi. 50.

punishment, namely, a cloud traversing the sky, and tending towards their valleys, they said, This is a traversing cloud, which bringeth us rain. Húd answered, Nay; it is what ye demanded to be hastened: a wind wherein is a severe vengeance: (24) it will destroy everything, at the command of its LORD. And in the morning nothing was to be seen besides their empty dwellings. Thus do we reward wicked people. (25) We had established them in the like flourishing condition wherein we have established you, O men of Makkah; and we had given them ears, and eyes, and hearts: yet neither their ears, nor their eyes, nor their hearts profited them at all, when they rejected the signs of GOD; but the vengeance which they mocked at fell upon them.

R $\frac{4}{4}$.

|| (26) We heretofore destroyed the cities which *were* round about you; and we variously proposed *our* signs unto them, that they might repent. (27) Did those protect them whom they took for gods, besides GOD, *and imagined to be* honoured with his familiarity? Nay; they withdrew from them: yet this *was* their false opinion which seduced them, and the blasphemy which they had devised. (28) *Remember* when we caused certain of the genii to turn aside unto thee, that they might hear the Qurán; and when they were present at the reading of the

(24) *It will destroy everything.* "Which came to pass accordingly; for this pestilential and violent wind killed all who believed not in the doctrine of Húd, without distinction of sex, age, or degree, and entirely destroyed their possessions."—Sale. See notes to chaps. vii. 66-73, and xi. 50 seq.

Observe how Húd is represented as speaking in the language of Muhammad. See *Introd.*, chap. xi.

(26) *Cities . . . round about you.* "As the settlements of the Thamúdites, Midianites, and the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah, &c."—Sale.

(28) *Certain . . . genii.* "These genii, according to different opinions, were of Nisibin, or of Yaman, or of Nineveh; and in number nine or seven. They heard Muhammad reading the Qurán by night, or after the morning prayer, in the valley of al Nakhlah, during the time of his retreat to al Tayif, and believed on him."—Sale, *Baidhawí, Jaláluddín.* Comp. chap. lxxii. 1-19.

same, they said *to one another*, Give ear: and when it was ended, they returned back unto their people, preaching *what they had heard*. (29) They said, Our people, verily we have heard a book *read unto us*, which hath been revealed since Moses, confirming the *scripture* which *was delivered* before it, *and* directing unto the truth and the right way. (30) Our people, obey GOD's preacher; and believe in him; that he may forgive you your sins, and may deliver you from a painful punishment. (31) And whoever obeyeth not GOD's preacher shall by no means frustrate *God's vengeance* on earth; neither shall he have any protectors besides him. These *will be* in a manifest error. (32) Do they not know that GOD, who hath created the heavens and the earth, and was not fatigued with the creation thereof, *is* able to raise the dead to life? Yea, verily; for he *is* almighty. (33) On a certain day the unbelievers shall be exposed unto *hell-fire*; *and it shall be said unto them*, Is not this really *come to pass*? They shall answer, Yea, by our LORD. *God* shall reply, Taste, therefore, the punishment of *hell*, for that ye have been unbelievers. (34) Do thou, *O Prophet*, bear the *insults of thy people* with patience, as *our* apostles, who were endued with constancy, bear the *injuries of their people*; and require not *their punishment* to be hastened unto them. On the day whereon they shall see the *punishment* wherewith

(29) *Revealed since Moses*. "Hence the commentators suppose those genii, before their conversion to Muhammadanism, to have been of the Jewish religion."—Sale.

See this incident described in Muir's *Life of Mahomet*, vol. ii. pp. 203-205.

(31) *God's preacher*, i.e., Muhammad. See note on chap. ii. 119. Noëldke thinks vers. 20-31 misplaced here, as they break the connection between vers. 19 and 32.

(34) *Bear . . . with patience*. "But his biography is full of instances of Mohammed not bearing insults with patience, and having those who spoke against him killed. When at Mecca he is patient, being powerless; when at the head of an army at Medina, he kills those who oppose him with words only."—Brinckman in *Notes on Islām*. This is true; but the Muslim reply is that in both cases he acted in accordance with the command of God.

they have been threatened, (35) it shall seem as though they had tarried *in the world* but an hour of a day. *This is a fair* warning. Shall they perish except the people who transgress?

(35) *But an hour.* See chap. xxiii. 114.

CHAPTER XLVII.

ENTITLED SURAT MUHAMMAD.

Revealed at Madína.

INTRODUCTION.

THIS chapter is also entitled WAR, because of the command enjoining the Muslims to fight in the cause of religion, which is certainly a more appropriate title than that of *Muhammad*.

Every student of Islám has observed the wondrous change which came over Muhammad and his religion at the time of the flight to Madína. Nothing could illustrate this change better than a comparison between this chapter and the one just preceding it. In chap. xlv. we have Muhammad the warner of Makkah. There Islám is peaceable. Its Prophet is exhorted to bear the insults of the unbelievers with patience. In this chapter we have Muhammad the general of armies. Here Islám is warlike. Muslims are now required to lay aside the emblems of peace and to draw the sword. They are now enjoined to "strike off the heads" of their enemies. All must be prepared not only to spend their substance in the cause, but to fight to the death.

As yet but petty expeditions were sent forth from Madína to harass the caravans of the Quraish. Yet even this required courage and self-denial. Some of the Muslims were timorous. The "hypocrites" of Madína, begrudging the cost of this warfare, and perhaps fearing the consequences of a war with Makkah, were busy dissuading the Muslims from carrying out the war policy of Muhammad. Both these parties are attacked in this chapter. Cowards and hypocrites are alike threatened with the horrors of hell; while rivers of pure water, rivers of milk, rivers of wine, rivers of clarified butter, and all kinds of fruits are set before the eyes of the faithful as the sure reward of those who fight valiantly the battles of the Lord.

Probable Date of the Revelations.

Some Muslim writers have regarded this chapter as Makkan, but the best authorities, Baidhāwī, Zamakhshari, Jalāluddīn as Syūṭī, &c., agree that it is Madīnic. One writer, Umar bin Muhammad, Itqan 43, maintains that ver. 14 was revealed during the flight from Makkah, when Muhammad with tearful eyes looked back towards his birthplace.

Noëldeke fixes the date of this chapter at a period some time after the victory of Badr. The reason for this opinion is his interpretation of ver. 37, which, he thinks, alludes to the efforts of some of Muhammad's people to conclude peace with the Quraish after the success of the Muslims at Badr. This date is, however, too late to account for the fear of the Muslims rebuked in this chapter. After the victory of Badr the fears of the faithful were all dispelled, so that at the battle of Ohod we find Muhammad himself obliged to assume an offensive rather than a defensive policy, owing to the impetuosity of his followers. It is better to follow Muir here, and to place the date of this chapter before the battle of Badr, say the latter part of A.H. 1. See Muir's *Life of Mahomet*, vol. iii. pp. 79-81.

Principal Subjects.

	VERSES
The works of those who oppose Islām shall come to naught .	1
True believers shall receive the expiation of their sins . . .	2, 3
How enemies of Islām are to be treated in war	4, 5
God will reward those who fight for Islām	6-8
God will utterly destroy the unbelievers	9-12
The final condition of believers and infidels contrasted .	13-17
Hypocrites reproved and warned	18-20
Muhammad commanded to ask pardon for his sins . . .	21
Cowardly Muslims and hypocrites rebuked and warned .	22-33
Those who would dissuade Muslims from their duty warned	34-36
Muslims exhorted to boldness in warring for their faith .	37
Muslims exhorted to liberality in contributing towards the expenses of holy war	38-40

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

R $\frac{1}{5}$. || (1) *God* will render of none effect the works of those who believe not, and *who* turn away *men* from the way of God; (2) but as to those who believe, and work righteousness, and believe *the revelation* which has been sent down

unto Muhammad (for it is the truth from their LORD), he will expiate their evil deeds from them, and will dispose their heart aright.

|| (3) *This will he do*, because those who believe not follow vanity, and because those who believe follow the truth from the LORD. Thus GOD propoundeth unto men their examples. (4) When ye encounter the unbelievers, strike off *their* heads, until ye have made a great slaughter among them; and bind *them* in bonds; (5) and either *give them* a free dismissal afterwards, or *exact* a ransom; until the war shall have laid down its arms. *This shall ye do*. Verily if God pleased he could take vengeance on them *without your assistance*; but *he commandeth you to fight his battles*, that he may prove the one of you by the other. And *as to* those who fight in defence of God's true religion, *God* will not suffer their works to perish; (6) he will guide them, and will dispose their heart aright; (7) and he will lead them into Paradise, of which he hath told them. (8) O true believers, if ye assist GOD *by fighting for his religion*, he will assist you *against your enemies*;

(2) *Will expiate*. See note on chap. iii. 194.

(4) *Unbelievers, i.e.*, the Makkan and other enemies of Islām.

Strike off their heads, &c. "This law the Hanifites judge to be abrogated, or to relate particularly to the war of Badr, for the severity here commanded, which was necessary in the beginning of Muhammadism, they think too rigorous to be put in practice in its flourishing state. But the Persians and some others hold the command to be still in full force; for, according to them, all the men of full age who are taken in battle are to be slain, unless they embrace the Muhammadan faith; and those who fall into the hands of the Muslims after the battle are not to be slain, but may either be set at liberty gratis or on payment of a certain ransom, or may be exchanged for Muhammadan prisoners, or condemned to slavery, at the pleasure of the Imām or prince."—*Sale, Baidhāwi*.

See notes on chap. viii. 40, 59, 68.

(5) *Those who fight, &c.* "Some copies, instead of *qātīlu*, read *qūtilu*, according to which latter reading it should be rendered, 'who are slain' or 'suffer martyrdom,' &c."—*Sale*.

The text is correct. The object of the exhortation is to encourage the faithful to fight for their religion. The promise is not only to the martyrs, but to all who fight for Islām.

and will set your feet fast : (9) but *as for* the infidels, let them perish ; and their works shall *God* render vain. (10) This *shall befall them*, because they have rejected with abhorrence that which GOD hath revealed : wherefore their works shall become of no avail. (11) Do they not travel through the earth, and see what hath been the end of those who *were* before them ? GOD utterly destroyed them : and the like *catastrophe* awaiteth the unbelievers. (12) This *shall come to pass*, for that GOD is the patron of the true believers, and for that the infidels have no protector.

R $\frac{2}{6}$. || (13) Verily GOD will introduce those who believe and do good works into gardens beneath which rivers flow : but the unbelievers indulge themselves in pleasures, and eat as beasts eat ; and their abode *shall be hell-fire*. (14) How many cities were more mighty in strength than thy city which hath expelled thee ; *yet* have we destroyed them, and *there was* none to help them ? (15) Shall he therefore, who followeth the plain declaration of his LORD *be* as he whose evil works have been dressed up for him *by the devil*, and who follow their own lusts ? (16) The description of Paradise, which is promised unto the pious : therein *are* rivers of incorruptible water ; and rivers of milk, the taste whereof changeth not ; and rivers of wine, pleasant unto those who drink ; (17) and rivers of clarified honey : and therein shall they have *plenty* of all *kinds* of fruits ; and pardon from their LORD. *Shall the man for whom these things are prepared* be as he who must dwell for ever in *hell-fire* ; and will have the boiling water given

(13) See note on chap. iii. 15.

(14) *Which hath expelled thee.* Muhammad here predicts the destruction of Makkah and its idolatrous inhabitants. There should be "none to help them." The leniency which afterward led him to spare the city and its people was dictated by circumstances which made forbearance more politic than the fulfilment of his own prophecy. See Muir's *Life of Mahomet*, vol. iv. pp. 120-122 note.

(16) *Rivers of wine.* The word here translated *wine* is *khamr*, which all Muslims admit to be the word used specially to indicate intoxicating drinks. See notes on chaps. ii. 218, iv. 42, and v. 92.

him to drink which shall burst their bowels? (18) Of the *unbelievers there are* some who give ear unto thee, until, when they go out from thee, they say, *by way of derision* unto those to whom knowledge hath been given, What hath he said now? These *are they* whose hearts God hath sealed up, and who follow their own lusts; (19) but *as to* those who are directed, *God* will grant them a more ample direction, and he will instruct them what to avoid. (20) Do the *infidels* wait for any other than the *last* hour, that it may come upon them suddenly? Some signs thereof are already come; and when it shall actually overtake them, how can they *then* receive admonition? (21) Know therefore that there is no god but GOD; and ask pardon for thy sin, and for the true believers, both men and women. God knoweth your busy employment *in the world*, and the place of your abode *hereafter*.

|| (22) The true believers say, Hath not a Sura been R $\frac{3}{7}$. revealed *commanding war against the infidels*? But when a Sura without any ambiguity is revealed, and war is mentioned therein, thou mayest see those in whose hearts is an infirmity look towards thee with the look of one whom death overshadoweth. But obedience *would be*

(18) *Those to whom knowledge hath been given, i.e., "the more learned of Muhammad's companions, such as Ibn Mas'ūd and Ibn Abbās."*—Sale, *Jalāluddīn*.

(19) *He will instruct them, &c.* "These words may also be translated, He will reward them for their piety."—Sale.

(20) *Some signs, &c.* "As the mission of Muhammad, the splitting of the moon, and the smoke mentioned in the 44th chapter."—Sale.

(21) *Ask pardon for thy sin, &c.* "Though Muhammad here and elsewhere acknowledges himself to be a sinner, yet several Muhammadan doctors pretend he was wholly free from sin, and suppose he is here commanded to ask forgiveness, not that he wanted it, but that he might set an example to his followers: wherefore he used to say of himself, if the tradition be true, 'I ask pardon of God an hundred times a day.'"—Sale.

See notes on chaps. iv. 105, ix. 43, xl. 57, xlviii. 1-3, lxvi. 1, &c.

(22) These words were uttered previous to the battle of Badr, when as yet there were many timorous ones among the faithful. See Muir's *Life of Mahomet*, vol. iii. p. 79.

more eligible for them, and to speak that which is convenient. (23) And when the command is firmly established, if they give credit unto GOD, it will be better for them. (24) Were ye ready, therefore, if ye had been put in authority, to commit outrages in the earth and to violate the ties of blood? (25) These *are they* whom GOD hath cursed and hath rendered deaf, and whose eyes he hath blinded. (26) Do they not therefore attentively meditate on the Qurán? Are there locks upon their hearts? (27) Verily they who turn their backs, after the *true* direction is made manifest unto them, Satan shall prepare *their wickedness* for them, and *God* shall bear with them for a time. (28) This *shall befall them*, because they say *privately* unto those who detest what GOD hath revealed, We will obey you in part of the matter. But GOD knoweth their secrets. (29) How therefore *will it be with them* when the angels shall cause them to die, *and* shall strike their faces and their backs? (30) This *shall they suffer*, because they follow that which provoketh GOD to wrath, and are averse to what is well-pleasing unto him: and he will render their works vain.

R $\frac{4}{8}$. || (31) Do they in whose hearts is an infirmity imagine that God will not bring their malice to light? (32) If we pleased, we could surely show them unto thee, and thou shouldest know them by their marks; but thou shalt certainly know them by *their* perverse pronounciation of *their* words. GOD knoweth your actions; (33) and we will try

(23) This verse contains an implied threat against the timorous and hypocritical followers of Muhammad, referred to in ver. 22.

(24) *If ye had been put in authority.* "Or, as the words may also be translated, 'If ye had turned back,' and apostatised from your faith."—Sale.

(28) *Obey in part, i.e.,* "Obey in part of what ye desire of us, by staying at home and not going forth with Muhammad to war, and by private combination against him."—Sale.

(31) *In whose hearts is an infirmity,* "as hypocrisy, cowardice, or instability in their religion."—Sale.

(32) *Perverse pronounciation of words.* Either by playing upon the words of the Qurán to pervert its meaning (see chaps. ii. 57, 58, and vii. 163), or the uttering of vain excuses to escape from the duty of

you, until we know those among you who fight valiantly, and who persevere with constancy: and we will try the reports of your behaviour. (34) Verily those who believe not, and turn away *men* from the way of GOD, and make opposition against the Apostle, after the *divine* direction hath been manifested unto them, shall not hurt GOD at all; but he shall make their works to perish. (35) O true believers, obey GOD; and obey the apostle: and render not your works of no effect. (36) Verily those who believe not, and who turn away *men* from the way of GOD, and then die, being unbelievers, GOD will by no means forgive. (37) Faint not, therefore, neither invite *your enemies* to peace, while ye *are* the superior: for GOD *is* with you, and will not defraud you of *the merit* of your works. (38) Verily this present life *is* only a play and a vain amusement; but if ye believe, and fear *God*, he will give you your rewards. He doth not require of you your *whole* substance; (39) if he should require the whole of you, and earnestly press you, ye would become niggardly, and it would raise your hatred *against his Apostle*. (40) Behold, ye *are* those who are invited to expend *part of your substance* for the support of GOD's true religion; and *there are* some of you who are niggardly. But whoever shall be niggardly shall be niggardly towards his own soul; for GOD wanteth nothing, but ye *are* needy: and if ye turn back, he will substitute *another* people in your stead, who shall not be like unto you.

fighting for their religion; the meaning in this case being *perverse speeches* calculated to discourage others. See ver. 34.

(40) *He will substitute people . . . not like you, i.e.,* "In backwardness and aversion to the propagation of the faith. The people here designed to be put in the place of these lukewarm Muslims are generally supposed to be the Persians, there being a tradition that Muhammad, being asked what people they were, at a time when Salmán was sitting by him, clapped his hand on his thigh and said, 'This man and his nation.' Others, however, are of opinion the Ansárs or the angels are intended in this place."—Sale, *Baidhāwi*.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

ENTITLED SURAT AL FATAH (VICTORY).

Revealed at Madína.

INTRODUCTION.

THIS chapter takes its name from the statement in the first verse. A similar statement in ver. 27 would give the same title.

This chapter is composed of two parts, written at different times. I am not certain as to the precise point of division, whether at the beginning of ver. 20 or of ver. 25 : on the whole, I prefer the former. According to this plan, the first portion of the chapter consists of vers. 1-19, which relates to the victory of the Muslims over the Jews at Khaibar, and to the expedition previously made to Makkah, which ended in the truce of Hudaibiyah. This truce, though a deep humiliation to the Muslims at the time, turned out to be a master-stroke of policy, and might therefore be termed a victory.

The second portion of this chapter, consisting of vers. 20-29, was added on here, perhaps, by the compilers of the Qurán, because it related also to a victory—the victory of the Muslims over the sacred city of Makkah. The reasons for this division will appear from a perusal of the notes. The chapter as a whole is well named. Arabia was not yet conquered, but the final victory of the Muslims was now so well assured as to require no prophetic vision to foretell it.

Probable Date of the Revelations.

Noëldeke assigns vers. 1-17 to a period immediately after the expedition to Hudaibiyah, in the month of Zul Q'ada, A.H. 6. The remainder of the chapter he places after the victory of the Muslims over the Jews of Khaibar, in the early part of A.H. 7.

I am unable to follow Noëldeke here, for reasons expressed in the notes on the chapter. I would assign vers. 1-19 to a period immediately following the victory at Khaibar, A.H. 7, a victory which

restored the prestige of the Muslims, lost in a measure at Hudaibiyah, and at the same time afforded an opportunity to punish the Bedouin Arabs for their previous disloyalty. Vers. 20-29 I would assign to a period immediately following the conquest of Makkah, but preceding the battle of Hunain, A.H. 8.

Principal Subjects.

	VERSES
The victory (at Khaibar) the earnest of the pardon of the sins of the Prophet	1-3
The mighty God the comforter of true believers, but the punisher of hypocrites	4-7
Loyalty to Muhammad is loyalty to God	8-10
Bedouin Arabs denounced for their treachery at Hudaibiyah and their subsequent hypocrisy	11-14
The Bedouin Arabs refused a share of the booty taken at Khaibar, but encouraged with promises	15, 16
Those alone excused from going to war who are incapacitated Muslim fidelity at Hudaibiyah rewarded by the victory at Khaibar and much spoil taken there	17
Many spoils assured to the believers though God had prevented the plunder of Makkah	18, 19
God spared Makkah in the expedition to Hudaibiyah out of compassion	20-24
The conquest of Makkah the divine attestation to Muhammad's apostleship and the religion of Islām	25, 26
	27-29

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

|| (1) Verily we have granted thee a manifest victory, R $\frac{1}{5}$
 (2) that GOD may forgive thee thy preceding and thy

(1) *A manifest victory.* "This victory, according to most received interpretation, was the taking of the city of Makkah. The passage is said to have been revealed on Muhammad's return from the expedition of al Hudaibiyah, and contains a promise or prediction of this signal success, which happened not till two years after; the preterite tense being therein used, according to the prophetic style, for the future.

"There are some, notwithstanding, who suppose the advantage here intended was the pacification of al Hudaibiyah, which is here called a *victory*, because the Makkans sued for peace and made a truce with Muhammad, their breaking of which occasioned the taking of Makkah. Others think the conquest of Khaibar, or the

subsequent sin, and may complete his favour on thee, and direct thee in the right way; (3) and that GOD may assist thee with a glorious assistance. (4) It is he who sendeth down secure tranquillity into the hearts of the true believers, that they may increase in faith beyond their *former* faith; (the hosts of heaven and earth are GOD's; and GOD is knowing *and* wise): (5) that he may lead the true believers of both sexes into gardens beneath which rivers flow, to dwell therein for ever; and may expiate their evil deeds from them: (this will be great felicity with GOD:) (6) and that he may punish the hypocritical men, and the hypocritical women, and the idolaters, and the idolatresses, who conceive an ill opinion of GOD. They shall experience a turn of evil fortune; and GOD shall be angry with them, and shall curse them, and hath prepared hell for them: an ill journey shall it be *thither*!

NISF.

|| (7) Unto GOD *belong* the hosts of heaven and earth;

victory over the Greeks at Muta, &c., to be meant in this place."—*Sale, Baidhāvi, Zamakhshari.*

There is not the slightest reason for believing that Muhammad intended to foretell any future event. The preponderance of Muslim authority favours the reference to a past event. See also Muir's *Life of Mahomet*, vol. iv. pp. 36, 37, and note there. The conquest of Khaibar, which occurred soon after the treaty of Hudaibiyah, is probably intended here.

(2) *That God may forgive thee.* "That is to say, that God may give thee an opportunity of deserving forgiveness by eradicating of idolatry, and exalting his true religion, and the delivering of the weak from the hands of the ungodly, &c."—*Sale.*

Thy preceding and thy subsequent sin, i.e., "whatever thou hast done worthy of reprehension, or thy sins committed as well in the time of ignorance as since. Some expound the words more particularly, and say the *preceding* or *former* fault was his lying with his handmaid Mary (chap. lxvi. notes), contrary to his oath; and the *latter* his marrying of Zainab, the wife of Zaid, his adopted son (chap. xxxiii. notes)."—*Sale, Zamakhshari.*

Nothing could more clearly disprove the Muslim pretension that the prophets were sinless. See notes on chaps. iv. 105, ix. 43, xl. 57, and xlvii. 21.

It is hardly possible that the allusion here should be to the affairs of Zainab and Mary, for in these he professed to have the sanction of Divinity.

(5) *Expiate their evil deeds.* See note on chap. iii. 194.

and GOD is mighty *and* wise. (8) Verily we have sent thee *to be* a witness, and a bearer of good tidings, and a denouncer of threats; (9) that ye may believe in GOD and his Apostle; and may assist him, and revere him, and praise him morning and evening. (10) Verily they who swear fealty unto thee, swear fealty unto GOD: the hand of GOD *is* over their hands. Whoever shall violate *his oath* will violate *the same* to the hurt only of his own soul: but whoever shall perform that which he hath covenanted with GOD, he will surely give him a great reward.

|| (11) The Arabs of the desert who were left behind R $\frac{2}{10}$
will say unto thee, Our substance and our families employed us, *so that we went not forth with thee to war*; wherefore, ask pardon for us. They speak that with their tongues which *is* not in their hearts. Answer, Who shall be able *to obtain* for you anything from GOD *to the contrary*, if he is pleased to afflict you, or is pleased to be gracious unto you? Yea, verily, GOD is well acquainted with that which ye do. (12) Truly ye imagined that the Apostle and the true believers would never return to their families: and this was prepared in your hearts: but ye imagined an evil imagination; and ye are a corrupt people. (13) Whoso believeth not in GOD and his Apostle, verily we have prepared burning fire for the unbelievers.

(10) *Who swear fealty, &c.* "The original word signifies publicly to acknowledge or inaugurate a prince by swearing fidelity and obedience to him."—Sale.

The hand . . . over their hands. "That is, he beholdeth from above, that is, witness to the solemnity of your giving your faith to his Apostle, and will reward you for it. The expression alludes to the manner of their plighting their faith on these occasions."—Sale, *Jalāluddīn*.

(11) *The Arabs of the desert, &c.* "These were the tribes of Aslam, Juhainah, Muzainah, and Ghifār, who, being summoned to attend Muhammad in the expedition of al Hudaibiyah, stayed behind, and excused themselves by saying their families must suffer in their absence, and would be robbed of the little they had (for these tribes were of the poorer Arabs); whereas in reality they wanted firmness in the faith and courage to face the Quraish."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*.

(14) Unto GOD *belongeth* the kingdom of heaven and earth: he forgiveth whom he pleaseth, and he punisheth whom he pleaseth: and GOD is inclined to forgive, *and* merciful. (15) Those who were left behind will say, When ye go forth to take the spoil, Suffer us to follow you. They seek to change the word of GOD. Say, Ye shall by no means follow us: thus hath GOD said heretofore. They will reply, Nay: ye envy us *a share of the booty*. But they are men of small understanding. (16) Say unto the Arabs of the desert who were left behind, Ye shall be called forth against a mighty *and* a warlike nation; ye shall fight against them, or they shall profess Islám. If ye obey, GOD will give you a glorious reward: but if ye turn back, as ye turned back heretofore, he will chastise you with a grievous chastisement. (17) It shall be no crime in the blind, neither shall it be a crime in the

(15) *Those . . . left behind*, viz., "in the expedition of Khaibar. The Prophet returned from al Hudaibiyah in Dhu'l Hajja, in the sixth year of the Hijra, and stayed at Madina the remainder of that month and the beginning of Muharram, and then set forward against the Jews of Khaibar with those only who had attended him to Hudaibiyah; and having made himself master of the place, and all the castles and strongholds in that territory, took spoils to a great value, which he divided among those who were present at that expedition, and none else."—Sale, *Baidhâwî*.

Note that all these military orders, these arrangements for the campaign against the enemies of Islám, are here set forth as matters of Divine revelation. Not only is fealty to Muhammad now become fealty to God (ver. 10), but it would appear that the very thoughts of Muhammad have become to him as the thoughts of God.

They seek to change the word of God. "Which was his promise to those who attended the Prophet to al Hudaibiyah, that he would make them amends for their missing of the plunder of Makkah at that time by giving them that of Khaibar in lieu thereof. Some think the *word* here intended to be that passage in the ninth chapter (ver. 84), *Ye shall not go forth with me for the future*, &c., which yet was plainly revealed long after the taking of Khaibar, on occasion of the expedition of Tabûq."

(16) *A warlike nation.* "These were Banu Hunífa, who inhabited al Yamáma, and were the followers of Musailama, Muhammad's competitor; or any other of those tribes which apostatised from Muhammadanism; or, as others rather suppose, the Persians or the Greeks."—Sale, *Jaláluddín*.

lame, neither shall it be a crime in the sick, *if they go not forth to war*: and those who shall obey GOD and his Apostle, he shall lead them into gardens beneath which rivers flow; but whoso shall turn back, he will chastise him with a grievous chastisement.

¶ (18) Now GOD was well pleased with the true be-
 lievers when they swore fidelity to thee under the tree; and he knew that which *was* in their hearts; wherefore he sent down on them tranquillity of mind, and rewarded them with a speedy victory, (19) and many spoils which they took: for GOD is mighty *and* wise. (20) GOD promised you many spoils which ye should take; but he

R $\frac{3}{11}$.

(18) *When they swear fidelity, &c.* "Muhammad, when at al Hudaibiyah, sent Jawwās Ibn Ūmaiya the Khudhāite to acquaint the Makkans that he was come with a peaceable intention to visit the temple; but they, on some jealousy conceived, refusing to admit him, the Prophet sent Othmān Ibn Affān, whom they imprisoned, and a report ran that he was slain: whereupon Muhammad called his men about him, and they took an oath to be faithful to him, even to death; during which ceremony he sat under a tree, supposed by some to have been an Egyptian thorn, and by others a kind of lote-tree."—Sale, *Baidhāwi*.

Tranquillity. The original word is *Sakinat*, and is found also in ver. 4. See note on chap. ii. 248.

A speedy victory. Sale says, "The success at Khaibar, or, as some others rather imagine, the taking of Makkah, &c."

Muhammad regarded the treaty at Hudaibiyah as "a manifest victory" (ver. 1), as indeed it was when viewed in the light of the interests of Islām. It was mainly on account of this treaty that the victory at Khaibar became possible, and to the same cause was due the alliance between Muhammad and the Bani Khudhāah. See Muir's *Life of Mahomet*, vol. iv. p. 41.

(20) *God promised you many spoils, &c.* "These words, which point to the rule (chap. viii. and notes there) that all the spoils, save the Prophet's fifth, should be distributed among the Muslims, are a sufficient refutation of the statement made by Mr. Bosworth Smith (*Muhammad and Muhammadanism*, p. 231), that "in his capacity even of temporal ruler, Muhammad rarely gave material rewards to his followers." The fact is, that at this stage, and ever afterwards, the chief attraction of Islām was the hope of conquest and rich booty.

As we have seen, the punishment of the treacherous "Arabs of the desert" was that they were forbidden a share in the booty of Khaibar (ver. 15). Yet these very same people are encouraged to remain faithful to Islām by the assurance that they should partake in the "glorious reward" of future conquest (ver. 16).

gave you these by way of earnest; and he restrained the hands of men from you: that the same may be a sign unto the true believers; and that he may guide you into the right way. (21) *And he also promiseth you other spoils, which ye have not yet been able to take: but now hath GOD encompassed them for you; and GOD is almighty.* (22) If the unbelieving *Makkans* had fought against you, verily they had turned *their* backs; and they would not have found a patron or protector: (23) *according to the ordinance of GOD, which hath been put in execution heretofore against opposers of the prophets; for thou shalt not find any change in the ordinance of GOD.* (24) *It was he who restrained their hands from you, and your hands from them, in the valley of Makkah; after that he had given you the victory over them: and GOD saw that*

He restrained the hands of men from you, i.e., "the hands of those of Khaibar, or of their successors of the tribes of Asad and Ghatfán, or of the inhabitants of Makkah, by the pacification of al Hudaibiyah."
—Sale, *Baidháwi*.

(22) Rodwell translates, *If the infidels shall fight against you, they shall assuredly turn their backs.* The Hindustáni and Persian translations agree with Sale.

(24) *He restrained, &c.* Jaláluddín says that fourscore of the infidels came privately to Muhammad's camp at al Hudaibiyah, with an intent to surprise some of his men, but were taken and brought before the Prophet, who pardoned them and ordered them to be set at liberty; and this generous action was the occasion of the truce struck up by the Quraish with Muhammad; for thereupon they sent Suhail Ibn Amrú and some others (and not Arwá Ibn Masúd, as is said by mistake in another place (Prelim. Disc., p. 89), for his errand was an actual defiance) to treat for peace.

Baidháwi explains the passage by another story, telling us that Akrima Ibn Abi Jahl marching from Makkah at the head of five hundred men to al Hudaibiyah, Muhammad sent against him Khálid Ibn al Walíd with a detachment, who drove the infidels back to the innermost part of Makkah (as the word here translated *valley* properly signifies), and then left them, out of respect to the place."—Sale.

This story of Baidháwi could only apply on the hypothesis that the passage alludes to the clemency of Muhammad at the capture of Makkah. I confess that what follows in the text would well describe the feelings of Muhammad at that time. The allusion to secret followers of Islám in ver. 25, points to that event rather than to the affair at Hudaibiyah.

which ye did. (25) *These are they* who believed not, and hindered you from *visiting* the holy temple, and *also hindered* the offering being detained, that it should not arrive at the place where it ought to be sacrificed. Had it not been that ye might have trampled on *divers* true believers, *both* men and women, whom ye know not, *being promiscuously assembled with the infidels*, and that a crime might therefore have lighted on you on their account, without *your* knowledge, *he had not restrained your hands from them*: but this was done that GOD might lead whom he pleased into his mercy. If they had been distinguished from one another, we had surely chastised such of them as believed not with a severe chastisement. (26) When the unbelievers had put in their hearts an affected preciseness, the preciseness of ignorance, and GOD sent down his

(25) *The place where, &c.* "Muhammad's intent, in the expedition of al Hudaibiyah, being only to visit the temple of Makkah in a peaceable manner, and to offer a sacrifice in the valley of Mina, according to the established rites, he carried beasts with him for that purpose; but was not permitted by the Quraish either to enter the temple or to go to Mina."—Sale.

We had surely chastised, &c. It seems to me best to refer these words to a time subsequent to the conquest of Makkah. They explain the ground of Muhammad's leniency towards those who had so frequently been threatened with destruction. If, however, they be referred to the treaty of Hudaibiyah, they would express an idle boast on the part of those who at the time felt their lives to be in jeopardy. See note on vers. 18. It is probable that a subsequent revelation referring to the victory at Makkah has been added on here by the compilers of the Qurán.

(26) *God sent down his tranquillity, &c.* "This passage was occasioned by the stiffness of Suhail and his companions in wording the treaty concluded with Muhammad; for when the Prophet ordered Ali to begin with the form, *In the name of the most merciful God*, they objected to it, and insisted that he should begin with this, *In thy name, O God*; which Muhammad submitted to, and proceeded to dictate, *These are the conditions on which Muhammad, the Apostle of God, has made peace with those of Makkah*; to this Suhail again objected, saying, 'If we had acknowledged thee to be the Apostle of God, we had not given thee any opposition:' whereupon Muhammad ordered Ali to write, as Suhail desired, *These are the conditions which Muhammad, the son of Abdallah, &c.* But the Muslims were so disgusted thereat, that they were on the point of breaking off the

tranquillity on his Apostle and on the true believers; and firmly fixed in them the word of piety, and they were the most worthy of the same, and the most deserving thereof: for GOD knoweth all things.

R $\frac{4}{12}$. || (27) Now hath GOD in truth verified unto his Apostle the vision *wherein he said*, Ye shall surely enter the holy temple of *Makkah*, if GOD please, in full security; having your heads shaved and your hair cut: ye shall not fear: for *God* knoweth that which ye know not; and he hath appointed *you*, besides this, a speedy victory. (28) *It is* he who hath sent his Apostle with the direction, and the religion of truth; that he may exalt the same above

treaty, and had fallen on the Makkans, had not God appeased and calmed their minds; as it follows in the text.

"The terms of this pacification were, that there should be a truce for ten years; that any person might enter into league, either with Muhammad or with the Quraish, as he should think fit; and that Muhammad should have the liberty to visit the temple of Makkah the next year for three days."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*.

Fixed in them the word of piety, i.e., "the Muhammadan profession of faith, or the *Bismillah*, and the words, *Muhammad, the Apostle of God*, which were rejected by the infidels."—Sale.

(27) *The vision*. "Or dream which Muhammad had at Madīna, before he set out for al Hudaibiyah, wherein he dreamed that he and his companions entered Makkah in security, with their heads shaven and their hair cut. This dream, being imparted by the Prophet to his followers, occasioned a great deal of joy among them; and they supposed it would be fulfilled that same year: but when they saw the truce concluded, which frustrated their expectation for that time, they were deeply concerned; whereupon this passage was revealed for their consolation, confirming the vision, which was not to be fulfilled till the year after, when Muhammad performed the visitation, distinguished by the addition of *al Qaddā*, or *completion*, because he then *completed* the visitation of the former year, when the Quraish not permitting him to enter Makkah, he was obliged to kill his victims, and to shave himself at al Hudaibiyah."—Sale.

The positive way in which this dream is here declared to be fulfilled confirms what we have already said as to the date of this portion of this chapter; see above in vers. 24, 25.

Hair cut, i.e., "some being shaved, and others having only their hair cut."—Sale.

A speedy victory, viz., "the taking of Khaibar."—Sale. I should say the conquest of Makkah and the establishment of Islām instead of the national religion.

(28) *Exalt the same above every religion*. Islām, being the only true religion, the religion of all the prophets, is now to be exalted,

every religion: and GOD is a sufficient witness *hereof*. (29) Muhammad is the Apostle of GOD: and those who are with him *are* fierce against the unbelievers, *but* compassionate towards one another. Thou mayest see them bowing down, prostrate, seeking a recompense from GOD, and *his* good-will. Their signs *are* in their faces, being marks of *frequent* prostration. This *is* their description in the Pentateuch, and their description in the Gospel: *they are* as seed which putteth forth its stalk and strengtheneth it, and swelleth in the ear, and riseth upon its stem; giving delight unto the sower. *Such are the Muslims described to be:* that the infidels may swell with indignation at them. GOD hath promised unto such of them as believe and do good works pardon and a great reward.

through the instrumentality of Muhammad, above every other religion. Makkah having now fallen, he considers his religion as triumphant in Arabia, and may be in the world.

(29) *Muhammad is the Apostle of God.* The speaker being God, this form is peculiar, if Muhammad be the person addressed, unless, indeed, we regard these words as the *witness-bearing* of God. The passage would then read, "God is a sufficient witness *hereof*; for he declareth that Muhammad is the Apostle of God," &c.

The Pentateuch . . . the Gospel. Both books are spoken of as in existence in Muhammad's time.

They are seed, &c. Compare Mark iv. 28.

Such . . . as believe . . . and do good, &c. See note on chap. iii. 31.

CHAPTER XLIX.

ENTITLED SURAT AL HUJRÁT (THE INNER APARTMENTS).

Revealed at Madína.

INTRODUCTION.

THIS chapter receives its title from words contained in the fourth verse. It might have appropriately been styled the *Chapter of Rebuke*, inasmuch as it is made up of a variety of passages reprehending the Muslims for various offences. The faults for which the Muslims are rebuked are, too great familiarity in addressing the Prophet, rude calling to the Prophet when in retirement, false accusation, quarrelling among themselves, scornful laughing and taunting, evil speaking and use of opprobrious names, unjust suspicions, meddling, backbiting, and hypocrisy. The circumstances under which, and the parties for whose special instruction, these exhortations were originally uttered are described in the notes.

Probable Date of the Revelations.

All authorities agree that this chapter is Madínic. Vers. 1-5, referring to the envoys of the Bani Tamím, were revealed in A.H. 9 or 10. Vers. 6-8 must be referred to about the same period. Vers. 9-13 probably refer to the Quraish, and were enunciated soon after the occupation of the sacred city in A.H. 8. The remaining verses may be referred to about the year A.H. 9.

Principal Subjects.

	VERSES
The Prophet of God to be treated with honour and respect .	1-5
Believers warned against misrepresenting any matter to the Prophet	6-8
The duty of peacemaking enjoined	9-11
Sundry faults of the Muslims exposed	11-13
Bedouin Arabs rebuked and warned on account of hypocrisy	14-18

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

|| (1) O true believers, anticipate not *any matter* in the R $\frac{1}{13}$ sight of GOD and his Apostle : and fear GOD ; for GOD *both* heareth *and* knoweth. (2) O true believers, raise not your voices above the voice of the Prophet ; neither speak loud unto him in discourse, as ye speak loud unto one another, lest your works become vain, and ye perceive *it* not. (3) Verily they who lower their voices in the presence of the Apostle of GOD *are* those whose hearts GOD hath disposed unto piety : they shall obtain pardon and a great reward. (4) *As to* those who call unto thee from without the inner apartments, the greater part of them do not understand *the respect due to thee*. (5) If they wait with patience until thou come forth unto them, it will certainly be better for them : but GOD is inclined to forgive, *and* merciful. (6) O true believers, if a wicked man come unto you with a tale, inquire strictly *into the truth thereof* ; lest ye hurt people through ignorance, and afterwards repent of what

(1) *Anticipate not, &c.* "That is, do not presume to give your own decision in any case, before ye have received the judgment of God and his Apostle."—*Sale*.

(2) *Raise not your voices, &c.* "This verse is said to have been occasioned by a dispute between Abu Baqr and Omar concerning the appointment of a governor of a certain place, in which they raised their voices so high, in presence of the Apostle, that it was thought proper to forbid such indecencies for the future."—*Sale, Baidhāwī, Jalāluddīn*.

Others make the occasion to have been the rude and boisterous address of a representative of the Bani Tamīm. See Rodwell *in loco*, and Muir's *Life of Mahomet*, vol. iv. pp. 173–175.

(4) *Those who call . . . without the inner apartments.* "These, they say, were Uyayna Ibn Husain and al Akrá Ibn Hábis, who, wanting to speak with Muhammad when he was sleeping at noon in his women's apartment, had the rudeness to call out several times, 'Muhammad, come forth to us.'"—*Sale, Baidhāwī*.

(6) *Lest ye hurt people, &c.* "This passage was occasioned, it is said, by the following accident. Al Walíd Ibn Uqba being sent by Muhammad to collect the alms from the tribe of al Mustaliq, when he saw them come out to meet him in great numbers, grew apprehensive they designed him some mischief, because of past enmity between him and them in the time of ignorance, and immediately

ye have done; (7) and know that the Apostle of GOD is among you: if he should obey you in many things, ye would certainly be guilty of a crime *in leading him into a mistake*. But GOD hath made the faith amiable unto you, and hath prepared the same in your hearts; and hath rendered infidelity, and iniquity, and disobedience hateful unto you. These are they who walk in the right way; (8) through mercy from GOD and grace: and GOD is knowing *and* wise. (9) If two parties of the believers contend with one another, do ye *endeavour to* compose the matter between them: and if the one of them offer an insult unto the other, fight against that *party* which offered the insult, until they return unto the judgment of GOD; and if they do return, make peace between them with equity: and act with justice; for GOD loveth those who act justly. (10) Verily the true believers are brethren; wherefore reconcile your brethren; and fear GOD, that ye may obtain mercy. (11) O true believers, let not men laugh *other* men to scorn; who peradventure may be better than themselves: neither *let* women *laugh other* women to scorn; who may possibly be better than themselves. Neither

turned back, and told the Prophet they refused to pay their alms and attempted to kill him; upon which Muhammad was thinking to reduce them by force; but on sending Khálid Ibn al Walíd to them, he found his former messenger had wronged them, and that they continued in their obedience."—Sale, Baidhāwi, Jalāluddín.

(9) *Two parties*. "This verse is supposed to have been occasioned by a fray which happened between the tribes of al Aus and al Khazraj. Some relate that the Prophet one day riding on an ass, as he passed near Abdullah Ibn Ubbai, the ass chanced to stale, at which Ibn Ubbai stopped his nose; and Ibn Rawáha said to him, 'By God, the piss of his ass smells sweeter than thy musk;' whereupon a quarrel ensued between their followers, and they came to blows, though they struck one another only with their hands and slippers, or with palm-branches."—Sale, Baidhāwi, Jalāluddín.

(11) "It is said that this verse was revealed on account of Safia Bint Huyai, one of the Prophet's wives, who came to her husband and complained that the women said to her, 'O thou Jewess, the daughter of a Jew and of a Jewess;' to which he answered, 'Canst thou not say, Aaron is my father, and Moses is my uncle, and Muhammad is my husband?'"—Sale, Baidhāwi.

defame one another; nor call one another by *opprobrious* appellations. An ill name *it is to be charged with* wickedness after *having embraced* the faith: and whoso repenteth not, they will be the unjust doers.

|| (12) O true believers, carefully avoid *entertaining* a R $\frac{2}{14}$
suspicion of another: for some suspicions *are* a crime. Inquire not too curiously *into other men's failings*; neither let the one of you speak ill of another in his absence. Would any of you desire to eat the flesh of his dead brother? Surely ye would abhor it. And fear GOD; for GOD *is* easy to be reconciled, *and* merciful. (13) O men, verily we have created you of a male and female; and we have distributed you into nations and tribes, that ye might know one another. Verily the most honourable of you, in the sight of GOD, *is* the most pious of you: and GOD *is* wise *and* knowing. (14) The Arabs of the desert say, We believe. Answer, Ye do by no means believe; but say, We have embraced Islām: for the faith hath not yet entered into your hearts. If ye obey GOD and his Apostle, he will not defraud you of any part *of the merit* of your works: for GOD *is* inclined to forgive, *and* merciful. (15) Verily the true believers *are* those only who believe in GOD and his Apostle, and afterwards doubt not; and who employ their substance and their persons in the defence of GOD's true religion: these are they who speak sincerely. (16) Say, Will ye inform GOD concerning your religion?

(12) *Would any of you desire, &c.* Slander is here likened to feasting upon the corpse of a dead man.

(14) *The Arabs of the desert.* "These were certain of the tribe of Asad, who came to Madīna in a year of scarcity, and having professed Muhammadism, told the Prophet that they had brought all their goods and their families, and would not oppose him, as some other tribes had done; and this they said to obtain a part of the alms, and to upbraid him with their having embraced his religion and party."—Sale, Baidhāwī.

We have embraced Islām. "That is, ye are not sincere believers, but outward professors only of the true religion."—Sale.

(16) *Will ye inform God, &c., i.e.,* "will ye pretend to deceive him by saying ye are true believers?"—Sale.

But GOD knoweth whatever *is* in heaven and in earth ! for GOD *is* omniscient. (17) They upbraid thee that they have embraced Islám. Answer, Upbraid me not with your having embraced Islám : rather GOD upbraideth you, that he hath directed you to the faith ; if ye speak sincerely. (18) Verily GOD knoweth the secrets of heaven and earth ; and GOD beholdeth that which ye do.

(17) *Rather God upbraideth you, &c.* "The obligation being not on God's side, but on yours, for that he has favoured you so far as to guide ye into the true faith, if ye are sincere believers."—Sale.

CHAPTER L.

ENTITLED SURAT AL QÁF (Q).

Revealed at Makkah.

INTRODUCTION.

THE letter placed at the beginning of this chapter has been chosen as its title. The contents relate throughout to the doctrine of the resurrection and a future life. To the idolaters of Makkah the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead seemed impossible, and on this account they rejected Muhammad and his Qurán. Muhammad is called an impostor. In reply to his traducers, Muhammad appeals to the power of God as seen in his works of creation and providence. He tells them that other prophets were in like manner with himself charged with forgery, but their calumniators were miserably destroyed. They are accordingly warned of the coming judgment, for which they will be ill prepared. As usual, however, all this warning and instruction is represented as coming from the mouth of God.

Probable Date of the Revelations.

There can be no doubt about the Makkan origin of this chapter. One author, Umar bin Muhammad, however, maintains that ver. 37 was revealed in answer to the blasphemous talk of the Jews at Madína (see Sale's notes), but this is certainly a mistake. The passage is connected in thought with ver. 14. As to the date of the chapter, Noëldeke places it immediately after chap. xlv.

Principal Subjects.

	VERSES
The unbelievers wonder at the doctrine of the resurrection .	1-3
This wonder due to their unbelief	4, 5
God's works a proof of his power to raise the dead . .	6-11
The Quraish warned by the fate of other nations who re- jected their prophets	12, 13

	VERSES
God not so exhausted by the creation that he cannot raise the dead	14
God nearer man than his jugular vein	15
Angels record all human thoughts and actions	16, 17
Death and judgment shall overtake all men	18-20
The testimony of the two angels shall condemn the unbelievers	21, 22
God shall cast the wicked into hell	23-25
The devils shall disclaim the idolaters in hell	26-28
Hell shall be filled with the wicked	29
Paradise shall receive the true believers	30-34
Former generations destroyed as a warning to the people of Makkah	35, 36
The heavens and the earth created in six days	37
Muhammad exhorted to patience with unbelievers . . .	38-43
Muhammad not sent to compel men to believe, but only to warn them	44, 45

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

SEVENTH
MUNZIL.

SOLS.

R $\frac{1}{15}$.

|| (1) Q. By the glorious Qurán; (2) verily they wonder that a preacher from among themselves is come unto them; and the unbelievers say, *This is a wonderful thing*; (3) after we shall be dead and become dust, *shall we return to life?* *This is a return remote from thought.* (4) Now we know what the earth consumeth of them; and with us is a book which keepeth an account *thereof*. (5) But they charge falsehood on the truth, after it hath come unto them: wherefore they *are plunged* in a confused business.

(1) Q. "Some imagine that this letter is designed to express the mountain Qáf, which several Eastern writers fancy encompasses the whole world. Others say it stands for *Qadr al amr*, i.e., 'The matter is decreed,' viz., the chastisement of the infidels. See Prelim. Disc., pp. 100-102."—*Sale, Baidhāwī, Jalāluddīn.*

The glorious Qurán. In the Arabic, *Qurán al Majid*. This is a term commonly applied to the Qurán by Muslims. It includes the idea of a complete Divine revelation—a book—and may here refer to the *Luh i Mahfúz*, or Preserved Table, from which the revelations delivered to Muhammad are said to have been copied.

(5) *They are plunged in a confused business.* "Not knowing what

(6) Do they not look up to the heaven above them, *and consider* how we have raised it and adorned it; and that *there are* no flaws therein? (7) We have also spread forth the earth, and thrown thereon *mountains* firmly rooted: and we caused every beautiful kind of *vegetables* to spring up therein; (8) for a subject of meditation, and an admonition unto every man who turneth *unto us*. (9) And we send down rain as a blessing from heaven, whereby we cause gardens to spring forth, and the grain of harvest, (10) and tall palm-trees having branches laden with dates hanging one above another, (11) as a provision for mankind; and we thereby quicken a dead country: so *shall be* the coming forth of the dead from their graves. (12) The people of Noah, and those who dwelt at Al Rass, and Thamúd, (13) and Ád, and Pharaoh, accused the prophets of imposture before the *Makkans*; and also the brethren of Lot, and the inhabitants of the wood near *Midian*, and the people of Tubba: all *these* accused the apostles of imposture; wherefore the judgments which I threatened were justly inflicted on them. (14) Is our power exhausted by the first creation? Yea; they are in a perplexity, because of a new creation which is foretold them, namely, the raising of the dead.

|| (15) We created man, and we know what his soul R $\frac{2}{16}$ whispereth within him; and we are nearer unto him than

certainly to affirm of the Qurán, calling it sometimes a piece of poetry, at other times a piece of sorcery, and at other times a piece of divination, &c."—*Sale*.

(7) Comp. chaps. xvi. 15, and xxxi. 9.

(10) *Dates*. "The date-tree produces three or four large clusters, which rise from the summit of the tree, and hang round. They are formed of small branches, long and flexible, from which hang the dates. These clusters will sometimes weigh as much as 120 pounds. The date is at first of a deep green; as it ripens it turns red, and it becomes blackish when it is ripe. This fruit, which is of a sugary and agreeable taste, loses much by drying."—*Savary*.

(12) *Who dwelt at Al Rass, &c.* See on chaps. xxv. 40, xi. 26-100, and notes there.

Tubba. See note on chap. xliv. 36.

his jugular vein. (16) When the two *angels* deputed to take account of a man's behaviour take an account thereof, one sitting on the right hand and the other on the left, (17) he uttereth not a word but *there is* with him a watcher ready to note it. (18) And the agony of death shall come in truth: this, *O man*, is what thou soughtest to avoid. (19) And the trumpet shall sound: this *will be* the day which hath been threatened. (20) And every soul shall come; and therewith *shall be* a driver and a witness. (21) *And the former shall say unto the unbeliever*, Thou wast negligent heretofore of this *day*: but we have removed thy veil from off thee; and thy sight is become piercing this day. (22) And his companion shall say, This is what is ready with me to be attested. (23) *And God shall say*, Cast into hell every unbeliever, and perverse person, (24) *and every one* who forbade good, and every transgressor, and doubter of the faith, (25) who set up another god with the true GOD; and cast him into a grievous torment. (26) His companion shall say, O LORD,

(16, 17) "The intent of the passage is to exalt the omniscience of God, who wants not the information of the guardian angels, though he has thought fit, in his wisdom, to give them that employment; for if they are so exact as to write down every word which falls from a man's mouth, how can we hope to escape the observation of him who sees our inmost thoughts?"

"The Muhammadans have a tradition that the angel who notes a man's good actions has the command over him who notes his evil actions; and that when a man does a good action, the angel of the right hand writes it down ten times, and when he commits an ill action, the same angel says to the angel of the left hand 'Forbear setting it down for seven hours; peradventure he may pray, or may ask pardon.'—Sale, Baidhāwī.

(20) *A driver and a witness*, i.e., "two angels, one acting as a serjeant, to bring every person before the tribunal; and the other prepared as a witness, to testify either for or against him. Some say the former will be the guardian angel who took down his evil actions, and the other angel who took down his good actions."—Sale, Baidhāwī.

(26) *His companion*, viz., "the devil which shall be chained to him."—Sale. See also notes on chaps. vii. 39, 180, and x. 19, &c.

I did not seduce him, &c. "This will be the answer of the devil, whom the wicked person will accuse as his seducer: for the devil

I did not seduce him; but he was in a wide error. (27) *God shall say, Wrangle not in my presence: since I threatened you beforehand with the torments which ye now see prepared for you.* (28) The sentence is not changed with me: neither do I treat *my* servants unjustly.

|| (29) On that day we will say unto hell, Art thou R $\frac{3}{17}$ full? and it shall answer, *Is there yet any addition?* (30) And Paradise shall be brought near unto the pious; (31) *and it shall be said unto them, This is what ye have been promised; unto every one who turned himself unto God, and kept his commandments;* (32) who feared the Merciful in secret, and came *unto him* with a converted heart: (33) enter the same in peace: *this is the day of eternity.* (34) Therein shall they have whatever they shall desire; and *there will be a superabundant addition of bliss* with us. (35) How many generations have we destroyed before the *Makkans*, which were more mighty than they in strength? Pass, therefore, through the regions of the earth, and see whether *there be any refuge from our vengeance.* (36) Verily herein *is an admonition unto him who hath a heart to understand, or giveth ear, and is present with an attentive mind.* (37) We created the heavens and the earth, and whatever *is* between them, in six days, and no

hath no power over a man to cause him to do evil, any otherwise than by suggesting what is agreeable to his corrupt inclinations.”—*Sale*.

Comp. chap. xiv. 26, 27.

(29) *Is there yet any addition?* i.e., “are there yet any more condemned to this place, or is my space to be enlarged and rendered more capacious to receive them?”

“The commentators suppose hell will be quite filled at the day of judgment, according to that repeated expression in the Qurán, *Verily I will fill hell with you, &c.*”—*Sale*.

See chaps. xi. 119, xxxii. 13, 14. Comp. Prov. xxx. 15.

(34) See Prelim. Disc., p. 154.

(37) *Six days.* See note on chap. vii. 55.

No weariness, &c. “This was revealed in answer to the Jews, who said God rested from his work of creation on the seventh day, and reposed himself on his throne, as one fatigued.”—*Sale, Baidhāwī, Jalāluddīn*.

Better, with Rodwell, to connect with ver. 14.

weariness affected us. (38) Wherefore patiently suffer what they say; and celebrate the praise of thy LORD before sunrise and before sunset, (39) and praise him *in some part* of the night: and *perform* the additional parts of worship. (40) And hearken unto the day whereon the crier shall call *men to judgment* from a near place: (41) the day whereon they shall hear the voice *of the trumpet* in truth: this *will be* the day of *men's* coming forth *from their graves*: (42) we give life, and we cause to die; and unto us *shall be* the return of *all creatures*: (43) the day whereon the earth shall suddenly cleave in sunder over them. This *will be* an assembly easy for us *to assemble*. (44) We well know what *the unbelievers* say; and thou art not sent to compel them forcibly *to the faith*. (45) Wherefore warn, by the Qurán, him who feareth my threatening.

(38) *What they say*, what the idolaters say in denying the resurrection.

(39) *The additional parts of worship*. "These are the two inclinations used after the evening prayer, which are not necessary or of precept, but voluntary and of supererogation, and may therefore be added or omitted indifferently."—Sale.

The *additional parts* of worship are *commanded* here, and therefore cannot be regarded by Muslims as indifferent. It is better to apply these words to other hours of prayer not mentioned here.

(40) *A new place*. "That is, from a place whence every creature may equally hear the call. This place, it is supposed, will be the mountain of the temple of Jerusalem, which some fancy to be nigher heaven than any other part of the earth; whence Isra'il will sound the trumpet, and Gabriel will make the following proclamation: 'O ye rotten bones, and torn flesh, and dispersed hairs, God commandeth you to be gathered together to judgment.'"—Sale, Baidhawí.

(44) *Thou art not sent to compel, &c.* This is the spirit of the Makkan preacher, but compare that of the prophet-general of Madína, chaps. ix. 29, 74, and xlvii. 4, 5.

CHAPTER LI.

ENTITLED SURAT AL ZÁRIYÁT (THE DISPERSING).

Revealed at Makkah.

INTRODUCTION.

As in nearly all the earlier chapters of the Qurán, this one begins with a number of oaths, wherewith God, swearing by various natural objects, attests the truth of his Prophet's message. In this chapter the occasion of these vehement oaths was the rejection of the doctrine of a final judgment by the people of Makkah.

It is generally agreed that the latter portion of this chapter, consisting of vers. 24-60, was added on by the compilers of the Qurán, or during its recension under Othmán. The subject of discourse being similar, it was perhaps thought to belong to what precedes. While, however, it is true that the subject is the same, yet the circumstances under which it was enunciated were very different. In the first section the unbelievers simply reject the Prophet as an impostor and his message as incredible, but in this they threaten violent treatment (ver. 59), and the Prophet is in consequence told to withdraw from them (ver. 54).

Probable Date of the Revelations.

Noëldeke places this chapter near the end of his first period, *i.e.*, about the fourth year of Muhammad's mission.

This date will do very well for the first portion of the chapter, but vers. 24-60 must be assigned a much later date. Muir places it near the end of the fourth stage of Muhammad's ministry, when the ban against the Háshamites had interfered with his public preaching.

The date of this portion would therefore be about B.H. 6.

Principal Subjects.

	VERSES
Numerous oaths that the judgment will come . . .	1-6
Oaths and curses relating to unbelievers . . .	7-11
Doom of infidels and reward of true believers . . .	12-16
The piety and charity of Muslims . . .	17-19
God reveals himself in his work of providence . . .	20-22
Muhammad swears by the Lord that the Qurán is true . . .	23
The story of Abraham's entertaining angels . . .	24-30
Story of the destruction of Sodom . . .	31-37
Pharaoh, Ád, Thamúd, and the people of Noah destroyed for rejecting their prophets as impostors . . .	38-46
God reveals himself to men in his works of creation . . .	47-49
Makkans warned to leave their idols and to fly to God . . .	50, 51
Every apostle of God called a magician or madman . . .	52, 53
Muhammad to withdraw from idolaters and yet to admonish them for the sake of true believers . . .	54, 55
Men and genii created to serve God . . .	56, 58
Woe to unbelievers who injure the apostles of God . . .	59, 60

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

R $\frac{1}{18}$. || (1) By the *winds* dispersing and scattering *the dust*; (2) and by the *clouds* bearing a load of *rain*; (3) by the *ships* running swiftly in the *sea*; (4) and by the *angels* who distribute things *necessary for the support of all creatures*; (5) verily that wherewith ye are threatened is certainly true; (6) and the *last* judgment will surely come. (7) By the heaven furnished with paths; (8) ye widely differ in what ye say. (9) He will be turned

(1-4) The particles being in the feminine, *Sale* gives an alternate rendering as follows, "By the *women* who bring forth or scatter *children*, and by the *women* bearing a burden in their *wombs* (or the *winds* bearing the *clouds*); by the *winds* passing swiftly in the *air* (or the *stars* moving swiftly in their *courses*), and by the *winds* which distribute the *rain*, &c."

(7) *Paths*. "The paths or orbs of the stars, or the streaks which appear in the sky like paths, being thin and extended clouds."—*Sale*.

(8) *Ye widely differ*. "Concerning Muhammad or the Qurán, or

aside from *the faith* who shall be turned aside by *the divine decree*. (10) Cursed be the liars, (11) who *wade* in deep waters of *ignorance*, neglecting *their salvation*. (12) They ask, *When will the day of judgment come?* (13) On that day shall they be burned in *hell-fire*; (14) *and it shall be said unto them*, Taste your punishment; this is what ye demanded to be hastened. (15) But the pious *shall dwell* among gardens and fountains, (16) receiving that which their LORD shall give them; because they were righteous doers before this *day*. (17) They slept but a small part of the night; (18) and early in the morning they asked pardon of *God*; (19) and a due portion of their wealth *was given* unto him who asked, and unto him who was forbidden by *shame* to ask. (20) *There are signs of the divine power and goodness* in the earth, unto men of sound understanding; (21) and also in your own selves: will ye not therefore consider? (22) Your sustenance *is* in the heaven; and also that which ye are promised. (23) Wherefore by the LORD of heaven and earth *I swear* that this *is* certainly the truth; according to what ye yourselves speak.

|| (24) Hath not the story of Abraham's honoured guests R $\frac{2}{1}$ come to thy knowledge? (25) When they went in unto him, and said, Peace: he answered, Peace; *saying within himself*, *These are unknown people*. (26) And he went privately unto his family, and brought a fatted calf. (27) And he set it before them, *and when he saw they touched it*

the resurrection and the day of judgment, speaking variously and inconsistently of them."—Sale.

(17) *A small part*. "Spending the greater part in prayer and religious meditation."—Sale.

(22) "That is, your food cometh from above, whence proceedeth the change of seasons and rain; and your future reward is also there, that is to say, in Paradise, which is situate above the seven heavens."—Sale.

(23) *According to what ye yourselves speak*. "That is, without any doubt or reserved meaning, as ye affirm a truth unto one another."—Sale.

(24) See chaps. xi. 69, and xv. 51, and notes there.

not, he said, Do ye not eat? (28) And he began to entertain a fear of them. They said, Fear not: and they declared unto him the promise of a wise youth. (29) And his wife drew near with exclamation, and she smote her face, and said, *I am* an old woman *and* barren. (30) The *angels* answered, Thus saith the LORD: verily he is the wise, the knowing.

TWENTY-
SEVENTH
SIPARA.

|| (31) *And Abraham* said *unto them*, What is your errand, therefore, O messengers of *God*? (32) They answered, Verily we are sent unto a wicked people, (33) that we may send down upon them stones of *baked* clay, (34) marked from thy LORD, for *the destruction of* transgressors. (35) And we brought forth the true believers who were in *the city*; (36) but we found not therein more than one family of Muslims. (37) And we *overthrew the same*, and left a sign therein unto those who dread the severe chastisement of *God*. (38) In Moses also *was a sign*, when we sent him unto Pharaoh with manifest power. (39) But he turned back with his princes, saying, *This man is* a sorcerer or a madman. (40) Wherefore we took him and his forces and cast them into the sea; and he was one worthy of reprehension. (41) And in *the tribe of Ad* also *was a sign*, when we sent against them a destroying wind; (42) it touched not aught whereon it came, but it rendered the same as a thing rotten, *and reduced to dust*. (43) In Thamúd *likewise was a sign*, when it was said unto them, Enjoy *yourselves* for a time. (44) But they insolently transgressed the command of their LORD: wherefore a terrible noise from heaven assailed them while they looked on; (45) and they were not able to stand *on their feet*,

(28) *Fear not*. "Some add, that, to remove Abraham's fear, Gabriel, who was one of these strangers, touched the calf with his wing, and it immediately rose up and walked to its dam; upon which Abraham knew them to be the messengers of God."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*.

(33) See note on chap. xi. 81.

(38-46) See notes on chaps. xii. 104-136, and xi. 26-60.

neither did they save themselves *from destruction*. (46) And the people of Noah *did we destroy* before *these*; for they were a people who enormously transgressed.

|| (47) We have built the heaven with might; and we have given *it* a large extent; (48) and we have stretched forth the earth beneath; and how evenly have we spread *the same*! (49) And of everything have we created two kinds, that peradventure ye may consider. (50) Fly, therefore, unto GOD: verily I *am* a public warner unto you from him. (51) And set not up another god with *the true* GOD: verily I *am* a public warner unto you from him. (52) In like manner there came no apostle unto their predecessors, but they said, *This man is* a magician or a madman. (53) Have they bequeathed this *behaviour* successively the one to the other? Yea; they are a people who enormously transgress. (54) Wherefore withdraw from them; and thou *shalt not be* blameworthy *in so doing*. (55) Yet continue to admonish; for admonition profiteth the true believers. (56) I have not created genii and men *for any other end* than that they should serve me. (57) I require not any sustenance from them; neither will I that they feed me. (58) Verily GOD is he who provideth *for all creatures*; possessed of mighty power. (59) Unto those who shall injure *our Apostle shall be given* a portion like unto the portion of those who behaved like them *in times past*; and they shall not wish *the same* to be hastened. (60) Woe, therefore, to the unbelievers, because of their day with which they are threatened!

(49) *Two kinds.* "As, for example, male and female, the heaven and the earth, the sun and the moon, light and darkness, plains and mountains, winter and summer, sweet and bitter, &c."—*Sale*.

(52) Comp. chap. xxii. 44, 45.

(54) *Withdraw from them.* This instruction points to Muhammad's flight to Madina.

(56) Compare with chap. xi. 119.

(57) *That they feed me.* Alluding to the food offerings presented to the idols.

CHAPTER LII.

ENTITLED SURAT AL TÚR (THE MOUNTAIN).

Revealed at Makkah.

INTRODUCTION.

THE earlier portion of this chapter is occupied with the doctrine of future rewards and punishments, and closely resembles the first part of chap. li. The violence of the opposition of the Quraish to this doctrine is illustrated by the vehemence of the oaths by which that doctrine is asserted. Unbelievers are assured that the fires of hell shall overtake them ; but, on the other hand, believers are encouraged by a description of the sensual delights of Paradise. This marks the introduction of the houris or black-eyed maidens of Paradise into the descriptions of the heaven of Islám.

The latter part of this chapter reveals to us a more active opposition of the Quraish. They no longer simply deny the doctrine of his Qurán, but declare him to be an impostor and plot his destruction (ver. 42). Muhammad, however, is undisturbed. Believing the eye of God to be upon him (ver. 48), he calmly waits, trusting in God for deliverance.

Probable Date of the Revelations.

Noéldeke, in his chronological list of suras, places this chapter immediately after chap. li. He, however, maintains that vers. 21 and 29 *seq.* are of later date, because the use of certain expressions, *e.g.*, سجان الآمن and شرك point clearly to the later style of Muhammad. Muir places the whole Sura in the early part of his fourth stage, *i.e.*, at a period extending from the sixth to the tenth year of Muhammad's ministry.

Principal Subjects.

	VERSES
Oaths by various objects that the judgment-day will come .	1-8
The terrors of the unbelievers in that day	9-16
The bliss of Paradise described	17-28
Muhammad not a soothsayer, madman, poet, or impostor .	29-34
Unbelievers reproved for their ignorance and idolatry .	35-47
Plots of the enemies of Muhammad exposed	42, 43
Muhammad to leave the idolaters to their fate	44-47
Muhammad exhorted to praise and trust the Lord	48, 49

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

|| (1) By the mountain of *Sinai*; (2) and by the book R $\frac{1}{3}$.
 (3) written in an expanded scroll; (4) and by the visited house; (5) and by the elevated roof of *heaven*; (6) and by the swelling ocean; (7) verily the punishment of thy LORD will surely descend; (8) *there shall be none to withhold it.* (9) On that day the heaven shall be shaken and shall reel, (10) and the mountains shall walk and pass away. (11) And on that day woe be unto those who accused *God's apostles* of imposture; (12) who amused themselves in wading in *vain disputes*! (13) On that day shall they be driven and thrust into the fire of hell; (14) *and it shall be said unto them,* This is the fire which ye denied as a fiction. (15) *Is this a magic illusion?* Or do ye not see? (16) Enter the same to be scorched: whether ye bear *your torments* patiently or impatiently, *it will be equal unto you:* ye shall surely receive the reward of that

(3) *An expanded scroll.* "The book here intended, according to different opinions, is either the book or register wherein every man's actions are recorded; or the *preserved table* containing God's decrees; or the book of the law, which was written by God, Moses hearing the creaking of the pen; or else the *Qurán*."—*Sale, Baidhāwi, Zamakhsharī.*

(4) *The . . . house, i.e.,* "the Kaabah, so much visited by pilgrims; or, as some rather think, the original model of that house in heaven, called al *Durāh*, which is visited and compassed by the angels, as the other is by men."—*Sale, Baidhāwi.*

(11) See note on chap. iii. 185.

which ye have wrought. (17) But the pious *shall dwell* amidst gardens and pleasures, (18) delighting themselves in what their LORD shall have given them; and their LORD shall deliver them from the pains of hell. (19) *And it shall be said unto them*, Eat and drink with easy digestion, because of that which ye have wrought; (20) leaning on couches disposed in order: and we will espouse them unto virgins having large black eyes. (21) And unto those who believe, and whose offspring follow them in the faith, we will join their offspring *in Paradise*; and we will not diminish unto them aught of *the merit* of their works. (Every man is given in pledge for that which he shall have wrought.) (22) And we will give them fruits in abundance, and flesh of the *kinds* which they shall desire. (23) They shall present unto one another therein a cup of *wine*, wherein there shall be no vain discourse, nor any incitement unto wickedness. (24) And youths *appointed to attend* them shall go round them, *beautiful* as pearls hidden *in their shell*. (25) And they shall approach unto one another, and shall ask mutual questions. (26) *And* they shall say, Verily we were heretofore, amidst our family, in great dread *with regard to our state after death*; (27) but GOD hath been gracious unto us, and hath delivered us from the pain of burning fire: (28) for we called on him heretofore; and he is the beneficent, the merciful.

R $\frac{2}{4}$. || (29) Wherefore do thou, *O Prophet*, admonish *thy people*. Thou art not, by the grace of thy LORD, a sooth-

(17-25) See note on chap. iii. 15.

(20) *Virgins having large black eyes*. "This is the earliest mention of the *hûries* or black-eyed girls of Paradise, so famous in the Mahometan system, and which other creeds have singled out as the distinguishing feature of Islâm. They were not thought of, at least not introduced into the revelation, till four or five years after Mahomet had assumed the office of prophet."—Muir's *Life of Mahomet*, vol. ii. pp. 141, 142, note.

(21) *Every man, &c., i.e.*, "every man is pledged unto God for his behaviour; and if he does well, he redeems his pledge; but if evil, he forfeits it."—Sale.

sayer or a madman. (30) Do they say, *He is* a poet; we wait, concerning him, some adverse turn of fortune? (31) Say, Wait ye *my ruin*: verily I wait, with you, *the time of your destruction*. (32) Do their mature understandings bid them *say* this; or *are* they people who perversely transgress? (33) Do they say, He hath forged *the Qurán*? Verily they believe not. (34) Let them produce a discourse like unto it, if they speak truth. (35) Were they created by nothing; or were they creators of *themselves*? (36) Did they create the heavens and the earth? Verily they are not firmly persuaded *that God hath created them*. (37) Are the stores of thy LORD in their hands? Are they the supreme dispensers of *all things*? (38) Have they a ladder whereby they may *ascend to heaven, and hear the discourses of the angels*? Let one, therefore, who hath heard them produce an evident proof *thereof*. (39) Hath God daughters, and have ye sons? (40) Dost thou ask them a reward for *thy preaching*? but they are laden with debts. (41) Are the secrets of futurity with them; and do they transcribe *the same from the tables of God's degrees*? (42) Do they seek to *lay a plot against thee*? But the unbelievers are *they who shall be circumvented*. (43) Have they *any* god besides GOD? Far be GOD exalted above the *idols* which they associate *with him*! (44) If they should see a fragment of the heaven falling down *upon them*, they would say, *It is only* a thick cloud. (45) Wherefore leave

(30) See chap. xxi. 5.

(33) See notes on chaps. xi. 14, and xvi. 105.

(36) *They are not . . . persuaded, &c.* "For though they confess this with their tongues, yet they deny it by their averseness to render him his due worship."—Sale.

(38) *Have they a ladder, &c.* Compare chap. vi. 34, where this taunt is raised against Muhammad by the Quraish.

(39) See notes on chap. xvi. 59-61.

(42) See chap. viii. 30.

(44) *A thick cloud.* "This was one of the judgments which the idolatrous Makkans defied Muhammad to bring down upon them; and yet, says the text, if they should see a part of the heaven falling

them until they arrive at their day, wherein they shall swoon for fear: (46) a day in which their subtle contrivances shall not avail them at all, neither shall they be protected. (47) And those who act unjustly shall surely suffer *another* punishment besides this: but the greater part of them do not understand. (48) And wait thou patiently the judgment of thy LORD *concerning them*; for thou *art* in our eye: and celebrate the praise of thy LORD when thou risest up; (49) and praise him in the night-season, and when the stars begin to disappear.

on them, they would not believe it till they were crushed to death by it."—*Sale, Baidhāwi*.

(45) *Their day, &c.* "At the first sound of the trumpet."—*Sale*. See Prelim. Disc., p. 135.

(47) *Another punishment.* "That is, besides the punishment to which they shall be doomed at the day of judgment, they shall be previously chastised by calamities in this life, as the slaughter at Badr and the seven years' famine, and also after their death by the examination of the sepulchre."—*Sale, Baidhāwi*.

CHAPTER LIII.

ENTITLED SURAT AL NAJM (THE STAR).

Revealed at Makkah.

INTRODUCTION.

THIS chapter receives its title from the object by which Muhammad is commanded to swear, mentioned in the first verse. Like chapters li. and lii., this one consists of an earlier and a later portion, or may be, as Noéldeke suggests, fragments of one or two lost Suras have been added to the original revelation of this one by the compilers.

The earlier portion of this chapter presents two items of special interest. The first is the declaration of the Qurán itself that Muhammad was merely a passive instrument of revelation (ver. 6), and that, therefore, the words of the Qurán are in no sense whatever the words of Muhammad himself. The second item of special interest is the description of the angelic vision vouchsafed to Muhammad, and which was to him the proof of his apostleship. See the subject discussed in note on ver. 11.

The latter portion of the chapter contains the passage which records, in its amended form, a revelation said to have been suggested by Satan at the time of the lapse of the Prophet. The question of the lapse will be found discussed in notes on chap. xxii. 53.

Probable Date of the Revelations.

Guided by the traditions relating to the lapse alluded to in vers. 19-23, the date of this portion of the chapter would be the months of Ramadhán and Shawwál of the fifth year of the Call. Vers. 26-33 are probably of a somewhat later origin, while vers. 58-62 seem to form a little Sura by themselves. This portion, with the first eighteen verses, were the earliest revelations of this chapter.

Principal Subjects.

	VERSES
Oath that Muhammad received the Qurán from the Angel Gabriel	1-5
Description of the angelic visions vouchsafed to Muhammad	6-18
The revelation concerning Al Lát, Al Uzzah, and Manáh, &c.	19-23
The vanity of trusting to the intercession of female deities	24-31
God almighty and omniscient	32, 33
Rebuke of a man who employed another to bear his punishment on the judgment-day	34-56
Muhammad a preacher like other prophets	57
The judgment-day approacheth, therefore prepare for it	58-62

 IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

R $\frac{1}{5}$. || (1) By the star when it setteth, (2) your companion *Muhammad* erreth not, nor is he led astray, (3) neither doth he speak of *his own* will. (4) It is no other than a revelation, (5) which hath been revealed *unto him*. (6) One mighty in power, endued with understanding, taught *it him*: (7) and he appeared in the highest part of the horizon. (8) Afterwards he approached *the Prophet*,

(1) *By the star*. "Some suppose the stars in general, and others the Pleiades in particular, to be meant in this place."—Sale.

When it setteth. "Or, according to a contrary signification of the verb here used, *when it riseth*."—Sale.

(6) *One mighty in power*. "The Angel Gabriel."—Sale. "The commentators say that the terms *Ruh-ul-Amin* (Faithful Spirit) and *Shadid-ul-Quá* (Mighty in Power) refer to no other angel or spirit."—Sell's *Faith of Islám*, p. 4.

Taught it him. "The use of the word 'taught' . . . and the following expression in Sura lxxv. 18, 'when we have recited it, then follow thou the recital,' shows that the Qurán is entirely an objective revelation, and that Muhammad was only a passive medium of communication."—Sell's *Faith of Islám*, p. 4.

(7) *And he appeared, &c.* "In his natural form, in which God created him, and in the eastern part of the sky. It is said that this angel appeared in his proper shape to none of the prophets except Muhammad, and to him only twice: once when he received the first revelation of the Qurán, and a second time when he took his night journey to heaven; as it follows in the text."—Sale.

(8) *He approached*. "In a human shape."—Sale.

and near *unto him*, (9) until he was at the distance of two bows' length *from him*, or yet nearer; (10) and he revealed unto his servant that which he revealed. (11) The heart of *Muhammad* did not falsely represent that which he saw. (12) Will ye therefore dispute with him concerning that which he saw? (13) He also saw him another time, (14) by the lote-tree beyond which there is no passing: (15) near it is the garden of *eternal* abode.

(9) *Two bows' length.* "Or, as the word also signifies, *two cubits length.*"—*Sale.*

(11) *The heart . . . did not falsely represent, &c.* That is, Muhammad was not the subject of any illusion, but saw it in reality. He was not mistaken as to what he saw.

We have here then the distinct and positive assertion on the part of Muhammad that he had personal intercourse with the Angel Gabriel. Now was he sincere and truthful in this statement? Did he see something, or did he see nothing? Did he report what he saw in truth, or did he utter a deliberate falsehood? It seems to me clear that the theory of deliberate falsehood is *in this case* untenable. That he was the subject of *some kind* of vision must be admitted, whether due to Divine or Satanic influence must be determined by the result. Judged by its fruits, Islām cannot have had God for its author. It is the most powerful of all the opposing influences to the religion of Jesus which have arisen in the world since the day of Pentecost.

Believing that Muhammad had intercourse with some being whom he believed to be Gabriel, and seeing that the effect of these revelations, vouchsafed to Muhammad through this being, or due to the influence which this being wrought upon his mind, was, and still is, to overthrow the faith of the Bible, I, as a Christian, must therefore hold that these visions were due to Satanic influence—Satan, however, revealing himself as an angel of light. This view is not only consistent with what the Bible teaches concerning the character of Satan's policy in this dispensation (Matt. iv. 1-11, xxiv. 24; 2 Thess. ii. 8-12, and Revelation throughout), but it is the theory which best accounts for the strange history and character of Muhammad himself. See note on chap. iv. 116. See the whole question of the belief of Muhammad in his own inspiration discussed at length in Muir's *Life of Mahomet*, vol. ii., CHAPTER THIRD.

(13) *Another time.* Comp. chap. vi. 8, where there is an apparently contradictory statement.

(14) *The lote-tree, &c.* "This tree, say the commentators, stands in the seventh heaven, on the right hand of the throne of God, and is the utmost bounds beyond which the angels themselves must not pass; or, as some rather imagine, beyond which no creature's knowledge can extend."—*Sale.*

See Rodwell's note *in loco*.

(16) When the lote-tree covered that which it covered, (17) *his* eyesight turned not aside, neither did it wander: (18) and he really beheld *some* of the greatest signs of his LORD. (19) What think ye of Al Lát, and Al Uzza, (20) and Manáh, that other third *goddess*? (21) Have ye male children, and *God* female? (22) This, therefore, *is* an unjust partition. (23) They are no other than *empty* names, which ye and your fathers have named *goddesses*. GOD hath not revealed concerning them anything to authorise *their worship*. They follow no other than a vain opinion, and what *their* souls desire: yet hath the *true* direction come unto them from their LORD. (24) Shall man have whatever he wisheth for? (25) The life to come and the present life *are* God's.

R $\frac{2}{6}$

|| (26) And how many angels soever *there be* in the heavens, their intercession shall be of no avail, (27) until after GOD shall have granted permission unto whom he shall please and shall accept. (28) Verily they who believe not in the life to come give unto the angels a female appellation. (29) But they have no knowledge herein: they follow no other than a bare opinion; and a bare

(16) *That which is covered.* "The words seem to signify that what was under this tree exceeded all description and number. Some suppose the whole host of angels worshipping beneath it are intended, and others, the birds which sit on its branches."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*, *Jalāluddīn*.

(18) *He really beheld, &c.* "Seeing the wonders both of the sensible and the intellectual world."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*.

(19, 20) *Al Lát, and Al Uzza, and Manáh* "Those were three idols of the ancient Arabs, of which we have spoken in the Preliminary Discourse, pp. 38-41.

"As to the blasphemy which some pretend Muhammad once uttered, through inadvertence, as he was reading this passage, see chap. xxii. 53, notes."—Sale.

See also notes on chaps. iv. 116, and xxii. 74-76.

(21) See chap. xvi. 59, notes.

(24) "That is, shall he dictate to God, and name whom he pleases for his intercessors or for his prophet; or shall he choose a religion according to his own fancy, and prescribe the terms on which he may claim the reward of this life and the next?"—Sale, *Baidhāwī*, *Jalāluddīn*.

(26) *Their intercession.* See chap. xxi. 28, 29.

opinion attaineth not anything of truth. (30) Wherefore withdraw from him who turneth away from our admonition and seeketh only the present life. (31) *This is their highest pitch of knowledge.* Verily thy LORD well knoweth him who erreth from his way; and he well knoweth him who is *rightly* directed.

|| (32) Unto GOD *belongeth* whatever is in heaven and earth, that he may reward those who do evil according to that which they shall have wrought, and may reward those who do well with the most excellent *reward*. (33) *As to those who avoid great crimes and heinous sins, and are guilty only of lighter faults, verily thy LORD will be extensive in mercy towards them.* He well knew you when he produced you out of the earth, and when ye were embryos in your mothers' wombs: wherefore justify not yourselves: he best knoweth *the man* who feareth him.

|| (34) What thinkest thou of him who turneth aside *from following the truth*, (35) and giveth little, and covetously stoppeth his hand? (36) *Is the knowledge of futurity with him, so that he seeth the same?* (37) Hath he not been informed of that which is contained in the books of Moses, (38) and of Abraham, who faithfully performed *his engagements?* (39) *To wit*, that a burdened soul shall not bear the burden of another; (40) and that nothing shall be imputed to a man for righteousness except

(33) *Heinous sins . . . lighter faults.* See note on chap. iv. 30.

(35) *Stoppeth his hand.* "This passage, it is said, was revealed on account of Al Walid Ibn al Mughaira, who, following the Prophet one day, was reviled by an idolater for leaving the religion of the Quraish and giving occasion of scandal; to which he answered, that what he did was out of apprehension of the Divine vengeance: whereupon the man offered, for a certain sum, to take the guilt of his apostasy on himself; and the bargain being made, Al Walid returned to his idolatry, and paid the man part of what had been agreed on; but afterwards, on further consideration, he thought it too much, and kept back the remainder."—Sale, *Baidhawi*.

(36) *Is the knowledge of futurity with him.* "That is, is he assured that the person with whom he made the above-mentioned agreement will be allowed to suffer in his stead hereafter?"—Sale, *Baidhawi*.

his own labour; (41) and that his labour shall surely be made manifest hereafter, (42) and *that* he shall be rewarded for the same with a most abundant reward; (43) and that unto thy LORD *will be the end of all things*; (44) and that he causeth to laugh, and causeth to weep; (45) and that he putteth to death, and giveth life; (46) and that he createth the two sexes, the male and the female, (47) of seed when it is emitted; (48) and that unto him *appertaineth* another production, *namely, the raising of the dead again to life hereafter*; (49) and that he enricheth, and causeth to acquire possessions; (50) and that he is the LORD of the dog-star; (51) and that he destroyed the ancient *tribe of Ad*, (52) and Thamúd, and left not *any of them* alive; (53) and also the people of Noah before *them*; for they were most unjust and wicked: (54) and he overthrew the *cities which were* turned upside down; (55) and that which covered *them*, covered them. (56) Which, therefore, of thy LORD's benefits, *O man*, wilt thou call in question? (57) This *our Apostle* is a preacher like the preachers who preceded *him*. (58) The approaching *day of judgment* draweth near: there is none who can reveal *the exact time of* the same, besides GOD. (59) Do ye, therefore, wonder at this new revelation, (60) and do ye laugh, and not weep, (61) spending your time in idle diversions? (62) but rather worship GOD, and serve *him*.

(50) *The dog-star*. "Sirius, or the greater dog-star, was worshipped by some of the old Arabs. See Prelim. Disc., p. 38."—Sale.

(54) *Cities . . . turned upside down*. "Sodom and the other cities involved in her ruin."—Sale. See chap. xi. 81, note.

(57) *Like the preachers who preceded him*. See introduction to chaps. vii., xi., and xxi.

CHAPTER LIV.

ENTITLED SURAT AL QAMR (THE MOON).

Revealed at Makkah.

INTRODUCTION.

THIS chapter owes its title to the statement in ver. 1 that the moon shall be split in sunder as a sign of the approach of the judgment-day.

In style and matter this chapter so closely resembles chapter xi. that it might be called a compend of it. Noëldeke, however, points out that this is the first chapter in chronological order in which the Qurán gives the histories of several prophets together. This being so, we may regard the longer chapter as presenting a more detailed account of the events briefly described here.

The purpose of the revelations of this chapter was to meet the charge of imposture brought by the Quraish against Muhammad. No direct refutation is attempted. The stories of the destruction of other nations and peoples who had rejected their prophets are briefly narrated. Throughout these stories the prophets Noah, Húd, Sáliḥ, Lot, and Moses are represented as messengers of God in all respects like Muḥammad, as opposed by unbelievers of the same character as the Quraish, and as charged by the infidels of their day with imposture. The inference from each story is that Muhammad is a true prophet, and that his persecutors are doomed to destruction for their impiety in rejecting him.

After each of the stories related save the last, the following words occur as a sort of refrain : "Now have we made the Qurán easy for admonition, but is any one admonished thereby?" This sad refrain, together with the command to withdraw from the infidels (ver. 6), shows that Muhammad despaired of the conversion of his townsmen.

Probable Date of the Revelations.

This chapter belongs to Makkah. Some Muslim writers, supposing ver. 45 to point to the battle of Badr, and vers. 47-49 to relate to the Christian embassy of Najrán, have thought the whole chapter to be Madínic; but the circumstances of the Prophet, the attitude of his opponents, the matter of the revelations, and the style of composition, all point to Makkah.

As to the date of the revelations, Noëldeke places this chapter at the very beginning of his second period—the fifth year of the call. This seems to me to be too early. It is true that persecution of the Muslims is not positively mentioned in this chapter. If, however, the stories of the prophets reflect the circumstances of the Muslims at the time they were here recorded, we may fairly infer that persecution of the Muslims had already begun. Then the command to *withdraw* and the despair of the Prophet regarding the conversion of the Quraish, point to a later date. Identifying the “withdrawal” with the retirement to the sheb of Abu Tálib, I would fix the date of this chapter at about B.H. 6 or 7. This agrees essentially with Muir, who places it near the beginning of his fourth stage.

Principal Subjects.

	VERSES
The moon shall be split as a sign of the judgment-day	1, 2
Muhammad commanded to withdraw from the infidels	3-6
Infidels shall surely be overtaken suddenly by the judgment	6-8
Noah was charged with imposture by his enemies, who were destroyed by the flood	9-14
Noah's Ark, like the Qurán, a sign to unbelievers who will not be warned	15-18
The Ádites destroyed for calling their prophet an impostor	19-22
The Thamúdites destroyed for rejecting their prophet as an impostor	23-32
The Sodomites destroyed because they rejected Lot as an impostor	33-40
Pharaoh and his people destroyed for rejecting Moses as an impostor	41, 42
The people of Makkah warned by these examples of coming judgment	43-48
God's decree certain and irresistible—illustrated by destruction of former nations	49-51
All actions recorded in the Divine records	52, 53
The pious shall dwell in the gardens of Paradise	54, 55

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

|| (1) The hour of *judgment* approacheth, and the moon R $\frac{1}{8}$ hath been split in sunder; (2) but if *the unbelievers* see a sign, they turn aside, saying, *This is a powerful charm*. (3) And they accuse *thee, O Muhammad*, of imposture, and follow their own lusts: but everything *will be immutably fixed*. (4) And now hath a message come unto them, wherein is a determent *from obstinate infidelity*; (5) *the same being consummate wisdom*: but warners profit them not; wherefore do thou withdraw from them. (6) The day whereon the summoner shall summon *mankind* to an ungrateful business, (7) they shall come forth from *their*

(1) *The moon hath been split*. "This passage is expounded two different ways. Some imagine the words refer to a famous miracle supposed to have been performed by Muhammad; for it is said that, on the infidels demanding a sign of him, the moon appeared cloven in two, one part vanishing and the other remaining; and Ibn Mas'ūd affirmed that he saw Mount Harā interpose between the two sections. Others think the preter tense is here used in the prophetic style for the future, and that the passage should be rendered, 'The moon shall be split in sunder;' for this, they say, is to happen at the resurrection. The former opinion is supported by reading, according to some copies, *wa kad inshagga 'lqamaro*, i.e., 'since the moon hath already been split in sunder;' the splitting of the moon being reckoned by some to be one of the previous signs of the last day."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*.

(2) *A powerful charm*. "Or, as the participle here used may also signify, 'a continued series of magic,' or 'a transient magic illusion.'"—Sale.

(3) *They accuse thee . . . of imposture*. See notes on chaps. iii. 185, and vii. 203.

Immutably fixed. "Or will reach a final period of ruin or success in this world, and of misery or happiness in the next, which will be conclusive and unchangeable thenceforward for ever."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*, *Zamakhshari*.

(4) *A message*, i.e., "the Qurān, containing stories of former nations which have been chastised for their incredulity and threats of a more dreadful punishment hereafter."—Sale.

(5, 6) This looks like a later Makkan revelation pointing to the withdrawal from Makkah to Madina. It may, however, refer to the withdrawal which took place along with the Ban against the Hāshimites.

(6) *The summoner shall summon*. "That is, when the Angel Israfil shall call men to judgment."—Sale.

graves with downcast looks, *numerous* as locusts scattered far abroad; (8) hastening with terror unto the summoner. The unbelievers shall say, This is a day of distress. (9) The people of Noah accused *that prophet* of imposture before *thy people rejected thee*: they accused our servant of imposture, saying, *He* is a madman; and he was rejected with reproach. (10) He called, therefore, upon his LORD, *saying*, Verily I *am* overpowered; wherefore avenge *me*. (11) So we opened the gates of heaven, with water pouring down, (12) and we caused the earth to break forth into springs; so that the water of *heaven and earth* met, according to the decree which had been established. (13) And we bare him on *a vessel* composed of planks and nails; (14) which moved forward under our eyes: as a recompense unto him who had been ungratefully rejected. (15) And we left the *said vessel* for a sign: but *is* any one warned *thereby*? (16) And how *severe* was my vengeance and my threatening! (17) Now have we made the Qurán easy for admonition: but *is* any one admonished *thereby*? (18) *Ád* charged *their prophet* with imposture; but how *severe* was my vengeance, and my threatening! (19) Verily we sent against them a roaring wind, on a day of continued

(9) We here again see how Muhammad represents the former prophets as being like unto himself. See Introduction to chaps. xi. and xxi.

(10) *Wherefore avenge me*. "This petition was not preferred by Noah till after he had suffered repeated violence from his people; for it is related that one of them having fallen upon him and almost strangled him, when he came to himself he said, 'O Lord, forgive them, for they know not what they do.'"—*Sale, Baidhāwī*.

The flood is here represented as having been sent for the purpose of avenging Noah, contradicting the former Scriptures both in letter and spirit.

(14) *Under our eyes, i.e., "under our special regard and keeping."*—*Sale*.

(15) Rodwell thinks that Muhammad owed the statement of this verse, "We left the said vessel for a sign," to a Jewish tradition "as to the collection of pitch from the wood of the ark in the time of Berossus for amulets, and of the wood itself in the time of Josephus (*Ant. i. 3, 6; c. Apion, i. 19*)."

(19) *A roaring wind*. "Or a cold wind."—*Sale*.

A day, &c., viz., "on a Wednesday." See chap. xli. 15, note.

ill-luck ; (20) it carried men away as though they *had been* roots of palm-trees forcibly torn up. (21) And how *severe* was my vengeance and my threatening ! (22) Now we have made the Qurán easy for admonition ; but *is* any one admonished *thereby* ?

|| (23) Thamúd charged the admonitions of *their prophet* R $\frac{2}{3}$ with falsehood, (24) and said, Shall we follow a single man among us ? verily we should then be guilty of error and preposterous madness : (25) is the *office* of admonition committed unto him *preferably to the rest* of us ? Nay ; he is a liar *and* an insolent fellow. (26) *But God said to Sâlih*, To-morrow shall they know who *is* the liar and the insolent person ; (27) for we will surely send the she-camel for a trial of them : and do thou observe them, and bear *their insults* with patience ; (28) and prophesy unto them that the water *shall be* divided between them, and each portion *shall be* sat down to *alternately*. (29) And they called their companion ; and he took *a sword* and slew *her*. (30) But how *severe* was my vengeance and my threatening ! (31) For we sent against them one cry of *the Angel Gabriel* ; and they became like the dry sticks used by him who buildeth a fold *for cattle*. (32) And now have we made the Qurán easy for admonition ; but *is* any one admonished *thereby* ?

|| (33) The people of Lot charged *his* preaching with R $\frac{3}{10}$.

(20) "It is related that they sought shelter in the clefts of the rocks and in pits, holding fast by one another, but that the wind impetuously tore them away, and threw them down dead."—Sale, *Baidhâwi*.

(27) See notes on chap. vii. 74-79.

(28) *Between them*. Between the Thamúdites and the she-camel. See note on chap. xxvi. 155.

(29) *Their companion*, namely, "Kidár Ibn Salif, who was not an Arab, but a stranger dwelling among the Thamúdites."—Sale. See also notes on chap. vii. 74-79.

(31) *Dry sticks, &c.* "The words may signify either the dry boughs with which, in the East, they make folds or enclosures to fence their cattle from wind and cold, or the stubble and other stuff with which they litter them in those folds during the winter season."—Sale.

falsehood; (34) but we sent against them *a wind* driving a shower of stones, *which destroyed them all* except the family of Lot; whom we delivered early in the morning, (35) through favour from us. Thus do we reward those who are thankful. (36) And *Lot* had warned them of our severity *in chastising*; but they doubted of that warning. (37) And they demanded his guests of him, *that they might abuse them*: but we put out their eyes, *saying*, Taste my vengeance and my threatening. (38) And early in the morning a lasting punishment surprised them. (39) Taste, therefore, my vengeance and my threatening. (40) Now have we made the Quran easy for admonition; but *is any one admonished thereby?* (41) The warning of *Moses* also came unto the people of Pharaoh; (42) *but* they charged every one of our signs with imposture: wherefore we chastised them with a mighty and irresistible chastisement. (43) Are your unbelievers, *O Makkans*, better than these? Is immunity from punishment *promised* unto you in the scriptures? (44) Do they say, We are a body of *men* able to prevail *against our enemies?* (45) The multitude shall surely be put to flight, and shall turn *their* back. (46) But the hour of judgment is their threatened time of

(37) *We put out their eyes.* "So that their sockets became filled up even with the other parts of their faces. This, it is said, was done by one stroke of the wing of the Angel Gabriel. See chap. xi. 80."—Sale.

(38) *A lasting punishment.* "Under which they shall continue till they receive their full punishment in hell."—Sale.

(41, 42) See notes on chap. vii. 104-136.

(45) "This prophecy was fulfilled by the overthrow of the Quraish at Badr. It is related, from a tradition of Omar, that when this passage was revealed, Muhammad professed himself to be ignorant of its true meaning; but on the day of the battle of Badr he repeated these words as he was putting on his coat of mail."—Sale, *Bairdhāwi*.

There is no good reason for supposing these words to have had any reference to the battle of Badr. The "multitude" refers to the Quraish, who were, when compared with the Muslims, a multitude, as were also the enemies of the former prophets described above.

(46) *Threatened time, &c., i.e.,* "the time when they shall receive their full punishment; what they suffer in this world being only the forerunner or earnest of what they shall feel in the next."—Sale.

punishment; and that hour *shall be* more grievous and more bitter *than their afflictions in this life*. (47) Verily the wicked *wander* in error, and *shall be tormented hereafter* in burning flames. (48) On that day they shall be dragged into the fire on their faces; *and it shall be said unto them*, Taste ye the touch of hell. (49) All things have we created *bound* by a fixed decree: (50) and our command *is* no more than a single word, like the twinkling of an eye. (51) We have formerly destroyed *nations* like unto you; but *is any of you warned by their example?* (52) Everything which they do *is recorded* in the books *kept by the guardian angels*; (53) and every action, both small and great, *is written down in the preserved table*. (54) Moreover, the pious *shall dwell* among gardens and rivers, (55) in the assembly of truth, in the presence of a most potent king.

(50) *A single word*, viz., “‘Kun,’ i.e., ‘Be.’” The passage may also be rendered, ‘The execution of our purpose is but a single act, exerted in a moment. Some suppose it refers to the business of the day of judgment.’—Sale, *Baidhāwi*.

See note on chap. xxxvi. 82.

CHAPTER LV.

ENTITLED SURAT AL RAHMÁN (THE MERCIFUL).

Revealed at Makkah.

INTRODUCTION.

THIS chapter, as indicated by the name given to God in the first verse, from which it receives its title, is a psalm of praise to Allah for his manifold mercies to mankind. This revelation of God is exhibited in his works of creation and providence, but especially in his bountiful provision for the happiness of Muslims amid the gardens and by the cooling fountains and rivers of Paradise.

Among Muslims this is one of the most popular chapters in the Qurán. This is no doubt due partly to its sensual description of Paradise and partly to the "fixed alternating versicle throughout, quaintly addressed in the dual number both to men and genii. To suit the rhyme the objects are introduced in pairs, excepting the damsels, whose number may not thus be limited" (Muir's *Life of Mahomet*, vol. ii. p. 142). This arrangement gives the reading of the chapter in the Arabic language a certain musical ring which is very charming to the ear of an Oriental. In form it resembles Psalm xxxvii., of which, as has been conjectured by Marracci, it is an imitation.

Probable Date of the Revelations.

There can be but one judgment as to the locality in which this chapter originated. "Its fanciful character," says Noëldeke, "shows it to be a later Makkan production." Some Muslim writers hold that the whole chapter is Madínic, or that at least ver. 29 is so; but this opinion is rejected by the better class of commentators. As to the date, the style and contents alike point to the end of the first period, i.e., of the fourth year of the Call.

Principal Subjects.

	VERSES
God taught the Qurán to Muhammad	I
God the creator of all things	2-15
God controlleth the seas and all that is therein	16-25
God ever liveth, though all else decay and die	26-30
God will certainly judge both men and genii	31-40
God will consign the wicked to hell-fire	41-45
The joys of Paradise described	46-78

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

|| (1) The Merciful hath taught *his servant* the Qurán. R $\frac{1}{11}$.
 (2) He created man; (3) he hath taught him distinct speech. (4) The sun and the moon *run their courses* according to a certain rule: (5) and the vegetables which creep on the ground, and the trees submit *to his disposition*. (6) He also raised the heaven; and he appointed the balance, (7) that ye should not transgress in respect to the balance: (8) wherefore observe a just weight, and diminish not the balance. (9) And the earth hath he prepared for living creatures: (10) therein *are various* fruits, and palm-trees bearing sheaths of flowers; (11) and grain having chaff, and leaves. (12) Which, therefore, of your LORD's benefits will ye ungratefully deny?

|| (13) He created man of dried clay like an earthen NISF.
 vessel: (14) but he created the genii of fire clear from smoke. (15) Which, therefore, of your LORD's benefits will ye ungratefully deny? (16) *He is* the LORD of the

(1) See chap. liii. 6, note.

(6) *The balance*. "Or justice and equity in mutual dealings."—*Sale*.

(12) "The words are directed to the two species of rational creatures, men and genii, the verb and the pronoun being in the dual number.

"This verb is intercalated, or repeated by way of burden, throughout the whole chapter no less than thirty-one times, which was done, as Marracci guesses, in imitation of David."—*Sale*. (Comp. Ps. xxxvii.)

(13-14) See notes on chaps. ii. 30, and vii. 12.

(16) *East . . . west*. "The original words are both in the dual

east, (17) and the LORD of the west. (18) Which, therefore of your LORD's benefits will ye ungratefully deny? (19) He hath let loose the two seas, that they meet each another: (20) between them *is placed* a bar which they cannot pass. (21) Which, therefore, of your LORD's benefits will ye ungratefully deny? (22) From them are taken forth unions and lesser pearls. (23) Which, therefore, of your LORD's benefits will ye ungratefully deny? (24) His also *are* the ships, carrying their sails aloft in the sea like mountains. (25) Which, therefore, of your LORD's benefits will ye ungratefully deny? (26) Every *creature* which *liveth on the earth* is subject to decay: (27) but the glorious and honourable countenance of thy LORD shall remain *for ever*. (28) Which, therefore, of your LORD's benefits will ye ungratefully deny?

R $\frac{2}{12}$.

|| (29) Unto him do all *creatures* which *are* in heaven and earth make petition: every day *is* he *employed* in *some new* work. (30) Which, therefore, of your LORD's benefits will ye ungratefully deny? (31) We will surely attend to *judge* you, O men and genii, *at the last day*. (32) Which, therefore, of your LORD's benefits will ye ungratefully deny? (33) O ye collective body of genii and men, if ye be able to pass out of the confines of heaven and earth, pass forth: ye shall not pass forth but by absolute power. (34) Which, therefore, of your LORD's benefits will ye ungratefully deny? (35) A flame of fire without smoke,

number, and signify the different points of the horizon at which the sun rises and sets at the summer and winter solstice."—*Sale*.

See note on chap. xxxvii. 5.

(19) *The two seas*. "Of salt and fresh water (chap. xxv. 55), or the Persian and Mediterranean seas."—*Sale*, *Baidhāwi*.

(29) *Some new work*. "In executing those things which he hath decreed from eternity, by giving life and death, raising one and abasing another, hearing prayers and granting petitions, &c."—*Sale*, *Baidhāwi*.

(33) *To pass out, &c.* "To fly from the power and to avoid the decree of God."—*Sale*.

(35) *A smoke without flame*. "Or, as the word also signifies, *molten brass*, which shall be poured on the heads of the damned."—*Sale*.

and a smoke without flame shall be sent down upon you, and ye shall not be able to defend yourselves *therefrom*.

(36) Which, therefore, of your LORD's benefits will ye ungratefully deny? (37) And when the heaven shall be rent in sunder, and shall become *red as a rose, and shall melt* like ointment. (38) (Which, therefore, of your LORD's benefits will ye ungratefully deny?) (39) On that day neither man nor genius shall be asked concerning his sin. (40) Which, therefore, of your LORD's benefits will ye ungratefully deny? (41) The wicked shall be known by their marks, and they shall be taken by the forelocks and the feet *and shall be cast into hell*. (42) Which, therefore, of your LORD's benefits will ye ungratefully deny? (43) This *is* hell, which the wicked deny as a falsehood: (44) they shall pass to and fro between the same and hot boiling water. (45) Which, therefore, of your LORD's benefits will ye ungratefully deny?

|| (46) But for him who dreadeth the tribunal of his R $\frac{3}{13}$
LORD *are prepared* two gardens: (47) (Which, therefore, of your LORD's benefits will ye ungratefully deny?) (48) planted with shady trees. (49) Which, therefore, of your LORD's benefits will ye ungratefully deny? (50) In each of them *shall be* two fountains flowing. (51) Which, therefore, of your LORD's benefits will ye ungratefully deny?

(37) *A rose, &c.* "Or 'shall appear like red leather,' according to a different signification of the original word."—Sale.

(39) *Neither man nor genius, &c.* "For their crimes will be known by their different marks, as it follows in the text. 'This,' says al Baidhawī, 'is to be understood of the time when they shall be raised to life, and shall be led towards the tribunal; for when they come to trial, they will then undergo an examination, as is declared in several places of the Qurán.'"—Sale.

(41) See Prelim. Disc., p. 141.

(44) *To and fro, &c.* "For the only respite they shall have from the flames of hell will be when they are suffered to go to drink this scalding liquor."—Sale. See chap. xxxvii. 62-65.

(46) *Two gardens, i.e.,* "one distinct Paradise for men, and another for genii, or, as some imagine, two gardens for each person; one as a reward due to his works, and the other as a free and superabundant gift, &c."—Sale.

(52) In each of them *shall there be* of every fruit two kinds. (53) Which, therefore, of your LORD'S benefits will ye ungratefully deny? (54) They shall repose on couches, the linings whereof *shall be* of thick silk interwoven with gold: and the fruit of the two gardens *shall be* near at hand together. (55) Which, therefore, of your LORD'S benefits will ye ungratefully deny? (56) Therein *shall receive them beauteous damsels*, refraining their eyes from beholding any besides their spouses: whom no man shall have deflowered before them, neither any genius: (57) (Which, therefore, of your LORD'S benefits will ye ungratefully deny?) (58) *Having complexions* like rubies and pearls. (59) Which, therefore, of your LORD'S benefits will ye ungratefully deny? (60) *Shall* the reward of good works be any other good? (61) Which, therefore, of your LORD'S benefits will ye ungratefully deny? (62) And besides these *there shall be* two other gardens: (63) Which, therefore, of your LORD'S benefits will ye ungratefully deny? (64) Of a dark green. (65) Which, therefore, of your LORD'S benefits will ye ungratefully deny? (66) In each of them *shall be* two fountains pouring forth plenty of water. (67) Which, therefore, of your LORD'S benefits will ye ungratefully deny? (68) In each of them *shall be* fruits, and

(52) *Fruit two kinds.* "Some being known, and like the fruits of the earth; and others of new and unknown species, or fruits both green and ripe."—*Salé*.

(54) *Fruit . . . near at hand.* "So that a man may reach them as he sits or lies down."—*Salé*.

(56-58) See note on chap. iii. 15. "This," says Muir, "is the reward of the *highest* class of believers. Another set of gardens and females is immediately after described for the *common faithful*."—*Life of Mahomet*, vol. ii. p. 142.

(62) *Two other gardens.* "For the inferior classes of the inhabitants of Paradise."—*Salé*. See note on vers. 56-58, above.

(64) *Of a dark green.* "From hence, says al Baidhawî, it may be inferred that these gardens will chiefly produce herbs or the inferior sorts of vegetables; whereas the former will be planted chiefly with fruit-trees. The following part of this description also falls short of that of the other gardens, prepared for the superior classes."—*Salé*.

(65-76) See note on chap. ii. 25, and Rodwell *in loco*.

palm-trees, and pomegranates. (69) Which, therefore, of your LORD's benefits will ye ungratefully deny? (70) Therein *shall be* agreeable and beauteous *damsels*: (71) Which, therefore, of your LORD's benefits will ye ungratefully deny? (72) Having fine black eyes, *and* kept in pavilions *from public view*: (73) Which, therefore, of your LORD's benefits will ye ungratefully deny? (74) Whom no man shall have deflowered before *their destined spouses*, nor any genius. (75) Which, therefore, of your LORD's benefits will ye ungratefully deny? (76) *Therein shall they delight themselves*, lying on green cushions and beautiful carpets. (77) Which, therefore of your LORD's benefits will ye ungratefully deny? (78) Blessed be the name of thy LORD, possessed of glory and honour!

CHAPTER LVI.

ENTITLED SURAT AL WÁQÍA (THE INEVITABLE).

Revealed at Makkah.

INTRODUCTION.

THIS chapter forms a single discourse. The first three verses may be regarded as giving the subject of the discourse. In the following verses we have described : (1) the terrors which shall suddenly befall the human race at the judgment-day ; (2) the rewards of the righteous to which they shall then be admitted ; (3) the punishment then to be inflicted upon the wicked, because they had refused to believe in the warnings of the Qurán ; and, finally, arguments to prove the possibility of the resurrection of the dead.

Some writers, however, maintain that a new part of this chapter begins with ver. 74'; but since the termination of both parts are alike and ver. 87 *seq.* refer to what is said in the first part, it is only reasonable to regard the chapter as forming a whole.

Probable Date of the Revelations.

A few writers have held this chapter to be Madínic, or that at least vers. 74-81 are so, or ver. 81 only, which they suppose to refer to the hypocrites of Madína ; or vers. 91-96 for the same reason ; or, finally, vers. 1-3, which they suppose to allude to the battle of Badr. The style and matter of the chapter are, however, too clearly in favour of a Makkan origin to admit of any doubt.

As to the date of the revelations, Noëldeke places this chapter immediately after chap. lii. Muir makes it to follow chap. lv., which, considering the similarity of the description of the sensual delights of Paradise and the torments of hell, is the better arrangement.

Principal Subjects.

	VERSES
The coming of the judgment-day inevitable	1, 2
Its terrors described	3-7
Its coming shall separate men into three classes	8-11
Joys of the Muslim heaven described	12-39
The punishment of the wicked in hell depicted	40-56
Arguments for the resurrection of the dead drawn from God's work in creation and providence	57-73
Oath by the stars that the Qurán is divinely inspired	74-81
Men should believe in God since they cannot save the dying from death	82-96

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

|| (1) When the inevitable *day of judgment* shall suddenly come, (2) no *soul* shall charge *the prediction* of its coming with falsehood: (3) it will abase *some* and exalt *others*. (4) When the earth shall be shaken with a violent shock, (5) and the mountains shall be dashed in pieces, (6) and shall become *as dust* scattered abroad; (7) and ye shall be *separated into three distinct* classes: (8) the companions of the right hand (how *happy* shall the companions of the right hand *be*!), (9) and the companions of the left hand (how *miserable* shall the companions of the left hand *be*!); (10) and those who have preceded *others in*

R $\frac{1}{14}$

(1) *The inevitable*. "The original word, the force whereof cannot well be expressed by a single word, signifies a calamitous accident, which falls surely and with sudden violence, and is therefore made use of here to design the day of judgment."—Sale.

(8, 9) *Companions of the right . . . and left hand*. "That is, the blessed and the damned; who may be thus distinguished here, because the books wherein their actions are registered will be delivered into the right hands of the former and into the left hands of the latter, though the words translated *right hand* and *left hand* do also signify *happiness* and *misery*."—Sale, Baidhāwī, Jalāluddīn.

(10) *Those who have preceded, &c.* "Either the first converts to Muhammadism, or the prophets, who were the respective leaders of their people, or any persons who have been eminent examples of piety and virtue, may be here intended. The original words literally rendered are, *The leaders, the leaders*: which repetition, as some sup-

the faith shall precede them to Paradise. (11) *These are they who shall approach near unto God:* (12) *they shall dwell in gardens of delight.* (13) *(There shall be many of the former religions,* (14) *and few of the last.)* (15) *Reposing on couches adorned with gold and precious stones,* (16) *sitting opposite to one another thereon.* (17) *Youths which shall continue in their bloom for ever, shall go round about to attend them,* (18) *with goblets, and beakers, and a cup of flowing wine:* (19) *their heads shall not ache by drinking the same, neither shall their reason be disturbed:* (20) *and with fruits of the sorts which they shall choose,* (21) *and the flesh of birds of the kind which they shall desire.* (22) *And there shall accompany them fair damsels having large black eyes; resembling pearls hidden in their shells:* (23) *as a reward for that which they shall have wrought.* (24) *They shall not hear therein any vain discourse, or any charge of sin;* (25) *but only the salutation, Peace! Peace!* (26) *And the companions of the right hand (how happy shall the companions of the right hand be!)* (27) *shall have their abode among lote-trees free from thorns,* (28) *and trees of mauz loaded regularly with their produce from top to bottom;* (29) *under an extended shade,* (30) *near a flowing water,* (31) *and amidst*

pose, was designed to express the dignity of these persons and the certainty of their future glory and happiness."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*, &c.

(14) *Few of the last, i.e.*, "there shall be more leaders, who have preceded others in faith and good works, among the followers of the several prophets from Adam down to Muhammad, than of the followers of Muhammad himself."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*.

(16) See note on chap. xv. 47.

(17–25) See notes on chaps. ii. 25, iii. 15, and lv. 46–76.

(28) *Trees of mauz.* "The original word, *Talh*, is the name, not only of the mauz (see chap. xxxvii. 146), but also of a very tall and thorny tree, which bears abundance of flowers of an agreeable smell, and seems to be the acacia."—Sale.

Rodwell suggests the *banana* tree.

(30) *Flowing water.* "Which shall be conveyed in channels to such places and in such manner as every one shall desire. Al Baidhāwī observes that the condition of the few who have preceded others in faith and good works is represented by whatever may render a city life agreeable, and that the condition of the com-

fruits in abundance, (32) which shall not fail, nor shall be forbidden *to be gathered*: (33) and *they shall repose themselves* on lofty beds. (34) Verily we have created the *damsels of Paradise* by a *peculiar* creation: (35) and we have made them virgins, (36) beloved by their husbands, of equal age *with them*; (37) for *the delight of* the companions of the right hand. (38) *There shall be* many of the former *religions*, (39) and many of the latter.

|| (40) And the companions of the left hand (how R²₁₅ *miserable shall* the companions of the left hand *be*!) (41) *shall dwell* amidst burning winds and scalding water, (42) under the shade of a black smoke, (43) neither cool nor agreeable. (44) For they enjoyed the pleasures of life before this, *while on earth*; (45) and obstinately persisted in a heinous wickedness: (46) and they said, (47) After we shall have died, and become dust and bones, *shall* we

panions of the right hand, or the generality of the blessed, is represented by those things which make the principal pleasure of a country life; and that this is done to show the difference of the two conditions."—Sale.

(33) *Lofty beds*. "The word translated *beds* signifies also, by way of metaphor, *wives* or *concubines*; and if the latter sense be preferred, the passage may be rendered thus, 'And they shall enjoy damsels raised on lofty couches, whom we have created,' &c."—Sale.

(34) *We have created, &c.* "Having created them purposely of finer materials than the females of this world, and subject to none of those inconveniences which are natural to the sex. Some understand this passage of the beatified women, who, though they died old and ugly, shall yet be restored to their youth and beauty in Paradise."—Sale.

See also Prelim. Disc., pp. 158-163.

(35) *Virgins*. "For how often soever their husbands shall go in unto them, they shall always find them virgins."—Sale.

(38, 39) "Father Marracci thinks this to be a manifest contradiction to what is said above (vers. 13, 14), 'There shall be many of the former and few of the latter;' but al Baidhāwī obviates such an objection by observing that the preceding passage speaks of the *leaders* only, and those who have preceded others in faith and good works; and the passage before us speaks of the righteous of inferior merit and degree; so that though there be many of both sorts, yet there may be few of one sort, comparatively speaking, in respect to the other."—Sale.

(40-56) See chap. xxxvii. 62-65.

surely *be* raised to life? (48) *Shall* our forefathers also *be raised with us*? (49) Say, Verily both the first and the last (50) shall surely be gathered together *to judgment*, at the prefixed time of a known day. (51) Then ye, *O men*, who have erred, *and* denied the *resurrection* as a falsehood, (52) shall surely eat of *the fruit* of the tree of al Zaqqûm, (53) and shall fill *your* bellies therewith: (54) and ye shall drink thereon boiling water; (55) and ye shall drink as a thirsty camel drinketh. (56) This *shall be* their entertainment on the day of judgment. (57) We have created you: will ye not therefore believe *that we can raise you from the dead*? (58) What think ye? The seed which ye emit, (59) do ye create the same, or *are* we the creators *thereof*? (60) We have decreed death unto you *all*: and we shall not be prevented. (61) *We are able* to substitute *others* like unto you *in your stead*, and to produce you *again* in the *condition or form* which ye know not. (62) Ye know the original production *by creation*; will ye not therefore consider *that we are able to produce you by resuscitation*? - (63) What think ye? The grain which ye sow, (64) do ye cause the same to spring forth, or do we cause *it* to spring forth? (65) If we pleased, verily we could render the same dry and fruitless, *so that* ye would not cease to wonder, (66) *saying*, Verily we have contracted debts *for seed and labour*, but we are not permitted *to reap the fruit thereof*. (67) What think ye? The water which ye drink, (68) do ye send down the same from the clouds, or *are* we the senders *thereof*? (69) If we pleased, we could render the same brackish: will ye not therefore give thanks? (70) What think ye. The fire which ye strike, (71) do ye produce

(65) *Ye would not cease to wonder.* "Or to repent of your time and labour bestowed to little purpose, &c."—Sale.

(66) *We have contracted debts, or we are undone.*

Not permitted to reap, &c., or, "We are unfortunate wretches, who are denied the necessaries of life."—Sale.

(71) See note on chap. xxxvi. 80.

the tree *whence ye obtain* the same, or *are we the producers thereof?* (72) We have ordained the same for an admonition, and an advantage to those who travel through the deserts. (73) Wherefore praise the name of thy LORD, the great God.

|| (74) Moreover I swear by the setting of the stars, R $\frac{3}{16}$
 (75) (and it is surely a great oath, if ye knew it,) (76) SULS.
 that this is the excellent Qurán, (77) *the original whereof is written* in the preserved book: (78) none shall touch the same except those who are clean. (79) *It is* a revelation from the LORD of all creatures. (80) Will ye, therefore, despise this new revelation? (81) And do ye make *this return* for your food which ye receive from God, that ye deny yourselves to be obliged to him for the same? (82) When the soul of a dying person cometh up to his throat, (83) and ye at the same time are looking on, (84) (and we are nigher unto him than ye, but ye see not his

(72) *An admonition.* "To put men in mind of the resurrection (chap. xxxvi. 80), which the production of fire in some sort resembles; or, of the fire of hell."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*.

(74) *I swear, &c.* "The particle *la* is generally supposed to be intensive in this place; but if it be taken for a negative, the words must be translated, *I will not* or *do not swear*, because what is here asserted is too manifest to need the confirmation of an oath."—Sale.

Palgrave, Rodwell, and Savary adopt the latter reading, but the Persian and Urdú translations agree with Sale.

(78) *None shall touch, &c.* "Or, 'Let none touch the same,' &c. Purity both of body and mind being requisite in him who would use this book with the respect he ought, and hopes to edify by it; for which reason these words are usually written on the cover."—Sale.

See Prelim. Disc., p. 114, and Muir's *Life of Mahomet*, introd. p. x. note.

(81) *Do ye make . . . your food, &c.* "By ascribing the rains which fertilise your lands to the influence of the stars. (Prelim. Disc., pp. 38-43. "Some copies, instead of *rizqakūm*, i.e., *your food*, read *shukrākūm*, i.e., *your gratitude*; and then the passage may be rendered thus, 'And do ye make this return of gratitude for God's revealing the Qurán, that ye reject the same as a fiction?'"—Sale.

All copies of the Qurán that I have seen have *rizqakūm*. Rodwell translates thus, "Will ye make it your daily bread to gainsay them?"

(82-86) "The meaning of this obscure passage is, If ye shall not be obliged to give an account of your actions at the last day, as by

true condition.) (85) would ye not, if ye are not to be rewarded *for your action hereafter*, (86) cause the same to return *into the body*, if ye speak the truth? (87) And whether he be of those who shall approach near *unto God*, (88) *his reward shall be* rest, and mercy, and a garden of delights: (89) or whether he be of the companions of the right hand, (90) *he shall be saluted with the salutation*, Peace be unto thee! by the companions of the right hand, *his brethren*: (91) or whether he be of those who have rejected *the true faith* (92) and gone astray, (93) *his entertainment shall consist* of boiling water (94) and the burning of hell-fire. (95) Verily this is a certain truth. (96) Wherefore praise the name of thy LORD, the great God.

your denying the resurrection ye seem to believe, cause the soul of the dying person to return into his body; for ye may as easily do that as avoid the general judgment."—Sale, *Bairdhāwi*, *Jalāluddīn*.

(87-94) See above in vers. 8, 9, and 14.

CHAPTER LVII.

ENTITLED SURAT AL HADÍD (IRON).

Revealed at Madína.

INTRODUCTION.

THE title of this chapter is taken from the mention of iron in ver 25. The object of the revelations seems to have been to arouse the faithful to greater zeal and energy in warring for the faith. It belongs, therefore, to a period in the history of Islám when Muhammad was in trouble. From ver. 22 *seq.* we infer that that period was the dark time succeeding the defeat at Ohod ; comp. ver. 22 *seq.* with chap. iii. 149-154. The latter part of the chapter, vers. 25-29 is addressed to Christians, and therefore probably belongs to a different period. This part is specially interesting, because it set forth Muhammad's prophetic claims in relation to the former prophets and especially in relation to Jesus. We find that all these prophets are recognised as well as the Word of God spoken by them. The "Gospel," by which is intended the New Testament Scriptures, is distinctly mentioned. The prophets and Jesus are all the servants of God, and the books sent down to them are the Word of God ; but *now* another Prophet and a new revelation have been sent. It is the duty of Christians to recognise these ; failing which they must be regarded as "evil-doers" (ver. 27).

Probable Date of the Revelations.

Muslim authors are quite divided in opinion as to where this chapter belongs. The statement in ver. 10, according to the interpretation of Al Farrá, Al Baghâwî, and Al Bukhâri, is quite decisive for Makkah. But, according to others, this statement does not refer to Makkah at all, but to the "victory" at Badr. See Rodwell. Turning to the style and spirit of the composition, we find it on the whole decidedly Madînic.

As to the date of composition, Noëldeke says, "Verse 22 *seq.* implies, if we are not mistaken (comp. ver. 23, with chap. iii. 149 *seq.*), that Muhammad at this time was in distress. We are therefore inclined to place this Sura in the time between the faith of Ohod and the war of the Ditch."

Principal Subjects.

	VERSES
God omniscient and omnipresent	1-6
Muslims exhorted to give alms and help on the holy war	7-11
The wise and the foolish in the judgment-day	12-14
True believers admonished to submit humbly to God	15-17
God will reward the faithful but will punish the wicked	18
The present life a vain show	19, 20
Men exhorted to seek the life to come	21
All things recorded in God's book of decrees	22, 23
God hateth proud and covetous persons (therefore the defeat at Ohod)	24
Apostles sent to former nations	25
Noah, Abraham, the prophets, and Jesus, with the Gospel, sent	26, 27
Christians exhorted to become Muslims	28, 29

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

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|| (1) Whatever *is* in heaven and earth singeth praise unto GOD; and he *is* mighty *and* wise. (2) His *is* the kingdom of heaven and earth; he giveth life, and he putteth to death; and he *is* almighty. (3) He *is* the first and the last; the manifest and the hidden: and he knoweth all things. (4) *It is* he who created the heavens and the earth in six days, and then ascended *his* throne. He knoweth that which entereth into the earth, and that which issueth out of the same, and that which descendeth from heaven, and that which ascendeth thereto: and he *is* with you wheresoever ye be: for GOD seeth that which

(1-6) We have here a striking illustration of the omnipotence and omniscience of God. Such passages show the wonderful superiority of the Makkan preacher over the religious teachers of his idolatrous countrymen.

ye do. (5) His *is* the kingdom of heaven and earth; and unto GOD shall *all* things return. (6) He causeth the night to succeed the day, and he causeth the day to succeed the night; and he knoweth the innermost part of *men's* breasts. (7) Believe in GOD and his Apostle, and lay out *in alms* a part of the *wealth* whereof GOD hath made you inheritors: for unto such of you as believe and bestow alms *shall be given* a great reward. (8) And what aileth you, that ye believe not in GOD, when the Apostle inviteth you to believe in your LORD; and he hath received your covenant *concerning this matter*, if ye believe *any proposition*? (9) *It is* he who hath sent down unto his servant evident signs, that he may lead you out of darkness into light; for GOD *is* compassionate *and* merciful unto you. (10) And what aileth you, that ye contribute not of *your substance* for the defence of GOD's true religion? Since unto GOD *appertaineth* the inheritance of heaven and earth. Those among you who shall have contributed and fought *in defence of the faith* before the taking of *Makkah*, shall not be held equal *with those who shall contribute and fight for the same afterwards*. These shall be superior in degree unto those who shall contribute and fight *for the propagation of the faith* after the *above-mentioned success*; but unto all hath GOD promised a most excellent *reward*; and GOD well knoweth that which ye do.

|| (11) Who *is* he that will lend unto GOD an acceptable loan? for he will double the same unto him, and he shall receive *moreover* an honourable reward. (12) On a *certain* day thou shalt see the true believers of both sexes: their

(7) *Lay out in alms, &c.* See note on chap. ix. 104.

(8) *Your covenant.* "That is, ye are obliged to believe in him by the strongest arguments and motives."—*Sale*.

(10) *The taking of Makkah.* The reference here is to Badr, and not to Makkah.

Not be held equal, &c. "Because afterwards there was not so great necessity for either, the Muhammadan religion being firmly established by that great success."—*Sale*.

light shall run before them, and on their right hands; *and it shall be said unto them*, Good tidings unto you this day: gardens through which rivers flow; *ye* shall remain therein for ever. This will be great felicity. (13) On that day the hypocritical men and the hypocritical women shall say unto those who believe, Stay for us, that we may borrow *some* of your light. It shall be answered, Return back *into the world* and seek light. And a high wall shall be set betwixt them, wherein *shall be* a gate, within which *shall be* mercy; and without it, over against the same, the torment of *hell*. The *hypocrites* shall call out unto the *true believers*, saying, Were we not with you? They shall answer, Yea; but ye seduced your own souls *by your hypocrisy*; and ye waited *our ruin*; and ye doubted *concerning the faith*; and *your* wishes deceived you, until the decree of GOD came, *and ye died*; and the deceiver deceived you concerning GOD. (14) This day, therefore, a ransom shall not be accepted of you, nor of those who have been unbelievers. Your abode *shall be hell-fire*: this *is* what ye have deserved; and an unhappy journey *shall it be thither*! (15) Is not the time yet come unto those who believe, that their hearts should humbly submit to the admonition of GOD, and to that truth which hath been revealed; and that they be not as those unto whom the Scripture was given heretofore, and to whom the time of *forbearance* was prolonged, but their hearts were hardened, and many of them *were* wicked doers? (16) Know that GOD quickeneth the earth after it hath been dead. Now have we distinctly declared *our* signs unto you, that ye may under-

(12) *Their light, &c.* "One light leading them the right way to Paradise, and the other proceeding from the book wherein their actions are recorded, which they will hold in their right hand."—*Sale*.

(13) *Stay for us, &c.* "For the righteous will hasten to Paradise swift as lightning."—*Sale*.

There is a faint resemblance between this passage and the parable of the virgins, Matt. xxv. 1-12.

stand. (17) Verily *as to* the almsgivers, both men and women, and *those who* lend unto GOD an acceptable loan, he will double the same unto them; and they shall *more-over* receive an honourable reward. (18) And they who believe in GOD and his apostles, these are the men of veracity, and the witnesses in the presence of their LORD: they *shall have* their reward and their light. But *as to* those who believe not, and accuse our signs of falsehood, they *shall be* the companions of hell.

¶ (19) Know that this present life *is* only a toy and a R $\frac{3}{19}$
vain amusement: and *worldly* pomp, and the affectation of glory among you, and the multiplying of riches and children, *are* as the plants nourished by the rain, the springing up whereof delighteth the husbandmen; afterwards they wither, so that thou seest the same turned yellow, and at length they become dry stubble. And in the life to come *will be* a severe punishment *for those who covet worldly grandeur*; (20) and pardon from GOD, and favour *for those who renounce it*: for this present life *is* no other than a deceitful provision. (21) Hasten with emulation to *obtain* pardon from your LORD, and Paradise, the extent whereof equalleth the extent of heaven and earth, prepared for those who believe in GOD and his apostles. This *is* the bounty of GOD: he will give the same unto whom he pleaseth; and GOD is endued with great bounty. (22) No accident happeneth in the earth, nor in your persons, but *the same was entered* in the book of *our decrees* before we created it: verily this *is* easy with GOD: (23) *and this is written* lest ye *immoderately* grieve for the good which escapeth you, or rejoice for that which happened unto you; for GOD loveth no proud or vainglorious person, (24) *or those who* are covetous, and command men covetousness. And whoso turneth aside *from giving alms*; verily GOD *is* self-sufficient, worthy to be praised.

(18) *God and his apostles.* See notes on chap. ii. 136, 285.

(25) We formerly sent our apostles with evident *miracles and arguments*; and we sent down with them the Scriptures and the balance, that men might observe justice: and we sent *them* down iron, wherein is mighty strength for war, and *various* advantages unto mankind: that God may know who assisteth him and his apostles in secret; for GOD *is* strong and mighty.

R 26. || (26) We formerly sent Noah and Abraham, and we established in their posterity the gift of prophecy, and the Scripture: and of them *some were* directed, but many of them *were* evil-doers. (27) Afterwards we caused our apostles to succeed in their footsteps; and we caused Jesus the son of Mary to succeed *them*, and we gave him the gospel: and we put in the hearts of those that followed him compassion and mercy: but *as to* the monastic state, they instituted the same (we did not prescribe it to them) only out of a desire to please GOD; yet they observed not the same as it ought truly to have been observed. And we gave unto such of them as believed their reward: but many of them *were* wicked doers. (28) O ye who believe *in the prophets*, fear God and believe in his Apostle *Muhammad*: he will give you two portions of his mercy, and he

(25) *The balance, i.e.*, a rule of justice. "Some think that a balance was actually brought down from heaven by the Angel Gabriel to Noah, the use of which he was ordered to introduce among his people."—Sale.

Iron. "That is, we taught them how to dig the same from mines. Al Zamakhshari adds, that Adam is said to have brought down with him from Paradise five things made of iron, viz., an anvil, a pair of tongs, two hammers, a greater and a lesser, and a needle."—Sale.

Wherein, &c. "Warlike instruments and weapons being generally made of iron."—Sale.

In secret. That is, sincerely and heartily, not by a mere outward display of loyalty.

(27) *Jesus.* See notes on chaps. ii. 86 and iii. 39.

(28) *O ye who believe, &c.* "These words are directed to the Jews and Christians, or rather to the latter only."—Sale.

Two portions of his mercy. "One as a recompense for their believing in Muhammad, and the other as a recompense for their believing in the prophets who preceded him; for they will not lose

will ordain you a light wherein ye may walk, and he will forgive you; for GOD *is* ready to forgive, *and* merciful! (29) that those who have received the Scriptures may know that they have not power over any of the favours of GOD, and that good *is* in the hand of GOD; he bestoweth the same on whom he pleaseth: for GOD *is* endued with great beneficence.

the reward of their former religion, though it be now abrogated by the promulgation of Islám."—*Sale, Baidhāwi.*

(29) *That those . . . may know, &c., i.e., "that they cannot expect to receive any of the favours above mentioned, because they believe not in his Apostle, and those favours are annexed to faith in him; or, that they have not power to dispose of God's favours, particularly of the greatest of them, the gift of prophecy, so as to appropriate the same to whom they please."*—*Sale, Baidhāwi.*

CHAPTER LVIII.

ENTITLED SURAT AL MUJÁDALAH (SHE WHO DISPUTED).

Revealed at Madína.

INTRODUCTION.

THIS chapter differs from most of the chapters of the Qurán in that it is addressed entirely to the Muslims. Nothing could better illustrate the change which had taken place in the fortunes of the Makkan preacher. No longer does he appear as "a mere warner;" no more does he strive to win over his adversaries by appeals to the *signs* of God in his works and in his Qurán. Influential enemies and hypocritical allies are alike ignored. Even Muslims are now made to feel the power of their Prophet. Ancient customs are abrogated, with heavy penalties attached to any infringement of the new law. Muslims must henceforth show outward respect, even to the extent of bringing a gift (alms), though this regulation seems to have proved so unpopular as to require speedy abrogation.

We have in the latter verses of this chapter signs of that fanaticism, allied to a proud self-righteousness, which has ever since characterised the followers of Muhammad. "The party of God" is henceforth to be separated from "the party of the devil." Dearest friends and kindred are to be shunned, unless by the formal utterance of the *Kalimah*, they join "the party of God."

Probable Date of the Revelations.

From what has already been said, it is plain that this is one of the latest of the Madína chapters. The opinion of those who regard vers. 1-10 as Makkan is certainly mistaken. Scarcely less mistaken is the opinion that these verses were revealed during the first years of the Hijra.

The several portions of the chapter, though separate revelations, are nevertheless, in point of time, closely connected together. The

earlier authorities fix no date to the incident mentioned in vers. 1-5, but later authorities (Weil, 184) fix its date at the end of A.H. 6, or the beginning of A.H. 7, after the return from Hudaibiyah. Noëldeke places this chapter immediately after chap. xxiv., inasmuch as the matters treated of here closely resemble those mentioned there.

Principal Subjects.

	VERSES
An ancient Arab custom of divorce abrogated	1-5
Those who oppose Muhammad threatened	6, 7
Clandestine discourse against Muhammad censured and forbidden	8-11
The prophet of God to be approached with due reverence and honour	12-14
Muslims reproached for keeping company with Jews and infidels	15-21
Nearest relatives, if unbelievers, to be avoided as enemies of Islâm	22

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

|| (1) Now hath GOD heard the speech of her who disputed with thee concerning her husband, and made her complaint unto GOD; and GOD hath heard your mutual discourse: for GOD *both* heareth *and* seeth. (2) *As to* those among you who divorce their wives by declaring

TWENTY-
EIGHTH
SIPARA.
R $\frac{1}{1}$

(1) *Her who disputed.* "This was Khaula Bint Thálaba, the wife of Aus Ibn al Sámat, who being divorced by her husband by a form in use among the Arabs in the time of ignorance, viz., by saying to her, 'Thou art to me as the back of my mother,' came to ask Muhammad's opinion whether they were necessarily obliged to a separation; and he told her that it was not lawful for her to cohabit with her husband any more: to which she replying that her husband had not put her away, the Prophet repeated his former decision, adding that such form of speaking was, by general consent, understood to imply a perpetual separation. Upon this the woman, being greatly concerned because of the smallness of her children, went home and uttered her complaint to God in prayer: and thereupon this passage was revealed, allowing a man to take his wife again, notwithstanding his having pronounced the above-mentioned form of divorce, on doing certain acts of charity or mortification by way of penance."—*Sale.*

(2) Compare chap. xxxiii. 4, and see note there.

that they will thereafter regard them as their mothers, *let them know that they are not their mothers*. They only *are* their mothers who brought them forth; and they certainly utter an unjustifiable saying and a falsehood: (3) but GOD *is* gracious *and* ready to forgive. (4) Those who divorce their wives by declaring that they will for the future regard them as their mothers, and afterwards would repair what they have said, *shall be obliged* to free a captive before they touch one another. That *is* what ye are warned to perform: and GOD *is* well apprised of that which ye do. (5) And whoso findeth not *a captive to redeem shall observe* a fast of two consecutive months before they touch one another. And whoso shall not be able to fast *that time shall* feed threescore poor men. This *is ordained* you that ye may believe in GOD and his Apostle. These *are* the statutes of GOD: and for the unbelievers *is prepared* a grievous torment. (6) Verily they who oppose GOD and his Apostle shall be brought low, as *the unbelievers* who preceded them were brought low. And now have we sent down manifest signs: and an ignominious punishment awaiteth the unbelievers. (7) On a *certain* day GOD shall raise them all to life, and shall declare unto them that which they have wrought. GOD hath taken an exact account thereof; but they have forgotten the same: and GOD *is* witness over all things.

R ½. || (8) Dost thou not perceive that GOD knoweth what-

They only are their mothers, &c. "And therefore no woman ought to be placed in the same degree of prohibition, except those whom God has joined with them as nursing mothers and the wives of the Prophet."—Sale, *Baidhāwi*.

But why the wives of the Prophet? See notes on chap. xxxiii. 6. If this "saying" is *unjustifiable* and a *falsehood* for the people, why not for the Prophet?

(4) *Would repair, &c.* "This seems to be here the true meaning of the original word, which properly signifies to *return*, and is variously expounded by the Muhammadan doctors."—Sale.

A captive. "Which captive, according to the most received decision, ought to be a true believer; as is ordered for the expiation of manslaughter."—Sale, *Baidhāwi*. See chap. iv. 91, and note there.

(8) The omnipresence of a personal God is here very clearly expressed. Compare the words of our Lord, Matt. xviii. 20.

ever *is* in heaven and in earth? There is no private discourse among three persons, but he *is* the fourth of them; nor *among* five, but he *is* the sixth of them; neither *among* a smaller *number* than this, nor a larger, but he *is* with them, wheresoever they be: and he will declare unto them that which they have done on the day of resurrection: for GOD knoweth all things. (9) Hast thou not observed those who have been forbidden to use clandestine discourse, but afterwards return to what they have been forbidden, and discourse privily among themselves of wickedness, and enmity, and disobedience towards the Apostle? And when they come unto thee, they salute thee with that *form of salutation* wherewith GOD doth not salute thee; and they say among themselves, *by way of derision*, Would not GOD punish us for what we say *if this man were a prophet*? Hell shall be their sufficient punishment: they shall go down into the same to be burned; and an unhappy journey *shall it be*! (10) O true believers, when ye discourse privily together, discourse not of wickedness, and enmity, and disobedience towards the Apostle; but discourse of justice and piety: and fear GOD, before whom ye shall be assembled. (11) Verily the clandestine discourse *of the infidels proceedeth* from Satan, that he may grieve the true believers: but there shall be none to hurt them in the least, unless by the permission of GOD; wherefore in GOD let the faithful trust. (12) O true believers, when it is said unto you, Make room in the

(9) *Hast thou not observed those, &c.* "That is, the Jews and hypocritical Muslims, who caballed privately together against Muhammad, and made signs to one another when they saw the true believers; and this they continued to do notwithstanding they were forbidden."—Sale.

They salute thee, &c. "It seems they used, instead of *As salām alaika*, i.e., 'Peace be upon thee,' to say, *As sām alaika*, i.e., 'Mischief on thee,' &c."—Sale, *Bāidhāwī*.

(12) *Make room.* "In this passage the Muslims are commanded to give place in the public assemblies to the Prophet and the more honourable of his companions, and not to press and crowd upon him, as they used to do, out of a desire of being near him and hearing his discourse."—Sale.

assembly; make room: GOD will grant you ample room *in Paradise*. And when it is said *unto you*, Rise up; rise up: GOD will raise those of you who believe, and those to whom knowledge is given to *superior degrees of honour*; and GOD is fully apprised of that which ye do. (13) O true believers, when ye go to speak with the Apostle, give alms previously to your discoursing *with him*; this *will be* better for you, and more pure. But if ye find not *what to give*, verily GOD *will be* gracious and merciful *unto you*. (14) Do ye fear to give alms previously to your discoursing with *the Prophet*, lest ye should *impoverish yourselves*? Therefore if ye do *it* not, and GOD is gracious unto you *by dispensing with the said precept for the future*, be constant at prayer, and pay the legal alms; and obey GOD and his Apostle *in all other matters*: for GOD well knoweth that which ye do.

R $\frac{3}{3}$. || (15) Hast thou not observed those who have taken for their friends a people against whom GOD is incensed? They *are* neither of you nor of them: and they swear to a lie knowingly. (16) GOD hath prepared for them a grievous punishment; for it is evil which they do. (17) They have taken their oaths for a cloak, and they have turned *men* aside from the way of GOD: wherefore a shameful punishment awaiteth them; (18) neither their wealth nor their children shall avail them at all against GOD.

(13) *Give alms previously, &c.* "To show your sincerity, and to honour the Apostle. It is doubted whether this be a counsel or a precept; but, however, it continued but a very little while in force, being agreed on all hands to be abrogated by the following passage, 'Do ye fear to give alms,' &c."—Sale, Baidhāwī, Jalāluddīn.

(15) *A people, &c., i.e., the Jews.*

Neither of you nor of them. "Being hypocrites and wavering between the two parties."—Sale.

They swear to a lie. "They have solemnly professed Islām, which they believe not in their hearts."—Sale.

(16–21) These verses express the intensity of the hatred which Muhammad now felt towards the Jews. They had all along been the keenest of his opponents and the readiest to expose the falseness of his prophetic pretensions. His was a hatred that could not be appeased even by the slaughter of the Bani Quraidha.

These *shall be* the inhabitants of *hell*-fire; they shall abide therein for ever. (19) On a *certain* day GOD shall raise them all; then will they swear unto him as they swear *now* unto you, imagining that it will be of service to them. Are they not liars? (20) Satan hath prevailed against them, and hath caused them to forget the remembrance of GOD. These *are* the party of the devil; and *shall not* the party of the devil *be* doomed to perdition? (21) Verily they who oppose GOD and his apostles *shall be placed among* the most vile. GOD hath written, Verily I will prevail, and my apostles: for GOD *is* strong *and* mighty. (22) Thou shalt not find people who believe in GOD and the last day to love him who opposeth GOD and his Apostle; although they be their fathers, or their sons, or their brethren, or their nearest relations. In the hearts of these hath GOD written faith: and he hath strengthened them with his spirit: and he will lead them into gardens, beneath which rivers flow, to remain therein for ever. GOD is well pleased in them; and they are well pleased in him. These are the party of GOD: and shall not the party of GOD prosper?

CHAPTER LIX.

ENTITLED SURAT AL HASHR (THE EMIGRATION).

Revealed at Madína.

INTRODUCTION.

THE title of this chapter is taken from a word in the second verse, which means, says Sale, "the quitting or removing from one's native country or settlement to dwell elsewhere, whether it be by choice or compulsion." It accords better with the matter of the chapter than titles in the Qurán generally do, nearly the whole chapter being taken up with the expulsion of the Baní Nadhír and matters resulting therefrom.

In the portion of this chapter relating to the distribution of the rich spoils taken from these unfortunate Jews, we see how the Qurán is made to subserve the political interests of Muhammad in providing at once for the replenishment of the war chest (vers. 6 and 7) and for the support of the poor refugees at Madína (vers. 8-10).

The expulsion of the Jews had weakened the party in Madína antagonistic to the Muslims, here styled "the hypocrites." This party is dealt with severely in this chapter. If the closing words (vers. 18-24) belong to Madína, they were probably intended for the instruction of these hypocrites, though addressed to the "true believers."

Probable Date of the Revelations.

The expulsion of the Baní Nadhír occurred in Rabí ul Awwal, A.H. 4. The revelations of this chapter were enunciated soon after that event. "Of vers. 18-24," says Noéldeke, "I cannot say anything definite. Nothing, however, hinders their having originated at the same time as the first portion of the Sura (compare the expression *yásabbihú laho* in ver. 24 with *sabbaha lilláhi* in the first verse)."

Principal Subjects.

	VERSES
Everything in the universe praiseth God	1
Passage relating to the expulsion of the Baní Nadhír	2-5
Ruling of Muhammad concerning spoils	6, 7
Special ruling for the benefit of the Muhájirín	8-10
Hypocrites in Madína reproved for treachery	11-17
Muslims exhorted to fear God	18-20
Had the Qurán descended on a mountain, it would have split asunder	21
God hath excellent names, and he only to be worshipped	22-24

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

|| (1) Whatever *is* in heaven and earth celebrateth the praise of GOD : and he *is* the almighty, the wise. (2) *It was* he who caused those who believed not, of the people who receive the Scripture, to depart from their habitations at the first emigration. Ye did not think that they would

R $\frac{1}{4}$.

(2) *The first emigration.* Rodwell translates, "those who had emigrated previously," meaning the Qainuqáa, to whom the Baní Nadhír (mentioned here) first went after their retiring from Madína.

Sale says, "The people here intended were the Jews of the tribe of al Nadhír, who dwelt in Madína, and when Muhammad fled thither from Makkah, promised him to stand neuter between him and his opponents, and made a treaty with him to that purpose. When he had gained the battle of Badr, they confessed that he was the prophet described in the law ; but upon his receiving that disgrace at Ohod, they changed their note ; and Qáb Ibn al Ashraf with forty force went and made a league with Abu Sufián, which they confirmed by oath. Upon this Muhammad got Qáb dispatched, and, in the fourth year of the Hijra, set forward against al Nadhír, and besieged them in their fortress, which stood about three miles from Madína, for six days, at the end of which they capitulated, and were allowed to depart, on condition that they should entirely quit that place ; and accordingly some of them went into Syria and others to Khaibar and Hira.

"This was the '*first* emigration,' mentioned in the passage before us. The other happened several years after, in the reign of Omar, when that Khalif banished those who had settled at Khaibar, and obliged them to depart out of Arabia."

Muir (*Life of Mahomet*, vol. iii. p. 216, note) says:—"The commentators interpret the words to mean 'at the first emigration,'

go forth ; and they thought that their fortresses would protect them against GOD. But *the chastisement of GOD* came upon them from whence they did not expect ; and he cast terror into their hearts. They pulled down their houses with their own hands, and the hands of the true believers. Wherefore take example *from them*, O ye who have eyes. (3) And if GOD had not doomed them to banishment, he had surely punished them in this world ; and in the world to come they shall suffer the torment of *hell-fire*. (4) This, because they opposed GOD and his Apostle : and whoso opposeth GOD, verily GOD *will be* severe in punishing *him*. (5) What palm trees ye cut down or left standing on their roots, *were so cut down or left* by the will of GOD ; and that he might disgrace the wicked doers. (6) And *as to the spoils* of these *people*, which GOD hath granted *wholly* to his Apostle, ye did not push forward any horses or camels against the same ; but GOD giveth unto his apostles dominion over whom he pleaseth : for GOD *is* almighty. (7) *The spoils* of the inhabitants of the towns which GOD hath granted to his Apostle *are due* unto GOD and to the Apostle, and to him

alluding, by prophetic foresight, to the *second*, that was to follow when Omar drove the Jews out of the Peninsula. This, however, is an after-thought."

They pulled down their houses, &c. "Doing what damage they could, that the Muslims might make the less advantage of what they were obliged to leave behind them."—Sale.

(3) *He had surely punished them.* "By delivering them up to slaughter and captivity, as he did those of Quraidha."—Sale.

(6) *The spoils, &c.* "It is remarkable that in this expedition the spoils were not divided according to the law given for that purpose in the Qurán, but were granted to the Apostle, and declared to be entirely in his disposition ; and the reason was, because the place was taken without the assistance of horse ; which became a rule for the future."—Sale.

See notes on chap. viii. 1, 42.

Ye did not push forward any horses, &c. "For the settlement of those of al Nádhir being so near Madína, the Muslims went all on foot thither, except only the Prophet himself."—Sale.

God giveth unto his Apostle, &c. We see here how Muhammad made capital out of his military successes.

who is of kin to the *Apostle*, and the orphans, and the poor, and the traveller; that they may not be *for ever divided* in a circle among such 'of you as are rich. What the *Apostle* shall give you, that accept; and what he shall forbid you, *that* abstain from: and fear GOD; for GOD is severe in chastising.

|| (8) *A part also belongeth* to the poor Muhájirín, who RUBA. have been dispossessed of their houses and their substance, seeking favour from GOD and *his* good-will, and assisting GOD and his *Apostle*. These are the men of veracity. (9) And they who quietly possessed the town of *Madína*, and *professed* the faith *without molestation* before them, love him who hath fled unto them, and find in their breasts no want of that which is given the *Muhájirín*, but prefer *them* before themselves, although there be indigence among them. And whoso is preserved from the covetousness of his own soul, those shall surely prosper. (10) And they who have come after them say, O LORD, forgive us and our brethren who have preceded us in the faith, and put not into our hearts ill-will against those who have believed: O LORD, verily thou *art* compassionate *and* merciful.

|| (11) Hast thou not observed them who play the hypocrites? They say unto their brethren who believe not, of those who have received the Scriptures, Verily if ye R 2/5.

(8) *Poor Muhájirín.* "Wherefore Muhammad distributed those spoils among the Muhájirín, or those who had fled from Makkah only, and gave no part thereof to the Ansárs or those of Madína, except only to three of them, who were in necessitous circumstances."—Sale.

(9) *Who possessed the town . . . before them.* "That is, the Ansárs; who enjoyed their houses and the free exercise of their religion before the Hijra, while the converts of Makkah were persecuted and harassed by the idolaters."—Sale.

Find . . . no want, &c. "And bear them no grudge or envy on that account."—Sale.

(10) *They who have come after them.* "The persons here meant seem to be those who fled from Makkah after Muhammad began to gain strength and his religion had made a considerable progress."—Sale.

(11) *Those who have received the Scriptures.* "That is, the Jews of the tribe of al Nadhír."—Sale.

be expelled *your habitations*, we will surely go forth with you ; and we will not pay obedience, in your respect, unto any one for ever : and if ye be attacked, we will certainly assist you. But GOD is witness that they *are* liars. (12) Verily if they be expelled, they will not go forth with them : and if they be attacked, they will not assist them : and if they do assist them, they will surely turn their backs ; and they shall not be protected. (13) Verily ye *are* stronger *than they*, by reason of the terror cast into breasts from GOD. This, because they *are* not people of prudence. (14) They will not fight against you in a body, except in fenced towns or from behind walls. Their strength in war among themselves *is* great : thou thinkest them *to be* united ; but their hearts are divided. This, because they *are* people who do not understand. (15) Like those who lately preceded them, they have tasted the evil consequence of their deed ; and a painful torment *is prepared* for them *hereafter*. (16) *Thus have the hypocrites deceived the Jews* : like the devil, when he saith unto a man, Be thou an infidel ; and when he is become an infidel, he saith, Verily I *am* clear of thee ; for I fear GOD, the LORD of all creatures. (17) Wherefore the end of them both shall be that they *shall dwell* in *hell-fire*, abiding therein for ever : and this shall be the recompense of the unjust.

R 3.

|| (18) O true believers, fear GOD ; and let a soul look

(12) *They will not assist them.* "And it happened accordingly ; for Ibn Ubbai and his confederates wrote to the Nadhirites to this purpose, but never performed their promise."—*Sale, Baidhāwi.*

This prophecy, however, seems to have been written after the event. See ver. 15.

(14) *Their strength . . . is great, i.e.,* "it is not their weakness or cowardice which makes them decline a field-battle with you, since they show strength and valour enough in their wars with one another ; but both fail them when they enter into the lists with God and his Apostle."—*Sale.*

(15) *Those who lately preceded them, i.e.,* "the idolaters who were slain at Badr, or the Jews of Qainuqāa, who were plundered and sent into exile before those of al Nadhir."—*Sale.*

what it sendeth before for the morrow : and fear GOD, for GOD is well acquainted with that which ye do. (19) And be not as those who have forgotten GOD, and whom he hath caused to forget their own souls : these are the wicked doers. (20) The inhabitants of *hell*-fire and the inhabitants of Paradise shall not be held equal. The inhabitants of Paradise are they who shall enjoy felicity. (21) If we had sent down this Qurán on a mountain, thou wouldest certainly have seen the same humble itself, and cleave in sunder for fear of GOD. These similitudes do we propose unto men, that they may consider. (22) He is GOD, besides whom there is no GOD ; who knoweth that which is future and that which is present : he is the most Merciful ; (23) he is GOD, besides whom there is no GOD : the King the Holy, the Giver of peace, the Faithful, the Guardian, the Powerful, the Strong, the Most High. Far be GOD exalted above *the idols* which they associate with him ! (24) He is GOD, the Creator, the Maker, the Former. He hath most excellent names. Whatever is in heaven and in earth praiseth him : and he is the Mighty, the Wise.

(18) *The morrow*. "That is, for the next life, which may be called 'the morrow,' as this present life may be called 'to-day.'"—Sale.

(21) The allusion here is to the giving of the law on Sinai.

(23) *Holy*. This is one of a very few passages in which God is called holy (*Quddús*). See also chap. lxii. 1.

(24) *Excellent names*. See note on chap. vii. 181.

CHAPTER LX.

ENTITLED SURAT AL MUMTAHINA (SHE WHO IS TRIED).

Revealed at Madīna.

INTRODUCTION.

THIS chapter bears this title, says Sale, "because it directs the women who desert and come over from the infidels to the Muslims to be examined and tried whether they be sincere in their profession of the faith." The incident which is said to have occasioned this revelation is given in the note on the first verse.

The separation of the Muslims from believers, noticed in the Introduction to chap. lviii., is here strictly enjoined. In this case the measure seems to have been a matter of policy to prevent the Quraish from tampering with the loyalty of the refugees, or to prevent their receiving information as to the intentions of the Muslims. See Muir's *Life of Mahomet*, vol. iv. p. 45, note.

Probable Date of the Revelations.

According to the Muslim commentators, the first part of this chapter (vers. 1-9) was revealed in A.H. 8, when the incident occurred which is narrated in the note on the first verse. The remaining verses date from a short time after the treaty with the Quraish at Hudaibiyah (ver. 10, note), A.H. 6.

Principal Subjects.

	VERSES
Muslims forbidden to make friends with the enemies of God	1-3
This precept enforced by the example of Abraham . . .	4-6
Enemies of God may become friends of Muslims by conversion	7
Distinction between enemies and mere unbelievers . . .	8, 9

	VERSES
Female refugees, being true believers, are to be regarded as divorced from their heathen husbands	10
How to recover dowers of Muslim women who apostatise	11
The confession of faith required of converts from Arab idolatry	12
True believers not to make friends with infidels	13

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

|| (1) O true believers, take not my enemy and your R 7
 enemy for *your* friends, showing kindness towards them; since they believe not in the truth which hath come unto you, having expelled the Apostle and yourselves *from your native city*, because ye believe in GOD your LORD. If ye go forth to fight in defence of my religion, and out of a desire to please me, and privately show friendship unto them, verily I well know that which ye conceal and that which ye discover: and whoever of you doth this hath already erred from the straight path. (2) If they get the better of you, they will be enemies unto you, and they will

(1) *My enemy and your enemy, &c.* "This passage was revealed on account of Hâtib Ibn Abi Balpâa, who, understanding that Muhammad had a design to surprise Makkah, wrote a letter to the Quraish, giving them notice of the intended expedition, and advised them to be on their guard; which letter he sent by Sarah, a maid-servant belonging to the family of Hâshim. The messenger had not been gone long, before Gabriel discovered the affair to the Prophet, who immediately sent after her; and having intercepted the letter, asked Hâtib how he came to be guilty of such an action? To which he replied that it was not out of infidelity or a desire to return to idolatry, but merely to induce the Quraish to treat his family, which was still at Makkah, with some kindness: adding that he was well assured his intelligence would be of no service at all to the Makkans, because he was satisfied God would take vengeance on them. Whereupon Muhammad received his excuse and pardoned him; but it was thought proper to forbid any such practices for the future."—Sale, *Baidhâwi*.

See also Muir's *Life of Mahomet*, vol. iv. p. 114.

Privately show friendship. "The verb here used has also a contrary signification, according to which the words may be rendered, 'and yet openly show friendship unto them.'"—Sale.

stretch forth their hands and their tongues against you with evil; and they earnestly desire that ye should become unbelievers. (3) Neither your kindred nor your children will avail you at all on the day of resurrection, which will separate you from one another: and GOD seeth that which ye do. (4) Ye have an excellent pattern in Abraham and those who were with him, when they said unto their people, Verily we are clear of you, and of the *idols* which ye worship besides GOD: we have renounced you; and enmity and hatred is begun between us and you for ever, until ye believe in GOD alone: except Abraham's saying unto his father, Verily I will beg pardon for thee; but I cannot obtain aught of GOD in thy behalf. O LORD, in thee do we trust, and unto thee are we turned; and before thee shall we be assembled *hereafter*. (5) O LORD, suffer us not to be put to trial by the unbelievers; and forgive us, O LORD; for thou *art* mighty *and* wise. (6) Verily ye have in them an excellent example, unto him who hopeth in GOD and the last day: and whoso turneth back; verily GOD *is* self-sufficient *and* praiseworthy.

R $\frac{2}{8}$. || (7) Peradventure GOD will establish friendship between yourselves and such of them as ye *now* hold for enemies: for GOD *is* powerful; and GOD *is* inclined to forgive, *and* merciful. (8) As to those who have not

(4) *An excellent pattern.* The Muhájirín and others leaving Makkah with Muhammad are likened to Abraham and those leaving Chaldea with him. See Rodwell's note *in loco*.

Except Abraham's saying, &c. "For in this Abraham's example is not to be followed."—*Sale*. See notes on chap. ix. 114, 115.

(5) *Suffer us not, &c., i.e.,* "suffer them not to prevail against us, lest they thence conclude themselves to be in the right, and endeavour to make us deny our faith by the terror of the persecution."—*Sale*, *Baidháwi*.

(7) "And this happened accordingly on the taking of Makkah, when Abu Sufián and others of the Quraish, who had till then been inveterate enemies to the Muslims, embraced the same faith, and became their friends and brethren. Some suppose the marriage of Muhammad with Omm Habíba, the daughter of Abu Sufián, which was celebrated the year before, to be here intended."—*Sale*, *Baidháwi*.

borne arms against you on account of religion, nor turned you out of your dwellings, God forbiddeth you not to deal kindly with them, and to behave justly towards them; for God loveth those who act justly. (9) But as to those who have borne arms against you on account of religion, and have dispossessed you of your habitations, and have assisted in dispossessing you, God forbiddeth you to enter into friendship with them: and whosoever *of you* entereth into friendship with them, those are unjust doers. (10) O true believers, when believing women come unto you as refugees, try them: God well knoweth their faith. And if ye know them *to be* true believers, send them not back to the infidels: they *are* not lawful for the *unbelievers to have in marriage*; neither are the *unbelievers* lawful for them. But give *their unbelieving husbands* what they shall have expended *for their dowers*. Nor *shall it be* any crime in you if ye marry them, provided ye give them

(8) *Behave justly towards them.* "This passage, it is said, was revealed on account of Kutaila bint Abdul Uzza, who having, whilst she was an idolatress, brought some presents to her daughter, Asma bint Abu Baqr, the latter not only refused to accept them, but even denied her admittance."—*Sale, Baidhāwi.*

(10) *Try them.* "When such women sought an asylum at Madīna, Muhammad obliged them to swear that they were prompted only by the desire of embracing Islamism, and that hatred of their husbands, or love of some Mussulmán, had not had any influence on their conduct."—*Savary.*

They are not lawful for the unbelievers. Muslim men may marry unbelievers, if not idolaters, but Muslim women may marry only believers. The practical working of this law has been very favourable to the propagation of Islām.

But give . . . their dowers. "For, according to the terms of the pacification of al Hudaibiyah (chap. xlvi. 15), each side was to return whatever came into their power belonging to the other; wherefore, when the Muslims were, by this passage, forbidden to restore the married women who should come over to them, they were at the same time commanded to make some sort of satisfaction, by returning their dowry.

"It is related that, after the aforesaid pacification, while Muhammad was yet at al Hudaibiyah, Subaia bint al Hārith, of the tribe of Aslam, having embraced Muhammadism, her husband, Musáfir, the Makhzúmite, came and demanded her back; upon which this passage was revealed; and Muhammad, pursuant thereto, adminis-

their dowries. And retain not the patronage of the unbelieving *women*; but demand back that which ye have expended *for the dowry of such of your wives as go over to the unbelievers*; and let them demand back that which they have expended *for the dowry of those who come over to you*. This is the judgment of GOD, which he establisheth among you, and GOD is knowing and wise. (11) If any of your wives escape from you to the unbelievers, and ye have your turn *by the coming over of any of the unbelievers' wives to you*; give unto those *believers* whose wives shall have gone away, *out of the dowries of the latter*, so much as they shall have expended *for the dowers of the former*: and fear GOD, in whom ye believe. (12) O Prophet, when believing *women* come unto thee, and plight their faith unto thee that they will not associate anything with GOD, nor steal, nor commit fornication, nor kill their children,

tered to her the oath thereafter directed, and returned her husband her dower, and then Omar married her."—Sale, *Baidhāwi*.

Noëldeke points out that this must have occurred after the return from Hudaibiyah, on the ground of the terms of the treaty, which could not have been infringed at Hudaibiyah itself.

Provided ye give them their dowries. "For what is returned to their former husbands is not to be considered as their dower."—Sale.

See also notes on chaps. ii. 229 and iv. 3.

(11) *If any of your wives, &c.* "Literally, 'anything of your wives'; which some interpret, 'any part of their dowry.'"—Sale.

And ye have your turn. "Or, as the original verb may be translated, 'and ye take spoils'; in which case the meaning will be, that those Muslims whose wives shall have gone over to the infidels shall have a satisfaction for their dower out of the next booty. This law, they say, was given because the idolaters, after the preceding verse had been revealed, refused to comply therewith, or to make any return of the dower of those women who went over to them from the Muslims; so that the latter were obliged to indemnify themselves as they could."—Sale, *Baidhāwi*.

(12) *Plight their faith unto thee.* "See the Prelim. Disc., p. 81. Some are of opinion that this passage was not revealed till the day of the taking of Makkah, when, after having received the solemn submission of the men, he proceeded to receive that of the women."—Sale, *Baidhāwi*.

It is best to connect this verse with those preceding. It thus gives the confession of faith required of true Muslim converts from Arab idolatry.

Nor kill their children. See note on chap. lxxxi. 8.

nor come with a calumny which they have forged between their hands and their feet, nor be disobedient to thee in that which shall be reasonable: then do thou plight thy faith unto them, and ask pardon for them of GOD; for GOD is inclined to forgive, *and* merciful. (13) O true believers, enter not into friendship with a people against whom GOD is incensed; they despair of the life to come, as the infidels despair of *the resurrection of* those who dwell in their graves:

A calumny. "Jaláluddín understands these words of their laying their spurious children to their husbands."—Sale.

(13) *A people against whom God is incensed, i.e.,* "the infidels in general, or the Jews in particular."—Sale.

See note on chap. i. 5-7.

They despair, &c. "By reason of their infidelity, or because they well know they cannot expect to be made partakers of the happiness of the next life, by reason of their rejecting of the Prophet, foretold in the law, and whose mission is confirmed by miracles."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*.

CHAPTER LXI.

ENTITLED SURAT AL SAF (BATTLE-ARRAY).

Revealed at Madína.

INTRODUCTION.

THIS chapter is an exhortation to Muslims to spend their money and their lives in the defence of Islám. Its title is taken from the words of the fourth verse, "God loveth those who fight for this religion in battle-array."

The circumstances which gave rise to this exhortation were those which resulted from the disobedience and cowardice of some of the Muslims during the battle of Ohod. This he likens to the rebellion of the Israelites against Moses, probably at Kadesh Barnea. The reference to Jesus, introduced here probably by the compilers of the Qurán, was intended to confirm the faith of the Muslims in this time of distress and doubt. Victory over the infidels had not been secured at Ohod, as they had anticipated, but "a speedy victory" over them would yet be secured (ver. 13), because Islám would yet be exalted over every other religion (ver. 9). If by "religion" we understand the Muhammadan faith, this prophecy was only true of its relation to the idolatrous religions of Arabia. It is probable, however, that Muhammad here identified his religion with the religion of God, which had always been upheld against all enemies in the past, and would therefore finally triumph over all other religions.

Probable Date of the Revelations.

From what has been said above we conclude that the probable date of this chapter is about the beginning of A.H. 4. The date of vers. 6-9 is uncertain, but, like the rest of the chapter, is Madínic, "because," says Noëldéke, "Muhammad *before* the Hijra could not have spoken of his religion conquering all others (ver. 9)."

Principal Subjects.

	VERSES
All things in the universe praise God	I
Muslims exhorted to be faithful and to fight for Islām	2-4
This exhortation enforced by the example of Moses	5
Jesus foretells Muhammad by the name Ahmad	6
Jesus was rejected as a sorcerer notwithstanding his miracles	7, 8
Islām to be exalted above every other religion	9
Muslims exhorted to seek wealth by fighting for Islām	10, 11
The rewards of those who fight for the faith	12, 13
Muslims! exhorted to follow the example of the apostles of Jesus	14

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

|| (1) Whatever *is* in heaven and in earth celebrateth R $\frac{1}{9}$ the praise of GOD ; for he *is* mighty *and* wise. (2) O true believers, why do ye say that which ye do not ? (3) *It is* most odious in the sight of GOD that ye say that which ye do not.

|| (4) Verily GOD loveth those who fight for his religion NISF. in battle-array, as though they *were* a well-compacted building. (5) *Remember* when Moses said unto his people, O my people, why do ye injure me ; since ye know that I am the apostle of GOD *sent* unto you ? And when they had deviated *from the truth*, GOD made their hearts to deviate *from the right way* ; for GOD directeth not wicked people. (6) And when Jesus the Son of Mary said, O children of Israel, verily I *am* the apostle of GOD *sent* unto you, confirming the law which *was delivered* before

(2) "The commentators generally suppose these words to be directed to the Muslims, who, notwithstanding they had solemnly engaged to spend their lives and fortunes in defence of their faith, yet shamefully turned their backs at the battle of Ohod. They may, however, be applied to hypocrites of all sorts, whose actions contradict their words."—Sale.

(5) *Why do ye injure me ?* "By your disobedience, or by maliciously aspersing me."—Sale.

See also note on chap. xxxiii. 69. May not the allusion here be to the rebellion of the Israelites at Kadesh Barnea ?

me, and bringing good tidings of an apostle who shall come after me, *and* whose name *shall be* Ahmad. And when he produced unto them evident miracles, they said, This is manifest sorcery. (7) But who *is* more unjust than he who forgeth a lie against GOD when he is invited unto Islām? And GOD directeth not the unjust people. (8) They seek to extinguish GOD's light with their mouths; but GOD will perfect his light, though the infidels be averse *thereto*. (9) *It is* he who hath sent his Apostle with the direction and the religion of truth, that

(6) *An apostle . . . whose name is Ahmad.* "For Muhammad also bore the name of Ahmad, both names being derived from the same root, and nearly of the same signification. The Persian paraphrast, to support what is here alleged, quotes the following words of Christ, 'I go to my Father, and the *Paraclete* shall come' (John xvi. 7); the Muhammadan doctors unanimously teaching that by the '*Paraclete*' (or, as they choose to read it, the *Periclyte* or *Illustrious*), their Prophet is intended, and no other."—Sale. (See Prelim. Disc., p. 124.)

The reply to "the Persian paraphrast" is that in John xv. 26 this *Paraclete* is described as "the Spirit of truth which proceedeth from the Father; he shall testify of ME;" while in chap. xvi. 13 it is written that "when he, the Spirit of truth, is come, he will guide you into all truth;" and in ver. 14 we read, "He shall glorify ME, for he shall receive of MINE and show it unto you." If in these passages we substitute "Muhammad" for "*Paraclete*," we shall see how impossible it is there could be any reference to him whatever.

Even granting, for the sake of argument, that, as Muslims claim, a prophet is here foretold, it does not by any means follow that Muhammad was that prophet. The only ground of the claim is the meaning of the name "Ahmad," an unusual form of Muhammad's name, which meaning can only be secured by *perverting the words of Jesus* (i.e., by changing *Paracletos* to *Periclytos* and omitting the clause "even the Spirit of truth"). Surely this is "perversion" (*tahrif*) of the Scriptures with a vengeance! (See notes on chap. iv. 44.)

Muhammad probably got the notion that he was the *Paraclete* from Christian perverts to Islām, who had previously been adherents to some form of the old Manichean heresy, such heretics having sought refuge from persecution by flight to Arabia.

The Urdu and Persian translations of the Qurān render the words "Ismuhu Ahmadu"—"His name *is* Ahmad."

And when he produced . . . miracles. Rodwell and Palmer introduce this sentence with "but," and instead of "miracles" they have "proofs" and "signs."

(9) *Exalt the same above every religion.* See note on chap. xlviii. 28.

he may exalt the same above every religion, although the idolaters be averse *thereto*.

|| (10) O true believers, shall I show you a merchandise R 16
which will deliver you from a painful torment *hereafter*?
(11) Believe in GOD and his Apostle; and defend GOD's true religion with your substance, and in your own persons. This *will be* better for you, if ye knew *it*. (12) He will forgive you your sins, and will introduce you into gardens through which rivers flow, and agreeable habitations in gardens of perpetual abode. This *will be* great felicity. (13) And *ye shall obtain* other things which ye desire, *namely*, assistance from GOD and a speedy victory. And do thou bear good tidings to the true believers. (14) O true believers, be ye the assistants of GOD; as Jesus the son of Mary said to the apostles, Who *will be* my assistants with respect to GOD? The apostles answered, We *will be* the assistants of GOD. So a part of the children of Israel believed, and a part believed not: but we strengthened those who believed, above their enemy; wherefore they became victorious *over them*.

(14) Compare chap. iii. 51, and see note there.

A part believed not. "Either by rejecting him, or by affirming him to be God and the son of God."—*Sale, Jalāluddīn.*

CHAPTER LXII.

ENTITLED SURAT AL JUMA (THE ASSEMBLY).

Revealed at Madína.

INTRODUCTION.

THIS chapter consists of two parts ; first, vers. 1-8, relating to the enmity of the Jews of Madína towards Muhammad and his prophetic pretensions : second, vers. 9-11, relating to the prayer service of Friday, called here the Day of the Assembly, from which the chapter derives its title.

Probable Date of the Revelations.

The first part of this chapter is thought to belong to the same period as the greater portion of chap. ii., *i.e.*, A.H. 2, because it is aimed at the Jews of Madína. The second part of the chapter, according to the commentators, was revealed when Dahya al Kalbi, before his conversion, entered Madína with a loud noise, at the head of a caravan (ver. 11, note). But Noëldeke points out that this statement gives no exact chronological date, because we know nothing of the date of Dahya's conversion beyond this, that he is said by some to have fought as a Muslim at the battle of the Ditch, and by others at the battle of Ohod. Inasmuch, however, as the Friday prayers were instituted soon after the Hijra, it is probable that this part of the chapter belongs to about the same date as the first part.

Principal Subjects.

	VERSES
A wise, powerful, and holy God sent Muhammad as his apostle to the Arabians	1-4
The Jews rebuked for their opposition to Islám	5-8
Admonition concerning the observance of worship on Friday	9-11

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

|| (1) Whatever is in heaven and earth praiseth GOD, the King, the Holy, the Mighty, the Wise. (2) *It is he who hath raised up amidst the illiterate Arabians an Apostle from among themselves, to rehearse his signs unto them, and to purify them, and to teach them the Scriptures and wisdom; whereas before they were certainly in a manifest error; (3) and others of them have not yet attained unto them, by embracing the faith; though they also shall be converted in God's good time; for he is mighty and wise. (4) This is the free grace of GOD: he bestoweth the same on whom he pleaseth; and GOD is endued with great beneficence (5) The likeness of those who were charged with the observance of the law and then observed it not is as the likeness of an ass laden with books. How wretched is the likeness of the people who charge the signs of GOD with falsehood! and GOD directeth not the unjust people. (6) Say, O ye who follow the Jewish religion, if ye say that ye are the friends of GOD above other men, wish for death if ye speak truth. (7) But they will never wish for it, because of that which their hands have sent before them: and GOD well knoweth the unjust. (8) Say, Verily death, from which ye fly, will surely meet you; then shall ye be brought before him who knoweth as well what is concealed as what is discovered; and he will declare unto you that which ye have done.*

|| (9) O true believers, when ye are called to prayer on

(2) *The illiterate.* See note on chap. vii. 158, and Prelim. Disc., pp. 73, 74.

(5) *The likeness of an ass, &c.* "Because these understand not the prophecies contained in the law, which bear witness to Muhammad, no more than the ass does the books he carries."—Sale. See Muir's remarks, quoted in note on chap. iv. 44.

(6) *Wish for death, &c., i.e.,* "make it your request to God that he would translate you from this troublesome world to a state of never-fading bliss."—Sale.

(7) *Which their hands have sent before.* See note on chap. ii. 94.

the day of the assembly, hasten to the commemoration of God and leave merchandising. This *will be* better for you, if you knew *it*. (10) And when prayer is ended, then disperse yourselves through the land *as ye list*, and seek *gain* of the liberality of GOD: and remember GOD frequently, that ye may prosper. (11) But when they see any merchandising or sport, they flock thereto, and leave thee standing up *in the pulpit*. Say, The *reward* which is with GOD is better than any sport or merchandise: and GOD is the best provider.

(9) *The assembly.* "That is, Friday, which being more peculiarly set apart by Muhammad for the public worship of God, is therefore called Yaum al jumá, *i.e.*, the Day of the Assembly or Congregation; whereas before it was called al Arúba. The first time this day was particularly observed, as some say, was on the Prophet's arrival at Madína, into which city he made his first entry on a Friday; but others tell us that Káb Ibn Luwa, one of Muhammad's ancestors, gave the day its present name, because on that day the people used to be assembled before him. One reason given for the observation of Friday preferably to any other day of the week is because on that day God finished the creation."—Sale, *Baidháwi*.

Leave merchandising. The original purpose of Muhammad was to establish a day of rest similar to the Jewish Sabbath, but to be observed less rigidly. Work was to be stopped during the hours of prayer, but might be resumed when the prayers were ended. See on this subject Muir's *Life of Mahomet*, vol. iii. pp. 41, 42.

(10) *And when the prayer is ended.* "By returning to your commerce and worldly occupations, if ye think fit; for the Muhammadans do not hold themselves obliged to observe the day of their public assembly with the same strictness as the Christians and Jews do their respective Sabbaths, or particularly abstain from work after they have performed their devotions. Some, however, from a tradition of their Prophet, are of opinion that works of charity and religious exercises, which may draw down the blessing of God, are recommended in this passage."—Sale.

(11) *Leave thee standing, &c.* "It is related that one Friday, while Muhammad was preaching, a caravan of merchants happened to arrive with their drums beating, according to custom; which the congregation hearing, they all ran out of the mosque to see them, except twelve only."—Sale, *Baidháwi*.

CHAPTER LXIII.

ENTITLED SURAT AL MUNÁFIQÚN (THE HYPOCRITES).

Revealed at Madína.

INTRODUCTION.

THIS chapter was revealed shortly after the expedition against the Baní Mustaliq, in order to rebuke Abdullah Ibn Ubbai and his followers for their treatment of the refugees, and for certain seditious words uttered at the wells of Maraisí when on the march back. See Muir's *Life of Mahomet*, vol. iii. pp. 241, 242. The declaration of ver. 8, that "the worthier shall expel thence the meaner," though intended to convey a threat, was never fulfilled, except by the gradual absorption of the disaffected by the Muslim party, after that military success had made religious and temporal interests in Madína to be identical.

Probable Date of the Revelations.

If what has been said as to the circumstances under which this chapter was enunciated is true, the date of the revelations, excepting vers. 9-11, which may belong to some other period, must be fixed at about the end of A.H. 6.

Principal Subjects.

	VERSES
The treachery of the hypocrites of Madína exposed and rebuked	1-3
Muhammad warned to beware of trusting the hypocrites	4
Hypocrites cursed and declared reprobates	5, 6
They are threatened with expulsion from Madína	7, 8
The duty of almsgiving enjoined	9-11

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

R $\frac{1}{13}$. || (1) When the hypocrites come unto thee, they say, We bear witness that thou *art* indeed the Apostle of GOD. And GOD knoweth that thou *art* indeed his Apostle; but GOD beareth witness that the hypocrites *are* certainly liars. (2) They have taken their oaths for a protection, and they turn *others* aside from the way of GOD: it is surely evil which they do. (3) This *is testified of them*, because they believed, and afterwards became unbelievers: wherefore a seal is set on their hearts, and they shall not understand. (4) When thou beholdest them, their persons please thee; and if they speak, thou hearest their discourse *with delight*. They resemble pieces of timber set up *against a wall*. They imagine every shout *to be* against them. They are enemies: wherefore beware of them. Go curse them: how are they turned aside *from the truth*! (5) And when it is said unto them, Come, that the Apostle of GOD may ask pardon for you; they turn away their heads, and thou seest them retire big with disdain. (6) *It shall be equal* unto them, whether thou ask pardon for them, or do not ask pardon for them:

(1-3) These verses allude to the hypocritical and secretly disaffected inhabitants of Madīna. Military success and conscious strength now enable Muhammad to denounce even the powerful Abdullah Ibn Ubbai.

(4) *Their persons please thee*. "The commentators tell us that Abdullah Ibn Ubbai, a chief hypocrite, was a tall man of very graceful presence, and of a ready and eloquent tongue, and used to frequent the Prophet's assembly attended by several like himself; and that these men were greatly admired by Muhammad, who was taken with their handsome appearance, and listened to their discourse with pleasure."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*.

Pieces of timber. "Being tall and big, but being void of knowledge and consideration."—Sale.

They imagine, &c. "Living under continual apprehension, because they are conscious of their hypocrisy towards God and their insincerity towards the Muslims."—Sale.

God curse them. Rodwell translates more literally "God do battle with them."

(6) *It shall be equal unto them, &c.* See this applied in the case of Abdullah in chap. ix. 81, note.

GOD will by no means forgive them; for GOD directeth not the prevaricating people. (7) *These are the men* who say to the inhabitants of *Madína*, Do not bestow *anything* on the refugees who are with the Apostle of GOD, that they may be obliged to separate from him. Whereas unto GOD belong the stores of heaven and earth: but the hypocrites do not understand. (8) They say, Verily, if we return to *Madína*, the worthier shall expel thence the meaner. Whereas superior worth *belongeth* unto GOD and his Apostle, and the true believers; but the hypocrites know it not.

|| (9) O true believers, let not your riches or your R $\frac{2}{14}$ children divert you from the remembrance of GOD; for whosoever doth this, they will surely be losers. (10) And give alms out of that which we have bestowed on you, before death come unto one of you, and he say, O LORD, wilt thou not grant me respite for a short term, that I may give alms, and become *one* of the righteous? (11) For GOD will by no means grant further respite to a soul when its determined time is come: and GOD is fully apprised of that which ye do.

(8) *Verily if we return, &c.* "These, as well as the preceding, were the words of Ibn Ubbai to one of *Madína*, who in a certain expedition quarrelling with an Arab of the desert about water, received a blow on the head with a stick, and made his complaint thereof to him."—*Sale, Baidhāwi*.

(10) *Give alms.* See notes on chap. ix. 60, 104. Almsgiving is here made a necessary condition of salvation. See on this point note on chap. iii. 31.

CHAPTER LXIV.

ENTITLED SURAT AL TAGHABÚN (MUTUAL DECEIT).

Revealed at Madína.

INTRODUCTION.

THE title of this chapter is taken from words found in ver. 9, but there is no connection between it and the matter of the composition.

The revelations are hortatory in their character, but exceedingly confused. In the beginning the exhortation is to faith in God and his power to raise the dead. Farther on the subject is faith in the Qurán. Then we have words of comfort for those in distress, who are urged to trust God, since nothing occurs without his permission. The exhortation then turns to the duty of obeying God and Muhammad; and, finally, married Muslims are urged to contribute towards the cause of God, especially by way of almsgiving, not allowing the cares of family and children to interfere with the performance of this duty.

Probable Date of the Revelations.

Neither Muslim commentators nor modern writers are agreed as to whether this chapter belongs to Makkah or Madína. Noéldeke thinks there can be no doubt about vers. 14-18 being Madínic. He thinks this is also probably true of vers. 11-13. Rodwell thinks ver. 7 and the phrase "God and the Apostle" in vers. 8 and 12, together with the subject-matter, confirm the view of those who regard the chapter as Madínic. Weil and Muir regard it as Makkan. Vers. 2-7 are in their form and matter like the ordinary Makkan Suras, and the sentence in ver. 12, "the duty of our Apostle is only a public preaching," looks also towards Makkah.

On the whole, we think the chapter should be regarded as Madínic, though it includes passages imported into it from Makkah, either by Muhammad or the compilers. As to date, Noéldeke places it just before chap. lxii., which would make its date about A.H. 2.

Principal Subjects.

	VERSES
All things in heaven and earth praise God	1
God hath fore-ordained men to be either believers or un- believers	2
God, the Creator, knoweth all things	3, 4
Former nations destroyed for their unbelief	5, 6
Unbelief will not prevent infidels from rising from the dead	7
Exhortation to believe in God and his Apostle	8-10
God sovereign, therefore should be trusted	11-13
Muslims exhorted to abjure worldly ties and to devote themselves to God	14-18

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

|| (1) Whatever *is* in heaven and earth celebrateth the praises of GOD: his *is* the kingdom, and unto him *is* the praise *due*; for he *is* almighty. (2) *It is* he who hath created you; and *one* of you *is predestined to be* an unbeliever, and *another* of you *is predestined to be* a believer: and GOD beholdeth that which ye do. (3) He hath created the heavens and the earth with truth; and he hath fashioned you, and given you beautiful forms: and unto him must ye all go. (4) He knoweth whatever *is* in heaven and earth: and he knoweth that which ye conceal, and that which ye discover; for GOD knoweth the innermost part of *men's* breasts. (5) Have ye not been acquainted with the story of those who disbelieved heretofore, and tasted the evil consequence of their behaviour? And for them *is prepared in the life to come* a tormenting punishment. (6) This *shall they suffer*, because their apostles came unto them with evident *proofs of their mission*, and they said, Shall men direct us? Wherefore they believed not, and turned their backs. But GOD standeth in need of no person; for GOD *is* self-sufficient, and worthy to be praised. (7) The unbelievers imagine that they shall not be raised again. Say, Yea, by my LORD, ye shall surely be raised again; then shall ye be

told that which ye have wrought; and this is easy with GOD. (8) Wherefore believe in GOD and his Apostle, and the light which we have sent down; for GOD is well acquainted with that which ye do. (9) On a *certain* day he shall assemble you, at the day of the *general* assembly: that *will be* the day of mutual deceit. And whoso shall believe in GOD, and shall do that which is right, from him will he expiate his evil deeds, and he will lead him into gardens beneath which rivers flow, to remain therein for ever. This *will be* great felicity. (10) But they who shall not believe, and shall accuse our signs of falsehood, those *shall be* the inhabitants of *hell*-fire, wherein they shall remain *for ever*; and a wretched journey *shall it be thither*!

SULS.

R $\frac{2}{16}$.

|| (11) No misfortune happeneth but by the permission of GOD; and whoso believeth in GOD, he will direct his heart: and GOD knoweth all things. (12) Wherefore obey GOD, and obey the Apostle: but if ye turn back, verily *the duty incumbent* on our Apostle is only public preaching. (13) GOD! there is no GOD but he: wherefore in GOD let the faithful put their trust. (14) O true believers, verily of your wives and your children ye have

(8) *God and his Apostle.* See note on chap. viii. 20. Rodwell thinks this expression an argument in favour of the view of those who regard this chapter as Madinic. The style and the matter of all that precedes it, however, count decidedly for Makkah. Indeed it must be admitted that even Makkan chapters may have been emended at Madina, and that expressions, common to Madina chapters, may have occasionally found their way into those of Makkah.

(9) *The day of mutual deceit.* "When the blessed will deceive the damned, by taking the places which they would have had in Paradise had they been true believers, and contrariwise."—Sale, Baidhawi, Yahya.

Expiate his evil deeds. See note on chap. iii. 194.

(12) *Only public preaching.* This is another mark pointing to Makkah as the place where this revelation was given. There he was uniformly a preacher only. See note to chap. ii. 119.

(13) *Wives and children, &c.* "For these are apt to distract a man from his duty, especially in time of distress; a married man caring for the things that are of this world, while the unmarried careth for the things that belong to the Lord (1 Cor. vii. 25)."—Sale.

an enemy : wherefore beware of them. But if ye pass over *their offences*, and pardon and forgive *them*, GOD *is* likewise inclined to forgive, *and* merciful. (15) Your wealth and your children *are* only a temptation ; but with GOD *is* a great reward. (16) Wherefore fear GOD as much as ye are able ; and hear and obey : and give alms for the good of your souls ; for whoso is preserved from the covetousness of his own soul, they shall prosper. (17) If ye lend unto GOD an acceptable loan, he will double the same unto you, and will forgive you : for GOD is grateful *and* long-suffering, (18) knowing both what is hidden and what is divulged ; the Mighty, the Wise.

If ye pass over, &c. " Considering that the hindrance they may occasion you proceeds from their affection, and their ill bearing your absence in time of war, &c."—*Salé*.

(16, 17) See note on chap. lxiii. 10.

(17) *God is grateful.* See notes on chaps. ii. 159 and iv. 146.

CHAPTER LXV.

ENTITLED SURAT AL TALÁQ (DIVORCE).

Revealed at Madína.

INTRODUCTION.

THIS chapter was probably revealed to supplement the law of divorce given in chap. ii. 226-237 ; hence the title, found in the first verse.

That this is not the original law of divorce, as the title might suggest, is evident from the statement in the first verse, as well as from the testimony of tradition, which states that it was revealed to correct an abuse of the privilege of divorce by Ibn Omar, who, having put away his wife at an improper time, was hereby obliged to take her again.

The latter portion of the chapter reads very much like a Makkan revelation, and indeed is so regarded by at least one author, Umar Bin Muhammad. However, since it is addressed to true believers, it is probably Madinic. It was intended to impress more deeply the Muslim mind with the solemnity of the law which precedes it.

Probable Date of the Revelations.

If the first verse refers to Ibn Omar, as tradition declares, then we must refer this chapter to a period as late as A.H. 6 or 8, because Ibn Omar was then only eighteen or twenty years of age. But, Noéldeke informs us, another and an accurate tradition declares that Muhammad only *read* this passage from the Qurán, it having been revealed before. Noéldeke places it in his chronological list just after chap. iv., whose date is A.H. 4 or 5.

Principal Subjects.

	VERSES
Certain limitations to the law of divorce	1-7
The apostate and disobedient chastised for their sin	8-10
True believers exhorted to faith in Muhammad	11
God hath created the seven heavens	12

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

|| (1) O Prophet, when ye divorce women, put them away at their appointed term; and compute the term *exactly*: and fear GOD your LORD. Oblige them not to go out of their apartments, neither let them go out, *until the term be expired*, unless they be guilty of manifest uncleanness. These *are* the statutes of GOD; and whoever transgresseth the statutes of GOD assuredly injureth his own soul. Thou knowest not whether GOD will bring something new to pass, *which may reconcile them* after this. (2) And when they shall have fulfilled their term, either retain them with kindness, or part from them honourably: and take witnesses from among you, men of integrity; and give *your* testimony as in the presence of GOD. (3) This admonition is given unto him who believeth in GOD and the last day; and whoso feareth GOD, unto him will he grant a *happy issue out of all his afflictions*, and he will bestow on him an ample provision from whence he expecteth *it* not: and whoso trusteth in GOD, *he will be* his sufficient support; for GOD will surely attain his purpose. Now hath GOD appointed unto everything a determined period. (4) *As to* such of your wives as shall despair having their courses, *by reason of their age*; if ye be in doubt *thereof*, let their term *be* three months: and *let the same be the term of* those who have not yet had their courses. But *as to* those who are pregnant, their term *shall be* until they be delivered of their burden. And whoso feareth GOD, unto him will he make his command

(1) *Their appointed time.* "That is, when they shall have had their courses thrice after the time of their divorce, if they prove not to be with child; or, if they prove with child, when they shall have been delivered. Al Baidhāwī supposes husbands are hereby commanded to divorce their wives while they are clean; and says that the passage was revealed on account of Ibn Omar, who divorced his wife when she had her courses upon her, and was therefore obliged to take her again."—Sale.

On this whole passage see also notes on chap. ii. 226-237.

easy. (5) This is the command of GOD, which he hath sent down unto you. And whoso feareth GOD, he will expiate his evil deeds from him and will increase his reward. (6) Suffer the *women whom ye divorce* to dwell in *some part of the houses* wherein ye dwell; *according to the room and conveniences of the habitations* which ye possess: and make them not uneasy, that ye may reduce them to straits. And if they be with child, expend on them *what shall be needful*, until they be delivered of their burden. And if they suckle *their children* for you, give them their hire; and consult among yourselves, according to what shall be just and reasonable. And if ye be put to a difficulty *herein*, and another *woman* shall suckle *the child* for him, (7) let him who hath plenty expend *proportionably in the maintenance of the mother and the nurse* out of his plenty: and let him whose income is scanty expend *in proportion* out of that which GOD hath given him. GOD obligeth no man to more than he hath given him *ability to perform*: GOD will cause ease to succeed hardship.

R $\frac{2}{18}$.

|| (8) How many cities have turned aside from the command of the LORD and his apostles! Wherefore we brought them to a severe account; and we chastised them with a grievous chastisement: (9) and they tasted the evil consequence of their business; and the end of their business was perdition. (10) GOD hath prepared for them severe punishment; wherefore fear GOD, O ye who are endued with understanding. (11) True believers, now hath GOD sent down unto you an admonition, an Apostle who may rehearse unto you the perspicuous signs of GOD; that he may bring forth those who believe and do good works from darkness into light. And whoso believeth in GOD and doth that which is right, him will he lead into gardens beneath which rivers flow, to remain therein for ever: now hath GOD made an excellent provision for him. (12) *It is GOD who hath created seven heavens, and as many*

different storeys of the earth; the *divine* command descendeth between them; that ye may know that GOD is omnipotent, and that GOD comprehendeth all things by *his* knowledge.

And as many of the earth. "The earth has seven storeys like unto the seven storeys of the heavens," so says the *Tafsir-i-Raufi*, but what it means it would be difficult to explain.

The command descendeth, &c. "Penetrating and pervading them all with absolute efficacy."—*Sale*.

CHAPTER LXVI.

ENTITLED SURAT AL TAHRÍM (PROHIBITION).

Revealed at Madína.

INTRODUCTION.

THE title of this chapter is taken from the statement of the first verse. According to Sale, who writes on the authority of Baidháwi, Jaláluddín, and Yahya, the occasion of this chapter was as follows : "Muhammad having lain with a slave of his, named Mary, of Coptic extract (who had been sent him as a present by al Muqauqas, governor of Egypt), on the day which was due to Ayesha or to Hafsa, and, as some say, on Hafsa's own bed, while she was absent ; and this coming to Hafsa's knowledge, she took it extremely ill, and reproached her husband so sharply, that, to pacify her, he promised, with an oath, never to touch the maid again ; and to free him from the obligation of this promise was the design of the chapter."

As, however, such a *contretemps* was looked upon as improper, another ludicrous story is related to explain vers. 1-5 of this chapter. It is alluded to by Sale thus : "There are some who suppose this passage to have been occasioned by Muhammad's protesting never to eat honey any more, because, having once eaten some in the apartment of Hafsa or of Zainab, three other of his wives, namely, Ayesha, Sauda, and Safía, all told him they smelt he had been eating of the juice which distils from certain shrubs in those parts, and resembles honey in taste and consistence, but is of a very strong savour, and which the Prophet had a great aversion to."

This story, Noëldke thinks, was probably invented by Ayesha, as she was chiefly concerned in this quarrel. Scarcely any portion of the Qurán has been attacked so violently by Christians, or defended so strenuously by Muslims and their apologists as this chapter. In it the character of Muhammad appears in anything but a favourable light. From the Christian standpoint, he appears to have been guilty of breaking a solemn vow, and that in order to gratify unholy

passion. This done, he justifies himself by pretending to have the sanction of God for the act. In this light it is difficult to see how he is to be cleared of the charge of imposture. We see here the low and selfish ends which these revelations of the Qurán were now made to subserve. The only parallel to it, and that perhaps an imitation of it, is the pretended revelation by which Smith, the Mormon prophet, sought to justify his adultery.

It appears to me that vers. 6-9, which manifestly relate to other circumstances, and which break the continuity of sentiment between vers. 1-5 and 10-12, were inserted here by mistake, probably by the compilers.

Probable Date of the Revelations.

According to Noëldeke, the first and last portions of this chapter, *i.e.*, vers. 1-5 and 10-12, belong to the year A.H. 7. The remaining verses belong to a later period, when Muhammad was in a position to deal harshly with the infidels and hypocrites.

Principal Subjects.

	VERSE
Muhammad reproved for making a vow to please his wives	1
He is relieved from his vow	2
Muhammad's wives reproved and threatened for their jealousy in the affair of Mary, the Coptic slave . .	3-5
Exhortation to believers to exercise faith, repentance, &c. .	6-8
Muhammad commanded to treat infidels and hypocrites with severity	9
The wives of Noah; Lot, Pharaoh, and the daughter of Imrán examples to Muslim women	10-12

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

|| (1) O Prophet, why holdest thou that to be prohibited R $\frac{1}{10}$ which God hath allowed thee, seeking to please thy wives ;

(1) *O Prophet, why holdest thou, &c.* On this verse Sale has the following: "I cannot here avoid observing, as a learned writer has done before me, that Dr. Prideaux has strangely misrepresented this passage. For having given the story of the Prophet's amour with his maid Mary a little embellished, he proceeds to tell us that in this chapter Muhammad brings in God allowing him, and all his Muslims, to lie with their maids when they will, notwithstanding their wives (whereas the words relate to the Prophet only, who wanted not any new permission for that purpose, because it was a

since GOD is inclined to forgive, *and* merciful? (2) GOD hath allowed you the dissolution of your oaths; and GOD

privilege already granted him [chap. xxxiii.] though to none else); and then, to show what ground he had for his assertion, adds, that the first words of the chapter are, 'O Prophet, why dost thou forbid what God hath allowed thee, that thou mayest please thy wives? God hath granted unto you to lie with your maid-servants.' Which last words are not to be found here, or elsewhere in the Qurán, and contain an allowance of what is expressly forbidden therein (Sale's note on chap. iv. 3), though the Doctor has thence taken occasion to make some reflections which might as well have been spared. I shall say nothing to aggravate the matter, but leave the reader to imagine what this reverend divine would have said of a Muhammadan if he had caught him tripping in the like manner. (But see notes on chaps. iv. 3, 24.—E. M. W.)

"Having digressed so far, I will adventure to add a word or two, in order to account for one circumstance which Dr. Prideaux relates concerning Muhammad's concubine Mary, viz., that after her master's death no account was had of her or the son which she had borne him, but both were sent away into Egypt, and no mention made of either ever after among them; and then he supposes (for he seldom is at a loss for a supposition) that Ayesha, out of the hatred which she bore her, procured of her father, who succeeded the impostor in the government, to have her thus disposed of. But it being certain, by the general consent of all the Eastern writers, that Mary continued in Arabia till her death, which happened at Madína about five years after that of her master, and was buried in the usual burying-place there, called al Baki, and that her son died before his father, it has been asked whence the Doctor had this? I answer, That I guess he had it partly from Abulfaragius, according to the printed edition of whose work the Mary we are speaking of is said to have been sent with her sister Shírin (not with her son) to Alexandria by al Muqauqas: though I make no doubt but we ought in that passage to read *min, from*, instead of *ila, to* (notwithstanding the manuscript copies of this author used by Dr. Pocock, the editor, and also a very fair one in my own possession, agree in the latter reading); and that the sentence ought to run thus: *quam* (viz. Mariam) *und cum sorore Shírina ab Alexandria miserat al Muqauqas.*" See Prelim. Disc., p. 206, note, Muir's reply to Sale's assertion that cohabitation with slave girls was not permitted. See the whole story of Mary, the Coptic maid, related in Muir's *Life of Mahomet*, vol. iv. pp. 157-167.

(2) *God hath allowed, &c.* "By having appointed an expiation for that purpose; or, as the words may be translated, 'God hath allowed you to use an exception to your oaths if it please God;' in which case a man is excused from guilt if he perform not his oath. The passage, though directed to all the Muslims in general, seems to be particularly designed for quieting the Prophet's conscience in regard to the oath above mentioned; but Al Baidháwí approves not this opinion,

is your master; and he is knowing *and* wise. (3) When the Prophet intrusted as a secret unto one of his wives a certain accident; and when she disclosed the same, and GOD made it known unto him; he acquainted *her* with part of *what she had done*, and forbore to *upbraid her with the other part* thereof. And when he had acquainted her therewith, she said, Who hath discovered this unto thee? He answered, The knowing, the sagacious *God* hath discovered *it* unto me. (4) If ye both be turned unto GOD (for your hearts have swerved), *it is well*: but if ye join against him, verily GOD is his patron; and Gabriel, and the good men among the faithful, and the angels also *are his* assistants. (5) If he divorce you, his LORD can easily give him in exchange other wives better than you, *women* resigned *unto God*, true believers, devout, penitent, obedient, given to fasting, *both such as have been* known by other men, and virgins. (6) O true believers, save your souls, and *those of* your families, from the fire whose fuel

because such an oath was to be looked upon as an inconsiderate one, and required no expiation."—*Sale*.

See also note on chap. v. 91.

(3) "When Muhammad found that Hafsa knew of his having injured her, or Ayesha, by lying with his concubine Mary on the day due to one of them, he desired her to keep the affair secret, promising, at the same time, that he would not meddle with Mary any more; and foretold her, as a piece of news which might soothe her vanity, that Abu Baqr and Omar should succeed him in the government of his people. Hafsa, however, could not conceal this from Ayesha, with whom she lived in strict friendship, but acquainted her with the whole matter: whereupon the Prophet, perceiving, probably by Ayesha's behaviour, that his secret had been discovered, upbraided Hafsa with her betraying him, telling her that God had revealed it to him; and not only divorced her, but separated him from all his other wives for a whole month, which time he spent in the apartment of Mary. In a short time, notwithstanding, he took Hafsa again, by the direction, as he gave out, of the Angel Gabriel, who commended her for her frequent fasting and other exercises of devotion, assuring him likewise that she should be one of his wives in Paradise."—*Sale, Baidhāwī, Zamakhshari*.

(4) "This sentence is directed to Hafsa and Ayesha, the pronouns and verbs of the second person being in the dual number."—*Sale*.

(6) *Angels fierce and terrible*. See chap. lxxiv. 30, and Prelim. Disc., p. 148.

is men and stones, over which are set angels fierce and terrible; who disobey not GOD in what he hath commanded them, but perform what they are commanded. (7) O unbelievers, excuse not yourselves this day; ye shall surely be rewarded for what ye have done.

R $\frac{2}{20}$

|| (8) O true believers, turn unto GOD with a sincere repentance: peradventure your LORD will do away from you your evil deeds, and will admit you into gardens through which rivers flow; on the day *whereon* GOD will not put to shame the Prophet, or those who believe with him: their light shall run before them, and on their right hands, and they shall say, LORD, make our light perfect, and forgive us: for thou art almighty. (9) O Prophet, attack the infidels *with arms*, and the hypocrites *with arguments*; and treat them with severity: their abode shall be hell, and an ill journey *shall it be thither*. (10) GOD propoundeth as a similitude unto the unbelievers the wife of Noah and the wife of Lot: they were under two of our righteous servants, and they deceived them both: wherefore *their husbands* were of no advantage unto them at all in the sight of GOD: and it shall be said *unto*

(7) "These words will be spoken to the infidels at the last day."—*Sale*.

(8) *Their light shall run*. See note on chap. lvii. 11.

(10) *The wife of Noah and . . . of Lot*. "Who were both unbelieving women, but deceived their respective husbands by their hypocrisy. Noah's wife, named Wáila, endeavoured to persuade the people her husband was distracted; and Lot's wife, whose name was Wáhila (though some writers give this name to the other, and that of Wáila to the latter), was in confederacy with the men of Sodom, and used to give them notice when any strangers came to lodge with him, by a sign of smoke by day and of fire by night."—*Sale, Jalál-uddín*.

Of no advantage, &c. "For they both met with a disastrous end in this world, and will be doomed to eternal misery in the next. In like manner, as Muhammad would insinuate, the infidels of his time had no reason to expect any mitigation of their punishment on account of their relation to himself and the rest of the true believers."—*Sale*.

The *insinuation* is evidently intended specially for his two wives, Ayesha and Hafsa.

them at the last day, Enter ye into *hell-fire*, with those who enter *therein*. (11) GOD also propoundeth as a similitude unto those who believe the wife of Pharaoh, when she said, LORD, build me a house with thee in Paradise, and deliver me from Pharaoh and his doings, and deliver me from the unjust people : (12) and Mary the daughter of Imrán, who preserved her chastity, and into whose womb we breathed of our spirit, and who believed in the words of her LORD and his Scriptures, and was a devout and obedient person.

(11) *The wife of Pharaoh*, viz., "Asiah, the daughter of Muzáhim. The commentators relate, that because she believed in Moses, her husband cruelly tormented her, fastening her hands and feet to four stakes, and laying a large mill-stone on her breast, her face, at the same time, being exposed to the scorching beams of the sun. These pains, however, were alleviated by the angels shading her with their wings, and the view of the mansion prepared for her in Paradise, which was exhibited to her on her pronouncing the prayer in the text. At length God received her soul ; or, as some say, she was taken up alive into Paradise, where she eats and drinks."—*Salé, Jalál-uddin*.

Rodwell thinks the name Asiah is probably a corruption from that of Pharaoh's daughter, *Bithiah*, 1 Chron. iv. 18.

(12) *Mary*. See notes in chaps. iii. 35, xix. 29, and xxi. 91.

A devout and obedient person. "On occasion of the honourable mention here made of these two extraordinary women, the commentators introduce a saying of their Prophet, 'That among men there had been many perfect, but no more than four of the other sex had attained perfection, to wit, Asiah, the wife of Pharaoh, Mary, the daughter of Imrán, Khadíjah, the daughter of Khuwailid (the Prophet's first wife), and Fátima, the daughter of Muhammad.'"—*Salé*.

CHAPTER LXVII.

ENTITLED SURAT AL MULK (THE KINGDOM).

Revealed at Makkah.

INTRODUCTION.

THIS chapter receives its title from the mention of the "kingdom" of God in the first verse. "It is also entitled by some," says Sale, "*The Saving* or *The Delivering*, because, say they, it will save him who reads it from the torture of the sepulchre." The contents of the chapter differ little from those of other Makkan Suras. The object of these revelations was to warn the people of the sin of rejecting the doctrine of the Qurán, especially the doctrine of the resurrection and future judgment.

Probable Date of the Revelations.

This chapter is regarded by nearly all authorities as belonging wholly to Makkah. Noéldeke mentions one tradition which declares it to be Madinic, but gives no sufficient reason for that opinion. As to the date, all authorities agree in fixing the date about B.H. 8.

Principal Subjects.

	VERSES
Praise to the Almighty, the Creator and Ruler of all things	1-3
The perfection of the works of God, seen in the heavens, glorify him	3-5
The heavens adorned with shooting stars	5
Torments of hell prepared for unbelievers	6-8
Infidels shall confess in hell their folly in calling Muham- mad an impostor	8-11
The righteous shall receive great reward	12
God knoweth all things	13, 14
God shall destroy unbelievers	15-18

	VERSES
Unbelievers ungrateful to the God who sustains them in life	19-24
The Prophet challenged to hasten the judgment-day, but they shall dread its approach	25-28
The Merciful the only protector on that day	29, 30

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

|| (1) Blessed be he in whose hands *is* the kingdom, for he *is* almighty! (2) Who hath created death and life, that he might prove you, which of you is most righteous in *his* actions: and he *is* mighty, *and* ready to forgive. (3) Who hath created seven heavens, one above another: thou canst not see in a creature of the most Merciful any unfitness or disproportion. (4) Lift up thine eyes again *to heaven, and look* whether thou seest any flaw; then take two other views, and thy sight shall return unto thee dull and fatigued. (5) Moreover, we have adorned the lowest heaven with lamps, and have appointed them to be darted at the devils, for whom we have prepared the torment of burning fire: (6) and for those who believe not in their LORD *is also prepared* the torment of hell; an ill journey *shall it be thither*. (7) When they shall be thrown thereinto, they shall hear it bray like an ass; and it shall boil, (8) and almost burst for fury. So often as a company of *them* shall be thrown therein, the keepers thereof shall ask them, *saying*, Did not a warner come unto you? (9) They shall answer, Yea, a warner came unto us; but we accused *him* of imposture, and said, GOD hath not revealed anything; ye *are* in no other than a great error: (10) and they shall say, If we had hearkened or had rightly considered, we should not have been among the inhabitants of burning fire: (11) and they shall confess their sins; but far be the inhabitants of burning fire *from obtaining*

(3) *Seven heavens.* See note on chap. ii. 29.

(5) *Lamps . . . to be darted at the devils.* See note on chap. xv. 17.

(7) *Bray like an ass.* See note on chap. xxxi. 18.

mercy! (12) Verily they who fear their LORD in secret shall receive pardon and a great reward. (13) Either conceal your discourse or make it public; he knoweth the innermost parts of *your* breasts; (14) shall not he know *all things* who hath created *them*, since he *is* the sagacious, the knowing?

R $\frac{2}{2}$. || (15) *It is he* who hath levelled the earth for you: therefore walk through the regions thereof, and eat of his provision; unto him *shall be* the resurrection. (16) Are ye secure that he who *dwelleth* in heaven will not cause the earth to swallow you up? and behold, it shall shake. (17) Or are you secure that he who *dwelleth* in heaven will not send against you an *impetuous whirlwind*, driving the sands *to overwhelm you*? then shall ye know how *important* my warning *was*. (18) Those also who *were* before you disbelieved; and how *grievous* was my displeasure! (19) Do they not behold the birds above them, extending and drawing back their wings! None sustaineth them except the Merciful; for he regardeth all things. (20) Or who *is* he that *will be* as an army unto you, to defend you against the Merciful? Verily the unbelievers *are* in no other than a mistake. (21) Or who *is* he that will give you food, if he withholdeth his provision? yet they persist in perverseness and flying *from the truth*. (22) Is he, therefore, who goeth grovelling upon his face better directed than he who walketh upright in a straight way? (23) Say, *It is* he who hath given you being, and endued you with hearing, and sight, and understanding; *yet* how little gratitude have ye! (24) Say, *It is* he who hath sown you in the earth, and unto him shall ye be gathered together. (25) They say, When *shall* this menace *be put in execution*, if ye speak truth? (26) Answer, The knowledge *of this matter* *is* with God alone; for I *am* only a public warner. (27)

(22) "This comparison is applied by the expositors to the infidel and the true believer."—*Salé*.

(23) *How little gratitude*. In that ye turn from him to worship dumb idols.

(26) *Only a public warner*. See note on chap. ii. 119.

But when they shall see the same nigh at hand, the countenance of the infidels shall grow sad: and it shall be said *unto them*, This is what ye have been demanding. (28) Say, What think ye? Whether God destroy me and those *who are* with me, or have mercy on us, who will protect the unbelievers from a painful punishment? (29) Say, He is the Merciful; in him do we believe, and in him do we put our trust. Ye shall hereafter know who is in a manifest error? (30) Say, What think ye? If your water be in the morning swallowed up by the earth, who will give you clear and running water?

CHAPTER LXVIII.

ENTITLED SURAT AL QALAM (THE PEN).

Revealed at Makkah.

INTRODUCTION.

THIS chapter is also entitled Nún (N), from the letter in the beginning of the first verse, wherein the ordinary title is also found. In its revelation we have indicated a period of strong opposition between Muhammad and his townsmen. The Prophet had been called a madman and an impostor. Slander and defamation had been resorted to even by some of the chief men of Makkah. In reply to the warnings of the seer, they had challenged him to hasten on his judgments.

These charges had not failed to rouse the resentment of Muhammad. He did not now hesitate to call the chief of his opponents "a common swearer," "a transgressor, a wicked person, cruel, and, besides this, of spurious birth." He even threatens him with a mark on a prominent part of his face !

The preacher of Makkah had been rejected, and his unbelieving hearers were ready to treat him with violence (ver. 51).

Probable Date of the Revelations.

This chapter is regarded by ancient Muslim writers as the oldest, or at least the second revelation of the Qurán. There is, however, little to give credence to their dictum. On the contrary, there is good reason to believe that this chapter does not even belong to the very early period of Muhammad's ministry assigned it by Noëldeke and Rodwell. The attitude of the Quraish (vers. 8 and 51), especially of the notable person mentioned in vers. 10-16, is not that of the earliest period of Muhammad's prophetic history. The same is true of the attitude of the preacher towards his townsmen, apparent in vers. 16 and 48. At the same time, the absence of any notice of

violence towards Muslims (which notice would assuredly have been recorded in a chapter specifying the crimes of the unbelievers), proves Muir's date (fourth stage) to be too late. We would fix the date about the fourth year of Muhammad's ministry.

Principal Subjects.

	VERSES
Muhammad not a madman nor an impostor	1-8
Invective against a prominent enemy of Islām	9-16
The example of certain gardeners a warning to the Mak-	
kans	17-34
Unbelievers warned of coming judgment	35-47
Muhammad exhorted not to be impatient, like Jonah . .	48-50
Extreme hatred of the Quraish towards Muhammad and the	
Qurán exposed	51, 52

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

|| (1) N. By the pen, and what they write, (2) thou, R $\frac{1}{3}$.
O Muhammad, through the grace of thy LORD, *art* not
distracted. (3) Verily *there is prepared* for thee an ever-
lasting reward: (4) for thou *art* of a noble disposition. (5)

(1) N. "This letter is sometimes made the title of the chapter, but its meaning is confessedly uncertain. They who suppose it stands for the word Nūn are not agreed as to its signification in this place; for it is not only the name of the letter N in Arabic, but signifies also 'an inkhorn' and 'a fish.' Some are of opinion the former signification is the most proper here, as consonant to what is immediately mentioned of 'the pen' and 'writing;' and, considering that the blood of certain 'fish' is good ink, not inconsistent with the latter signification; which is, however, preferred by others, saying that either the whole species of 'fish' in general is thereby intended, or the fish which swallowed Jonas (who is mentioned in this chapter), or else that vast one called Behemoth, fancied to support the earth, in particular. Those who acquiesce in none of the foregoing explications have invented others of their own, and imagine this character stands for the 'table of God's decrees' or 'one of the rivers in Paradise,' &c."—Sale, Zamakshari, Baidhāwī, Yahya.

What we write. "Some understand these words generally, and others of the pen with which God's decrees are written on the preserved table, and of the angels who register the same."—Sale.

(4) *A noble disposition.* "In that thou hast borne with so much patience and resignation the wrongs and insults of thy people,

Thou shalt see, and *the infidels* shall see, (6) which of you *are* bereaved of your senses. (7) Verily thy LORD well knoweth him who wandereth from his path ; and he well knoweth those who are *rightly* directed ; (8) wherefore obey not those who charge *thee* with imposture. (9) They desire that thou shouldst be easy *with them*, and they will be easy *with thee*. (10) But obey not any *who is* a common swearer, a despicable *fellow*, (11) a defamer, going about with slander, (12) who forbiddeth that which is good, *who is also* a transgressor, (13) a wicked person, cruel, and besides this, of spurious birth ; (14) although he be possessed of wealth and *many* children ; (15) when our signs are rehearsed unto him, he saith, *They are* fables of the ancients. (16) We will stigmatise him on the nose. (17) Verily we have tried *the Makkans*, as we *formerly* tried the owners of the garden, when they swore that

which have been greater than those offered to any apostle before thee.”—Sale, *Baidhāwī*.

(8) See notes on chap. xxii. 53.

(9) “That is, if thou wilt let them alone in their idolatry and other wicked practices, they will cease to revile and persecute thee.”—Sale.

(10-13) “The person at whom this passage was particularly levelled is generally supposed to have been Muhammad’s inveterate enemy, al Walid Ibn al Mughaira, whom, to complete his character, he calls ‘bastard,’ because al Mughaira did not own him for his son till he was eighteen years of age. Some, however, think it was al Aḫnas Ibn Shuraik, who was really of the tribe of Thakīf, though reputed to be that of Zahra.”—Sale, *Jalāluddīn*.

(15) *Fables, &c.* See note on chap. xxi. 5.

(16) *The nose.* “Which, being the most conspicuous part of the face, a mark set thereon is attended with the utmost ignominy. It is said that this prophetic menace was actually made good, al Walid having his nose slit by a sword at the battle of Badr, the mark of which wound he carried with him to his grave.”—Sale, *Jalāluddīn*.

(17) *We have tried the Makkans.* “By afflicting them with a grievous famine.”—Sale. See chap. xxiii. 65.

As we formerly tried the owners of the garden. “This garden was a plantation of palm-trees, about two parasangs from Sanaa, belonging to a certain charitable man, who, when he gathered his dates, used to give public notice to the poor, and to leave them such of the fruit as the knife missed, or was blown by the wind, or fell beside the cloth spread under the tree to receive it. After death, his sons, who

they would gather the fruit thereof in the morning, (18) and added not the exception, *if it please God*: (19) wherefore a surrounding *destruction* from thy LORD encompassed it while they slept; (20) and in the morning it became like *a garden* whose fruits had been gathered. (21) And they called *the one to the other* as they rose in the morning, (22) *saying*, Go out early to your plantation, if ye intend to gather the fruit thereof: (23) so they went on, whispering to one another, (24) No poor man shall enter *the garden* upon you this day. (25) And they went forth early, with a determined purpose. (26) And when they saw *the garden blasted and destroyed* they said, We have certainly mistaken our way: (27) *but when they found it to be their own garden they cried*, Verily we are not permitted to *reap the fruit thereof*. (28) The worthier of them said, Did I not say unto you, Will ye not give praise unto GOD? (29) They answered, Praise be unto our LORD! Verily we have been unjust doers. (30) And they began to blame one another, (31) *and they said*, Woe be unto us! verily we have been transgressors: (32) peradventure our LORD will give us in exchange a better *garden* than this: and we earnestly beseech our LORD to *pardon us*. (33) *Thus is the chastisement of this life*: but the chastisement of the next *shall be* more griev-

were then become masters of the garden, apprehending they should come to want if they followed their father's example, agreed to gather the fruit early in the morning, when the poor could have no notice of the matter; but, when they came to execute their purpose, they found, to their great grief and surprise, that their plantation had been destroyed in the night."—Sale, Baidhāwī, Jalāhuddīn.

This story is simply an enlargement of the statement in the text.

Gather the fruit. "Literally, 'that they would cut it;' the manner of gathering dates being to cut the clusters off with a knife. Marracci supposes that they intended to 'cut down' the trees and destroy the plantation; which, as he observes, renders the story ridiculous and absurd."—Sale.

(27) *We are not permitted.* See note on chap. lvi. 66.

(30) *Began to blame.* "For one advised this expedition, another approved of it, a third gave consent by his silence, but the fourth was absolutely against it."—Sale, Baidhāwī.

ous : if they had known *it, they would have taken heed.* (34) Verily for the pious *are prepared*, with their LORD, gardens of delight.

R $\frac{2}{4}$ || (35) Shall we deal with the Muslims as with the wicked? (36) What aileth you that ye judge thus? (37) Have ye a book *from heaven* wherein ye read (38) that ye are therein promised that which ye shall choose? (39) Or have ye *received* oaths which shall be binding upon us to the day of resurrection, that ye shall enjoy what ye imagine? (40) Ask them which of them *will be* the voucher of this. (41) Or have they companions *who will vouch for them?* Let them produce their companions, therefore, if they speak truth. (42) On a *certain* day the leg shall be made bare, and they shall be called upon to worship, but they shall not be able. (43) Their looks *shall be* cast down: ignominy shall attend them; for that they were invited to the worship of God while they were in safety, *but would not hear.* (44) Let me alone, therefore, with him who accuseth this new revelation of imposture. We will lead them gradually *to destruction*, by

(35) "This passage was revealed in answer to the infidels, who said, 'If we shall be raised again, as Muhammed and his followers imagine, they will not excel us; but we shall certainly be in a better condition than they in the next world, as we are in this.'"—Sale, *Baidhāwī*.

(41) *Companions.* "Or, as some interpret the word, 'idols;' which can make their condition in the next life equal to that of the Muslims."—Sale.

The "companions" alluded to were their false gods, represented by their idols. See note on chap. x. 29.

(42) *The leg shall be made bare.* "This expression is used to signify a grievous and terrible calamity; thus they say, 'War has made bare the leg,' when they would express the fury and rage of battle."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*.

See a similar expression Isaiah xlvii. 2.

Shall not be able. "Because the time of acceptance shall be past. Al Baidhāwī is uncertain whether the words respect the day of judgment or the article of death; but Jalāluddīn supposes them to relate to the former, and adds that the infidels shall not be able to perform the act of adoration, because their backs shall become stiff and inflexible."—Sale.

(44) *We will lead them gradually, &c., i.e.,* "by granting them long

ways which they know not, (45) and I will bear with them for a long time ; for my stratagem *is* effectual. (46) Dost thou ask them any reward *for thy preaching* ? But they are laden with debts. (47) *Are* the secrets of futurity with them ; and do they transcribe the same *from the table of God's decrees* ? (48) Wherefore, patiently wait the judgment of thy LORD : and be not like him who was swallowed by the fish, when he cried *unto God*, being inwardly vexed. (49) Had not grace from his LORD reached him, he had surely been cast forth on the naked shore, covered with shame : (50) but his LORD chose him, and made him *one* of the righteous. (51) It wanteth little but that the unbelievers strike thee down with their *malicious* looks, when they hear the admonition *of the Qurán* ; and they say, He *is* certainly distracted : (52) but it is no other than an admonition unto all creatures.

life and prosperity in this world, which will deceive them to their ruin."—*Sale*.

(47) See chap. lii. 38-41.

(48) *Him who was swallowed by the fish.* Jonah. See note on chap. xxi. 87.

(54) See chap. xxv. 8, 9.

CHAPTER LXIX.

ENTITLED SURAT AL HÁQQAT (THE INFALLIBLE).

Revealed at Makkah.

INTRODUCTION.

THE title of this chapter, understood as referring to the infallible truth of the doctrine of a future judgment, though probably taken at random from the first verse, as in the case of so many other titles, nevertheless expresses the purport of the contents very well. The strong asseveration of the Prophet to the truth of his claims found in the last verses of the chapter must be understood as intended to emphasise the inevitable advent of the dread day. The necessity for such strong language, however, predicates strong opposition to the Prophet and his message on the part of his hearers. Aside from this, there is nothing worthy of special note to distinguish this from other Makkan revelations.

Probable Date of the Revelations.

In his chronological list, Noéldeke places this chapter immediately before chap. li., *i.e.*, about the sixth year of the Call. Muir places it somewhat later.

Principal Subjects.

	VERSES
The judgment of God will infallibly come	1-3
Ád, Thamúd, and Pharaoh destroyed for rejecting their prophets	4-10
As the flood came, so shall the judgment certainly come . .	11-16
On the judgment-day God's throne shall be borne by eight mighty angels	17
The good and bad shall receive their account-books and be judged according to their deeds	18-29

VERSES

Infidels shall be bound with chains seventy cubits in length	
and be cast into hell-fire	30-37
With terrible oaths Muhammad asserts the truth of his	
prophetic claims	38-39

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

|| (1) The infallible! (2) What is the infallible? (3) ^{RUBA.} **R** ¹/₈ And what shall cause thee to understand what the infallible is? (4) *The tribes of Thamúd and Ád denied as a falsehood the day which shall strike men's hearts with terror.* (5) But Thamúd were destroyed by a terrible noise, (6) and Ád were destroyed by a roaring and furious wind, (7) which God caused to assail them for seven nights and eight days successively: thou mightest have seen people during the same lying prostrate, as though they *had been* the roots of hollow palm-trees; (8) and couldest thou have seen any of them remaining? (9) Pharaoh also, and those who *were* before him, and the cities which were overthrown, were guilty of sin: (10) and they *severally* were disobedient to the apostle of their LORD; wherefore he chastised them with an abundant chastisement. (11) When the water of the deluge arose, we carried you in the ark which swam thereon; (12) that we might make the same a memorial unto you, and the retaining ear might retain it. (13) And when one blast

(1) *The infallible.* "The original word, *al háqqat*, is one of the names or epithets of the day of judgment. As the root from which it is derived signifies not only *to be* or *come to pass of necessity*, but also *to verify*, some rather think that day to be so called because it will verify and *show the truth* of what men doubt of in this life, viz., the resurrection of the dead, their being brought to account, and the consequent rewards and punishments."—Sale, *Baidháwi*.

(4) *The day which shall strike.* "Arabic, *al qáriat*, or the striking, which is another name or epithet of the last day."—Sale.

(7) *Hollow palm-trees.* Compare chap. lii. 31, 32. See also notes on chap. xi. 50-68.

(9) *Cities, &c.* See note on chap. xi. 81, 82.

(13) *One blast.* See Prelim. Disc., p. 135.

shall sound the trumpet, (14) and the earth shall be moved *from its place*, and the mountains also, and shall be dashed in pieces at one stroke: (15) on that day the inevitable *hour of judgment* shall suddenly come; (16) and the heavens shall cleave in sunder, and shall fall in pieces, on that day: (17) and the angels *shall be* on the sides thereof; and eight shall bear the throne of thy LORD above them, on that day. (18) On that day ye shall be presented *before the judgment-seat of God*; and none of your secret *actions shall be* hidden. (19) And he who shall have his book delivered into his right hand shall say, Take ye, read this my book; (20) verily I thought that I should be brought to this my account: (21) he *shall lead* a pleasing life (22) in a lofty garden, (23) the fruits whereof shall be near *to gather*. (24) Eat and drink with easy digestion; because of the *good works* which ye sent before you, in the days which are past. (25) But he who shall have his book delivered into his left hand shall say, O that I had not received this book; (26) and that I had not known what this my account *was*! (27) O that *death* had made an end of *me*! (28) My riches have not profited me; (29) *and* my power is passed from me. (30) *And God shall say to the keepers of hell*, Take him and bind him, (31) and cast him into hell to be burned: (32) then put him into a chain of the length of seventy cubits: (33) because he believed not in the great GOD, (34) and was not solicitous to feed the poor: (35) wherefore this day he shall have no friend

(17) *The angels, &c.* "These words seem to intimate the death of the angels at the demolition of their habitation, beside the ruins whereof they shall lie like dead bodies."—*Sale*.

Eight shall bear, &c. "The number of those who bear it at present being generally supposed to be but four, to whom four more will be added at the last day for the grandeur of the occasion."—*Sale, Baidhāvi*.

(19–25) See Prelim. Disc., pp. 142, 144.

(32) *Seventy cubits.* "Wrap him round with it, so that he may not be able to stir."—*Sale*.

here; (36) nor *any* food, but the filthy corruption *flowing from the bodies of the damned*, (37) which none shall eat but the sinners.

|| (38) I swear by that which ye see, (39) and that R $\frac{2}{6}$ which ye see not, (40) that this *is* the discourse of an honourable apostle, (41) and not the discourse of a poet: how little do ye believe! (42) Neither *is it* the discourse of a soothsayer: how little are ye admonished! (43) *It is* a revelation from the LORD of all creatures. (44) If *Muhammad* had forged any part of *these* discourses concerning us, (45) verily we had taken him by the right hand, (46) and had cut in sunder the vein of his heart; (47) neither would we have withheld any of you from *chastising* him. (48) And verily this *book is* an admonition unto the pious; (49) and we well know that there are *some* of you who charge *the same* with imposture: (50) but it *shall* surely be an occasion of grievous sighing unto the infidels; (51) for it *is* the truth of a certainty. (52) Wherefore praise the name of thy LORD, the great *God*.

(38) *I swear.* Or, *I will not swear.* See note on chap. lvi. 74.

(41) *A poet.* Muhammad was so anxious to combat the idea that he was merely a mad poet (chaps. xxi. 5 and xxxvii. 5), that he here brings in the oath of Divinity itself to prove that he is not. This desire no doubt accounts in a measure for the more prosaic style of the later chapters of the Qurán.

(42-52) This passage contains, perhaps, the strongest as well as most impassioned assertions of the Prophet's belief in his own inspiration to be found in the Qurán. Yet the very earnestness and temper in which Muhammad makes this assertion is in strong contrast with the calm dignity of the true prophet. Let it be remembered that the speaker here, as elsewhere in the idiom of the Qurán, is God. The real speaker, however, is Muhammad. One would think that if miracles were ever needed to attest the claims of a prophet, they were needed in this case. But of these there were none.

CHAPTER LXX.

ENTITLED SURAT AL MAÁRIJ (THE STEPS).

Revealed at Makkah.

INTRODUCTION.

THE title of this chapter is taken from ver. 3. The occasion of its composition is mentioned in the first verse. One of the unbelievers at Makkah, whether one of those mentioned by Sale in his note on ver. 1, or some other representative of the infidel Quraish, mockingly asked Muhammad to attest the proof of his prophetic claims by bringing upon them the punishment of the judgment-day. In reply, we have a discourse at once suited to warn the unbelievers and to comfort the Prophet.

In this chapter we have probably the earliest rule of Muslim practice, vers. 22-34. A portion of this, however, vers. 29-34, seems to have been added at a later date, because the law regulating the marriage of Muslims, and especially their practice regarding "the slaves which their right hands possess," is referred to here with too much definiteness to comport with a Makkan revelation. Besides this, the statement in ver. 34 is a mere repetition of that of ver. 23, which is best accounted for by supposing these passages to have been originally separate, but brought together here by the compilers.

The attitude of Muhammad towards his townsmen here is that of despair for their conversion. He now calmly awaits the visitation of divine justice against their unbelief.

Probable Date of the Revelations.

Noëldeke places this chapter immediately after chaps. lvi. and liii., probably because of the allusion of the first verse of this chapter to the beginning of chap. lvi. Muir places it in about the same period of time. This would fix the date at about the fifth year of the call of Muhammad to preach. I would, however, except vers. 29-34, which I would assign to a period as late as A.H. 5.

Principal Subjects.

VERSES

A man demanded that the day of judgment might come at once	I
The day, whose space is fifty thousand years, will surely come Muhammad to bear the insults of the infidels patiently, because judgment is near	2-4
Riches, children, and friends will not save the wicked from hell	5-14
The wicked are niggardly in health, but full of complaint when evil befalleth	12-18
The character of true believers described	19-24
Unbelievers need entertain no hope they shall escape destruction	25-35
Muhammad counselled to permit the unbelieving Makkans to sport themselves, because their damnation is nigh	36-41
	42-45

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

|| (1) One demanded and called for vengeance to fall R $\frac{1}{7}$
on the unbelievers: (2) there shall be none to avert the
same (3) from *being inflicted by* GOD, the possessor of the
steps (4) *by which* the angels ascend unto him, and the
spirit *Gabriel also*, in a day whose space is fifty thousand
years: (5) wherefore bear *the insults of the Makkans* with
becoming patience: (6) for they see *their punishment* afar

(1) *One demanded . . . vengeance.* "The person here meant is generally supposed to have been al Nudár Ibn al Hárith, who said, 'O God, if what Muhammad preaches be the truth from thee, rain down upon us a shower of stones, or send some dreadful judgment to punish us.' Others, however, think it was Abú Jahl, who challenged Muhammad to cause a fragment of heaven to fall on them."—*Sale, Baidháwi.*

(3) *The steps.* "By which prayers and righteous actions ascend to heaven, or by which the angels ascend to receive the divine commands, or the believers will ascend to Paradise. Some understand thereby the different orders of angels, or the heavens, which rise gradually one above another."—*Sale.*

(4) *Fifty thousand years.* See note on chap. xxxii. 4.

"This is supposed to be the space which would be required for their ascent from the lowest part of creation to the throne of God, if it were to be measured, or the time which it would take a man to perform that journey; and this is not contradictory to what is

off, (7) but we see it nigh at hand. (8) On a certain day the heaven shall become like molten *brass*, (9) and the mountains like wool of various colours *scattered abroad by the wind*: (10) and a friend shall not ask a friend *concerning his condition*, (11) *although* they see one another. The wicked shall wish to redeem himself from the punishment of that day by *giving up* his children, (12) and his wife, and his brother, (13) and his kindred, who showed kindness unto him, (14) and all who *are* in the earth; and that *this* might deliver him: (15) by no means: for hell-fire, (16) dragging *them* by *their* scalps, (17) shall call him who shall have turned his back, and fled *from the faith*, (18) and shall have amassed *riches*, and covetously hoarded *them*. (19) Verily man is created extremely impatient: (20) when evil toucheth him, *he is* full of complaint; (21) but when good befalleth him, *he becometh* niggardly: (22) except those who are devoutly given, (23) and who persevere in their prayers; (24) and those of whose substance a due and certain portion (25) *is ready to be given* unto him who asketh, and him who is forbidden *by shame to ask*: (26) and those who sincerely believe the day of judgment, (27) and who dread the punishment of their LORD: (28) (for *there is* none secure from the punishment

said elsewhere (chap. xxxii. 4), (if it be to be interpreted of the ascent of the angels), that the length of the day whereon they ascend is one thousand years, because that is meant only of their ascent from earth to the lower heaven, including also the time of their descent.

“But the commentators generally take the day spoken of in both these passages to be the day of judgment, having recourse to several expedients to reconcile them, some of which we have mentioned in another place (Prelim. Disc., p. 137), and as both passages seem to contradict what the Muhammadan doctors teach, that God will judge all creatures in the space of half a day (Prelim. Disc., p. 144), they suppose those large number of years are designed to express the time of the previous attendance of those who are to be judged (Prelim. Disc., p. 141), or else to the space wherein God will judge the unbelieving nations, of which, they say, there will be fifty, the trial of each nation taking up one thousand years, though that of the true believers will be over in the short space above mentioned.”—Sale, *Zamakhshari*.

(19) See note on chap. xvii. 12.

of their LORD:) (29) and who abstain from the carnal knowledge of *women* (30) other than their wives, or the *slaves* which their right hands possess: (for *as to them* they shall be blameless; (31) but whoever coveteth *any woman* besides these, they *are* transgressors).

|| (32) And those who faithfully keep what they are intrusted with, and their covenant; (33) and who are upright in their testimonies, (34) and who carefully observe *the requisite rights* in their prayers: (35) these *shall dwell* amidst gardens, highly honoured. (36) What aileth the unbelievers, that they run before thee in companies, (37) on the right hand and on the left? (38) Doth every man of them wish to enter into a garden of delight? (39) By no means: verily we have created them of that which they know. (40) I swear by the LORD of the east and of the west, that we are able to *destroy them*, (41) *and to* substitute better than them *in their room*; neither *are* we to be prevented, *if we shall please so to do*. (42) Wherefore suffer them to wade in vain disputes, and to amuse themselves with sport, until they meet their day with which they have been threatened; (43) the day *whereon* they shall come forth hastily from *their* graves, as though they were *troops* hastening to *their* standard: (44) their looks *shall be* downcast; ignominy shall attend them. (45) This *is* the day with which they have been threatened.

(29-31) See notes on chap. iv. 3. This passage clearly teaches that a Muslim is not limited to the four lawful wives, but may have as many slave girls as he pleases besides.

(39) *Of that which they know*, viz., "of filthy seed, which bears no relation or resemblance to holy beings: wherefore it is necessary for him who would hope to be an inhabitant of Paradise to perfect himself in faith and spiritual virtues, to fit himself for that place."—*Sule, Baidhāwī*.

(40) *I swear*. "Or, *I will not swear, &c.*"—*Sale*. See chap. lvi. 74, note.

The east . . . the west. "The original words are in the plural number, and signify the different points of the horizon at which the sun rises and sets in the course of the year."—*Sale*.

See note on chap. xxxvii. 5.

(43) *Troops hastening, &c.* Comp. chap. xxxix. 71-73.

CHAPTER LXXI.

ENTITLED SURAT NÚH (NOAH).

Revealed at Makkah.

INTRODUCTION.

THIS chapter records the prophetic experience of Noah, and is therefore rightly named. The Noah of these revelations, however, is no other than the Muhammad of Makkah. The words ascribed to him are those constantly used by Muhammad. This Noah was a *warner*, so was Muhammad. His people rejected him, refused to leave the worship of their idols, Wadd, Suwa, Yaghúth, Yauk, and Nasr, and *plotted* against him. The Quraish rejected Muhammad, refused to leave Wadd, Suwa, Yaghúth, Yauk, and Nasr, and devised a dangerous *plot* against their prophet. We leave the reader to make his own inferences from the facts thus stated, referring him for further instances of a like character to chapter xi. Surely a counterfeit of prophecy like this must have been inspired by a spirit different from that which moved holy men of old.

Probable Date of the Revelations.

On the assumption that the circumstances of Noah detailed in this chapter were the circumstances of Muhammad at the time of writing it, we have to seek a date for it when (1) Muhammad was rejected by the Quraish as a body (vers. 5, 6, and 20), (2) when the Quraish had devised a dangerous plot against him (ver. 21), and (3) when they had taken steps to defend the national idols (vers. 22-24). We think such a combination of circumstances were present to Muhammad about the time when Abu Tálíb frustrated the evil designs of the Quraish who plotted to slay him. This would give us B.H. 7 as about the date of this chapter. Noëldeke places it early in his second period, which would be about the fifth year of the Call. This is hardly consistent with his conjecture that this chapter is a fragment of a longer Sura.

Principal Subjects.

	VERSES
Noah sent as a warner ; his message to his people . . .	I-4
Noah's people refuse to believe him, notwithstanding every effort	5-20
The people of Noah plot against him and are destroyed . .	21-26
Noah prays for the destruction of the infidels, and for the pardon of his parents and the true believers . . .	27-29

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

|| (1) Verily we sent Noah unto his people, *saying*, R $\frac{1}{9}$.
 Warn thy people before a grievous punishment overtake them. (2) *Noah* said, O my people, verily I *am* a public warner unto you; (3) wherefore serve GOD, and fear him, and obey me: (4) he will forgive you *part* of your sins; and will grant you respite until a determined time: for GOD's determined time, when it cometh, shall not be deferred; if ye were men of understanding, *ye would know this*. (5) He said, LORD, verily I have called my people night and day; but my calling only increaseth their aversion: (6) and whensoever I call them *to the true faith*, that thou mayest forgive them, they put their fingers in their ears, and cover themselves with their garments, and persist *in their infidelity*, and proudly disdain *my counsel*. (7) Moreover, I invited them openly, (8) and I spake to them again in public; and I also secretly admonished them in private; (9) and I said, Beg pardon of your LORD; for he is inclined to forgive: (10) and he will cause the heaven to pour down rain plentifully upon you, (11) and will give you increase of wealth and of children; and he

(1) *Noah*. See notes on the story of Noah recorded in chap. xi. 26-49. See how Noah is here said to use in his discourses the very words of Muhammad's discourses to the Quraish.

(4) *He will forgive part of your sins, i.e.*, "your past sins, which are done away by the profession of the true faith."—*Sale*.

(11) *Wealth and children*. "It is said that after Noah had for a long time preached to them in vain, God shut up the heaven for forty years, and rendered their women barren."—*Sale, Baidhāwī*.

will provide you gardens, and furnish you with rivers. (12) What aileth you, that ye hope not for benevolence in God, (13) since he hath created you variously? (14) Do ye not see how GOD hath created the seven heavens, one above another; (15) and hath placed the moon therein for a light, and hath appointed the sun for a taper? (16) GOD hath also produced and caused you to spring forth from the earth: (17) hereafter he will cause you to return into the same; and he will *again* take you *thence*, by bringing you forth from your graves.

R ²/₁₀. || (18) And GOD hath spread the earth as a carpet for you, (19) that ye may walk therein through spacious paths. (20) Noah said, LORD, verily they are disobedient unto me; and they follow him whose riches and children do no other than increase his perdition. (21) And they devised a dangerous plot *against Noah*: (22) and *the chief men* said to the others, Ye shall by no means leave your gods; neither shall ye forsake Wadd, nor Suwa, (23) nor Yaghúth, and Yauk, and Nasr. (24) And they seduced many (for thou shalt only increase error in the wicked): (25) because of their sins they were drowned, and cast into the fire of *hell*; (26) and they found none to protect them against God. (27) And Noah said, LORD, leave not

(12) *What aileth you, &c., i.e., "that God will accept and amply reward those who serve him? For some suppose Noah's people made him this answer, 'If what we now follow be the truth, we ought not to forsake it; but if it be false, how will God accept or be favourable unto us, who have rebelled against him?'"—Sale, Bai-dhâwi.*

(13) *He hath created you variously.* "That is, as the commentators expound it, by various steps or changes from the original matter, till ye became perfect men."—Sale.

See notes on chaps. xxii. 5, and xxiii. 14, &c.

(23) "These were five idols worshipped by the Antediluvians, and afterwards by the ancient Arabs. See the Prelim. Disc. p. 40."—Sale.

This explanation of the Muslim authors cannot shield their Prophet from the anachronism into which he has fallen here. The people of Noah were too much like the Quraish in Muhammad's mind to have had any other gods than those of Makkah.

(27, 28) "They say Noah preferred not this prayer for the destruc-

any families of the unbelievers on the earth: (28) for if thou leave them, they will seduce thy servants, and will beget none but a wicked and unbelieving *offspring*. (29) LORD, forgive me and my parents, and every one who shall enter my house, being a true believer, and the true believers of both sexes; and add unto the unjust doers nothing but destruction.

tion of his people till after he had tried them for nine hundred and fifty years, and found them incorrigible reprobates."—*Sale*.

See also notes on chap. liv. 10.

(29) *Forgive me and my parents*. "His father, Lamech, and his mother, whose name was Shamkha, the daughter of Enoch, being true believers."—*Sale*.

Muhammad was not permitted to pray for his mother. See note on chap. ix. 114. Observe that Noah is also here represented as a sinner needing pardon. This passage, therefore, also refutes the Muslim conceit as to the sinlessness of the prophets. See note on chap. ii. 253.

My house. "The commentators are uncertain whether Noah's dwelling-house be here meant, or the temple he had built for the worship of God, or the ark."—*Sale*.

This passage illustrates the efficiency of Muhammad's intercession on the judgment-day. For true believers he will pray, though for them his intercession is not needed, and for the infidels he may only ask their condemnation.

CHAPTER LXXII.

ENTITLED SURAT AL JINN (THE GENII).

Revealed at Makkah.

INTRODUCTION.

THIS chapter records the conversion of certain genii, who overheard Muhammad reading the Qurán while on his return from Tayif to Makkah. It is only remarkable for the position which it assigns these imaginary beings, making them along with mankind the recipients of the blessings or curses consequent upon faith or disbelief in the Qurán. We have here what professes to be a divine revelation concerning the nature, character, employment, and religion of these spirits. The Qurán is therefore responsible for perpetuating the superstitious belief of the Arabs regarding the genii among Muslims everywhere.

For a historical statement of the circumstances of the Prophet alluded to here, see Muir's *Life of Mahomet*, vol. ii. pp. 203-205.

Probable Date of the Revelations.

Noëldeke accepts a tradition which ascribes Muhammad's vision of the genii to a journey which he made to Oqázt, and accordingly places this chapter immediately after chap. xliii. We prefer here to follow Muir, who places the scene of the vision in the grove of an idol temple in the valley of Nakhla, where Muhammad slept after his expulsion from Tayif. The date of the revelations would therefore be about B.H. 2.

Principal Subjects.

	VERSES
Certain of the genii converted to Islám by hearing the Qurán	1, 2
The folly of men and genii in ascribing offspring to God	3-7
Genii prying into heavenly secrets are driven away with fiery darts	8, 9
Different classes of genii, some Muslims and others infidels	10-14

Believing genii rewarded in Paradise, the unbelievers punished in hell	15-18
The genii pressed upon Muhammad to hear the Qurán	19
Muhammad can only publish what hath been revealed to him	20-24
The judgments of God shall overtake the unbelievers	25, 26
God revealeth his secrets to his apostles only	27, 28

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

|| (1) Say, It hath been revealed unto me that a company of genii attentively heard *me reading the Qurán*, and said, Verily we have heard an admirable discourse, (2) which directeth unto the right institution; wherefore we believe therein, and we will by no means associate any *other* with our LORD. (3) He (may the majesty of our LORD be exalted!) hath taken no wife, nor *hath he begotten* any issue. (4) Yet the foolish among us hath spoken that which is extremely false of God; (5) but we verily thought that neither man nor genius would by any means have uttered a lie concerning God. (6) And there are certain men who fly for refuge unto certain of the genii; but they increase their folly and transgression: (7) and they also thought, as ye thought, that GOD would not raise any one

(1) *Genii*. See notes on chap. xlv. 28, 29. Consult also note 21, introduction to Lane's "Thousand and One Nights."

(3) *He hath taken no wife*. See note on chap. ii. 116.

(4) *The foolish, i.e., "Iblis, or the rebellious genii."*—Sale.

(6) *Certain men, &c.* "For the Arabs, when they found themselves in a desert in the evening (the genii being supposed to haunt such places about that time), used to say, 'I fly for refuge to the Lord of this valley, that he may defend me from the foolish among his people.'—Sale, *Burhāwī*."

(7) *They thought . . . as ye thought*. "It is uncertain which of these pronouns is to be referred to mankind and which to the genii; some expositors taking that of the third person to relate to the former, and that of the second person to the latter, and others being of the contrary opinion."—Sale.

Neither of them refer to mankind alone, but to the unbelieving men and genii; (they) thought as "ye (now believing genii) thought," &c.

to life. (8) And we *formerly* attempted to *pry into what was transacting* in heaven; but we found the same filled with a strong guard of *angels*, and with flaming darts; (9) and we sat on *some of the seats* thereof to hear *the discourse of its inhabitants*; but whoever listeneth now findeth a flame laid in ambush for him, *to guard the celestial confines*. (10) And we know not whether evil be *hereby* intended against those who *are* in the earth, or whether their LORD intendeth to direct them aright. (11) *There are* some among us who are upright; and *there are* some among us who are otherwise: we are of different ways. (12) And we verily thought that we could by no means frustrate GOD in the earth, neither could we escape him by flight: (13) wherefore, when we had heard the direction *contained in the Qurán*, we believed therein. And whoever believeth in his LORD need not fear any diminution of *his reward*, nor any injustice. (14) *There are some* Muslims among us, and *there are others* of us who swerve from righteousness. And whoso embraceth Islám, they earnestly seek true direction; (15) but those who swerve from righteousness shall be fuel for hell. (16) If they tread in the way of *truth*, we will surely water them with abundant rain, (17) that we may prove them thereby; but whoso turneth aside from the admonition of his LORD, him will he send into a severe torment. (18) Verily the places of worship *are set apart* unto GOD: wherefore invoke not any *other therein* together with GOD. (19) When the servant of GOD stood up to invoke him, it wanted little but that *the genii* had pressed on him in crowds, *to hear him rehearse the Qurán*.

(8, 9) See note on chap. xv. 17.

(14) *Some Muslims among us*. See Prelim. Disc., p. 121.

(16) *We will surely water them, &c., i.e.*, "we will grant them plenty of all good things. Some think by these words rain is promised to the Makkans, after their seven years' drought, on their embracing Islám."—Sale.

(19) *The servant of God, i.e.*, Muhammad. See reference to Muir's *Life of Mahomet*, at chap. xl. 29.

|| (20) Say, Verily I call upon my LORD only, and I associate no *other god* with him. (21) Say, Verily I am not able, *of myself*, to procure you either hurt or a right institution. (22) Say, Verily none can protect me against GOD; (23) neither shall I find any refuge besides him. (24) *I can do no more* than publish *what hath been revealed unto me* from GOD, and his messages. And whosoever shall be disobedient unto GOD and his Apostle, for him *is* the fire of hell *prepared*: they shall remain therein for ever. (25) Until they see *the vengeance* with which they are threatened, *they will not cease their opposition*: but then shall they know who *were* the weaker in a protector, and the fewer in number. (26) Say, I know not whether *the punishment* with which ye are threatened *be nigh*, or whether my LORD will appoint for it a distant term. He knoweth the secrets of futurity; and he doth not communicate his secrets unto any, (27) except an apostle in whom he is well pleased: and he causeth a guard *of angels* to march before him and behind him; (28) that he may know that they have executed the commissions of their LORD; he comprehendeth whatever is with them; and counteth all things by number.

(21-25) How different the tone of the Prophet, weak, discouraged, and driven from Tayif, from that of the Prophet-general triumphant at Madīna!

(26) See note on chap. vii. 188.

(28) *That he may know, &c.* "That is to say, either that the Prophet may know that Gabriel and the other angels, who bring down the revelation, have communicated it to him pure and free from any diabolical suggestions, or that God may know that the Prophet has published the same to mankind."—Sale, *Baidhāwi*.

CHAPTER LXXIII.

ENTITLED SURAT AL MUZZAMMIL (WRAPPED UP).

Revealed at Makkah.

INTRODUCTION.

THIS chapter is regarded by some writers as one of the earliest revelations of the Qurán. I can find for this opinion no other reason than that the words with which it begins, and from which it receives its title, have a somewhat striking similarity to those which are found in the first verse of chapter lxxiv., which, on all hands, is admitted to be one of the earliest parts of the Qurán. This theory, however, is disproved by the following facts :—(1) Ver. 10 speaks of enemies of the Prophet, contumelies, and opposition, which did not exist at so early a period ; (2) vers. 10 and 11 exhort the Prophet to *withdraw* from the infidels and to leave them in the hands of God ; moreover, (3), the statements concerning the punishment of hell and the destruction of Pharaoh point to a later date.

The object of the chapter seems to have been the stirring up of the Muslims to more earnest devotion to God in prayer. This was due to the trials they were now called upon to endure. In later times, when the stress of business in the camp at Madína left no time for sleep in the daytime, this law was found to be inconvenient. For this reason ver. 20 was added to abrogate the obnoxious sections of the law in vers. 1-4.

Probable Date of the Revelations.

Noëldeke fixes the date of this chapter at about the middle of the first period, while Muir, with more reason, fixes it at the beginning of the sixth year of Muhammad's mission.

Principal Subjects.

	VERSES
Muhammad and the Muslims bidden to pray during the night	1-4
The Qurán to be pronounced with a distinct sonorous tone	5-9
Muhammad exhorted to bear patiently the contumelies of the infidels	10, 11

	VERSES
God will visit the infidels with dire calamities	11-14
The punishment of Pharaoh a warning to the people of Makkah	15-19
Modification of the law given in vers. 1-4	20

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

|| (1) O thou wrapped up, (2) arise *to prayer, and con-* R $\frac{1}{13}$.
tinue therein during the night, except a small part; (3)
that is to say, during one half thereof: or do thou lessen
the same a little (4) or add thereto. And repeat the
Qurán with a distinct and sonorous voice: (5) for we will
lay on thee a weighty word. (6) Verily the rising by night

(1) *Thou wrapped up.* "When this revelation was brought to Muhammad, he was wrapped up in his garments, being affrighted at the appearance of Gabriel; or, as some say, he lay sleeping unconcernedly, or, according to others, praying, wrapped up in one part of a large mantle or rug with the other part of which Ayesha had covered herself to sleep.

"This epithet of 'wrapped up' and another of the same import given to Muhammad in the next chapter, have been imagined by several learned men pretty plainly to intimate his being subject to the falling sickness; a malady generally attributed to him by the Christians, but mentioned by no Muhammadan writer. Though such an inference may be made, yet I think it scarce probable, much less necessary."—*Sale*.

(2) *Except a small part.* "For a half is such with respect to the whole. Or, as the sentence may be rendered, 'Pray half the night, within a small matter,' &c. Some expound these words as an exception to nights in general; according to whom the sense will be, 'Spend one-half of every night in prayer, except some few nights in the year,' &c."—*Sale, Baidhāwī*.

See on this passage Rodwell *in loco* and Muir's *Life of Mahomet*, vol. ii. p. 183. See also note on chap. xvi. 105.

(3, 4) *Lesson . . . a little or add, i.e.,* "set apart either less than half the night, as one-third, for example, or more, as two-thirds. Or the meaning may be, 'Either take a small matter from a lesser part of the night than one-half, *e.g.*, from one third, and so reduce it to a fourth; or add to such lesser part, and make it a full half.'"—*Sale, Baidhāwī*.

(5) *A weighty word, viz.,* "the precepts contained in the Qurán, which are heavy and difficult to those who are obliged to observe them, and especially to the Prophet, whose care it was to see that his people observed them also."—*Sale, Baidhāwī, Jalāluddīn*.

(6) *The rising by night.* "Or, 'the person who rises by night,' or 'the hours,' or particularly 'the first hours of night,' &c."—*Sale*.

is more efficacious for steadfast continuance *in devotion*, and more conducive to decent pronunciation : (7) for in the daytime thou hast long employment. (8) And commemorate the name of thy LORD; and separate thyself unto him, renouncing worldly vanities. (9) *He is* the LORD of the east and of the west; *there is* no GOD but he. Wherefore take him for thy patron : (10) and patiently suffer the *contumelies* which the *infidels* utter *against thee* ; and depart from them with a decent departure. (11) And let me alone with those who charge the *Qurán* with falsehood, who enjoy the blessings of this life ; and bear with them for a while : (12) verily with us *are* heavy fetters and a burning fire, (13) and food ready to choke *him who swalloweth it*, and painful torment. (14) On a certain day the earth shall be shaken, and the mountains *also*, and the mountains shall become a heap of sand poured forth. (15) Verily we have sent unto you an Apostle, to bear witness against you ; as we sent an apostle unto Pharaoh ; (16) but Pharaoh was disobedient unto the apostle ; wherefore we chastised him with a heavy chastisement. (17) How, therefore, will ye escape, if ye believe not, the day which shall make children become grey-headed *through terror* ? (18) The heavens *shall* be rent in sunder thereby : the promise thereof shall surely be performed. (19) Verily this *is* an admonition : and whoever is willing to *be admonished* will take the way unto his LORD.

R $\frac{2}{14}$. || (20) Thy LORD knoweth that thou continuest *in prayer and meditation* sometimes near two third parts of

Conducive to decent pronunciation. "For the night-time is most proper for meditation and prayer, and also for reading God's word distinctly and with attention, by reason of the absence of every noise and object which may distract the mind."—Sale.

(13) *Food ready to choke, &c.* "As thorns and thistles, the fruit of the infernal tree al Zaqquím, and the corruption flowing from the bodies of the damned."—Sale.

(15, 16) See notes on chap. vii. 104–136.

(20) *Thy Lord knoweth, &c.* These hours of the night "were spent by Muhammad in devotion and in the labour of working up

the night, and *sometimes* one half thereof, and *at other times* one third part thereof; and a part of *thy companions*, who *are* with thee, *do the same*. But GOD measureth the night and the day; he knoweth that ye cannot *exactly* compute the same: wherefore he turneth favourably unto you. Read, therefore, so much of the Qurán as may be easy unto you. He knoweth that there will be some infirm among you; and others travel through the earth, that they may obtain *a competency* of the bounty of GOD; and others fight in the defence of GOD's faith. Read, therefore, so much of the same as may be easy. And observe the stated times of prayer, and pay the legal alms; and lend unto GOD an acceptable loan: for whatever good ye send before your souls, ye shall find the same with GOD. This *will be* better, and will merit a greater reward. And ask GOD forgiveness; for GOD *is* ready to forgive *and* merciful.

his materials in rhythmical and rhyming Suras, and in preparation for the public assumption of the prophetic office."—*Rodwell*.

See Muir's *Life of Mahomet*, vol. ii. p. 188.

A part of thy companions. Some of the commentators say the command to spend so much of the night in prayer lasted for one year, when it was abrogated by the milder requirements of the latter portion of this verse. Under cover of this requirement Muhammad and a "part of his companions" might have wrought out the revelations enunciated with so much zeal in the daytime (ver. 7); and a suspicion of this certainly did exist among the unbelieving (chap. xvi. 105), and would account for the "contumelies" noted in vers. 10, 11, above.

Wherefore he turneth favourably unto you. "By making the matter easy to you, and dispensing with your scrupulous counting of the hours of the night which ye are directed to spend in reading and praying; for some of the Muslims, not knowing how the time passed, used to watch the whole night, standing and walking about till their legs and feet swelled in a sad manner. The commentators add that this precept of dedicating a part of the night to devotion is abrogated by the institution of the five hours of prayer."—*Sale, Baidhāwi*.

Others fight, &c. Observe . . . prayer . . . alms, &c. This portion of this chapter is certainly Madīnic, and probably added on by Muhammad himself.

A greater reward, i.e., "the good which ye shall do in your lifetime will be much more meritorious in the sight of God than what ye shall defer till death and order by will."—*Sale, Baidhāwi*.

CHAPTER LXXIV.

ENTITLED SURAT AL MUDDASSIR (THE COVERED).

Revealed at Makkah.

INTRODUCTION.

THIS chapter is regarded by some writers as the very first which was revealed (Sale's note on ver. 1), but the preponderance of evidence is in favour of chapter xcvi. It is, therefore, given the second place by Noëldeke, Rodwell, and Palmer. This place is not, however, accorded to any but the first seven verses. The interval between the revelation of chapter xcvi. and that of these verses is called by Muslims the *Fatrah* or Intermission, the duration of which "is variously held to have lasted from six months to three years" (Muir's *Life of Mahomet*, vol. ii. pp. 85, 86). The remaining portion of the chapter belongs to a later Makkan period, excepting vers. 31-34, which undoubtedly belong to Madīna. We find in these verses allusion to all the parties prominent in Madīna Suras; the Jews, or "they to whom the Scriptures have been given;" the Muslims, or "the true believers;" the hypocrites, or "those in whose hearts there is an infirmity;" and the idolaters, or "the unbelievers." Muir gives this chapter the twentieth place in his chronological list of Suras.

Probable Date of the Revelations.

From what has been said above we may safely assign vers. 1-7 to the earliest period of Muhammad's ministry. Vers. 8-30 and 35-55 probably mark the period of early opposition to Muhammad by the Quraish in the third year of his public ministry (see Muir's *Life of Mahomet*, vol. ii. pp. 79, 80). The Madīnic section, vers. 31-34, Noëldeke thinks should be assigned to a period soon after the Hījra, owing to the kindly mention of the Jews, whom Muhammad, soon after his arrival at Madīna, found to be his most inveterate enemies.

Principal Subjects.

	VERSES
Muhammad commanded to rise and preach Islám . . .	1-7
The judgment-day shall be a sad day for the unbelievers . . .	8-10
God exhorts Muhammad to leave his enemy in his hands . . .	11-26
The pains of hell described	27-29
Nineteen angels set as a guard over hell, and why nineteen are mentioned	30-34
Oath to attest the horrible calamities of hell-fire . . .	35-40
The wicked shall in hell confess their sins to the righteous . . .	41-49
Infidels shall receive no other warning than that of the Qurán	50-55

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

|| (1) O thou covered, arise (2) and preach, (3) and R $\frac{1}{15}$.
magnify thy LORD. (4) And cleanse thy garments: (5)
and fly *every* abomination: (6) and be not liberal in hopes
to receive more in return: (7) and patiently wait for thy
LORD. (8) When the trumpet shall sound, (9) verily that
day *shall be* a day of distress, (10) and uneasiness unto the
unbelievers. (11) Let me alone with him whom I have

(1) *Thou covered.* "It is related, from Muhammad's own mouth, that, being on Mount Hira, and hearing himself called, he looked on each hand and saw nobody; but looking upwards, he saw the Angel Gabriel on a throne between heaven and earth: at which sight, being much terrified, he returned to his wife Khadijah and bid her cover him up; and that then the angel descended and addressed him in the words of the text. From hence some think this chapter to have been the first which was revealed; but the more received opinion is that it was the 96th. Others say that the Prophet, having been reviled by certain of the Quraish, was sitting in a melancholy and pensive posture, wrapped up in his mantle, when Gabriel accosted him; and some say he was sleeping."—Sale. See note to the preceding chapter on ver. 1.

See Rodwell *in loco*.

(2) *Preach.* "It is generally supposed that Muhammad is here commanded more especially to warn his near relations, the Quarish, as he is expressly ordered to do in a subsequent revelation."—Sale.

See note on chap. xxvi. 214, and Prelim. Disc., p. 76.

(5) *Abomination.* "By the word 'abomination' the commentators generally agree idolatry to be principally intended."—Sale.

(11) *Let me alone with him, &c.* "The person here meant is gene-

created, (12) on whom I have bestowed abundant riches, (13) and children dwelling in his presence, (14) and for whom I have disposed *affairs* in a smooth and easy manner, (15) and who desireth that I will yet add *other blessings unto him*. (16) By no means; because he is an adversary to our signs. (17) I will afflict him with grievous calamities: (18) for he hath devised and prepared *contumelious expressions to ridicule the Qurán*. (19) May he be cursed: how *maliciously* hath he prepared *the same*! (20) And again, may he be cursed: how *maliciously* hath he prepared *the same*! (21) Then he looked, (22) and frowned, and put on an austere countenance; (23) then he turned back, and was elated with pride; (24) and he said, This *is* no other than a piece of magic, borrowed from others: (25) these *are* only the words of a man. (26) I will cast him to be burned in hell. (27) And what shall make thee to understand what hell *is*? (28) It leaveth not *anything unconsumed*, neither doth it suffer *anything* to escape; (29) it scorseth men's flesh: (30) over the same *are* nineteen *angels appointed*. (31) We

rally supposed to have been al Walíd Ibn al Mughaira, a principal man among the Quraish."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*, &c.

(12, 13) *Riches and children, &c.* "Being well provided for, and not obliged to go abroad to seek their livings, as most others of the Makkans were."—Sale.

(14) *A smooth and easy manner.* "By facilitating his advancement to power and dignity, which were so considerable that he was surnamed Rihána Quraish, *i.e.*, 'The sweet odour of the Quraish,' and Al Walíd, *i.e.*, 'The only one,' or 'The incomparable.'"—Sale, *Baidhāwī*.

(16) *By no means, &c.* "On the revelation of this passage it is said that Walíd's prosperity began to decay, and continued daily so to do to the time of his death."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*.

(17) *Calamities.* "Or, as the words may be strictly rendered, 'I will drive him up the crag of a mountain;' which some understand of a mountain of fire, agreeably to a tradition of their Prophet importing that al Walíd will be condemned to ascend this mountain, and then to be cast down from thence alternately for ever; and that he will be seventy years in climbing up and as many in falling down."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*, &c.

(24, 25) See note on chaps. vi. 24, xvi. 105.

have appointed none but angels to preside over *hell*-fire; and we have expressed the number of them only for an occasion of discord to the unbelievers; that they to whom the Scriptures have been given may be certain of the *veracity of this book*, and the true believers may increase in faith; (32) and that those to whom the Scriptures have been given, and the true believers, may not doubt *hereafter*; (33) and that those in whose hearts *there is* an infirmity, and the unbelievers, may say, What mystery doth God intend by this *number*? (34) Thus doth God cause to err whom he pleaseth; and he directeth whom he pleaseth. None knoweth the armies of thy LORD besides him; and this is no other than a memento unto mankind.

|| (35) Assuredly. By the moon, (36) and the night R 1² when it retreateth, (37) and the morning when it red-deneth, (38) *I swear* that this is one of the most terrible calamities, (39) giving warning unto men, (40) as well as unto him among you who desireth to go forward, as unto

(31) *None but angels.* "The reason of which is said to be, that they might be of a different nature and species from those who are to be tormented, lest they should have a fellow-feeling of, and compassionate their sufferings; or else because of their great strength and severity of temper."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*.

This passage up to ver. 35, "evidently produced many years after" the above, is interposed "in reply to certain objections raised, as it would appear, by the Jews respecting the *number* of the infernal guard."—Muir's *Life of Mahomet*, vol. ii. p. 78, note.

For an occasion of discord. "Or, 'for a trial of them;' because they might say this was a particular borrowed by Muhammad of the Jews."—Sale.

(32) *Those to whom the Scriptures, &c.* "And especially the Jews; this being conformable to what is contained in their books."—Sale, *Jalāluddīn*.

(34) *Armies of the Lord, i. e.,* "all his creatures; or particularly the number and strength of the guards of hell."—Sale.

The allusion is probably to the armies of angels said to have assisted the Muslims at Badr and Hunain, of whom the "nineteen" are but a "memento unto mankind."

And this. "The antecedent seems to be 'hell.'"—Sale. I should say it was "number," the same being supplied by Sale himself in ver. 33.

him who chooseth to remain behind. (41) Every soul is given in pledge for that which it shall have wrought: except the companions of the right hand; (42) *who shall dwell* in gardens, and shall ask one another questions concerning the wicked, (43) *and shall also ask the wicked themselves, saying*, What hath brought you into hell? (44) They shall answer, We were not of those who were constant at prayer, (45) neither did we feed the poor; (46) and we waded in vain disputes with the fallacious reasoners; (47) and we denied the day of judgment, (48) until death overtook us; (49) and the intercession of the interceders shall not avail them. (50) What aileth them, therefore, that they turn aside from the admonition of the *Qurán*, (51) as though they *were* timorous asses flying from a lion? (52) But every man among them desireth that he may have expanded scrolls delivered to him *from God*. (53) By no means. They fear not the life to come, (54) By no means: verily this *is* a *sufficient* warning. (55) Whoso is willing *to be warned*, him shall it warn: but they shall not be warned, unless GOD shall please. He *is* worthy to be feared, and he *is* inclined to forgiveness.

(41) *Every soul, &c.* See note on chap. lii. 21.

Companions of the right hand, i.e., "the blessed, who shall redeem themselves by their good works. Some say these are the angels, and others, such as die infants."—*Sale, Baidhāwī*.

See note on chap. lvi. 8, 9.

(48) *Death*. "Literally, that which is certain."—*Sale*.

(52) *Expanded scrolls, &c.* "For the infidels told Muhammad that they would never obey him as a prophet till he brought each man a writing from heaven to this effect, viz., 'From God to such a one: Follow Muhammad.'"—*Sale, Baidhāwī*.

CHAPTER LXXV.

ENTITLED SURAT AL QÍYÁMAT (THE RESURRECTION).

Revealed at Makkah.

INTRODUCTION.

THE title of this chapter, taken from the first verse, expresses very well the general subject of its contents. The doctrine of the resurrection was rejected by the Quraish of Makkah as incredible, but the preacher declares that he who created every bone of man would have no difficulty in collecting together the scattered bones of the dead on the resurrection-day.

The passage contained in vers. 16-19, which has been inserted probably by the compilers, has no connection with the subject of this chapter. It seems to have been placed here because it could not be placed more appropriately elsewhere. It must therefore be read as a parenthesis.

Probable Date of the Revelations.

All authorities agree in placing this chapter at about the end of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth year of Muhammad's public ministry.

Principal Subjects.

	VERSES
God is able to raise the dead	1-4
Unbelievers may mock, but they shall be overtaken by the resurrection-day	5-11
Man shall be his own accuser on that day	12-15
Muhammad rebuked for anticipating Gabriel in receiving the Qurán	16-19
Men choose this life, but neglect the life to come	20-21
Various thoughts of the righteous and the wicked on the resurrection-day	22-25
Man helpless in the hour of death	26-36
God, who created man, can raise him from the dead	37-40

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

SULS.

R 17.

|| (1) Verily I swear by the day of resurrection; (2) and I swear by the soul which accuseth *itself*: (3) doth man think that we will not gather his bones together? (4) Yea, *we are* able to put together the *smallest* bones of his fingers. (5) But man chooseth to be wicked, *for the time which is* before him. (6) He asketh, When *will* the day of resurrection *be*? (7) But when the sight shall be dazzled, (8) and the moon shall be eclipsed, (9) and the sun and the moon shall be in conjunction; (10) on that day man shall say, Where *is* a place of refuge? (11) By no means: *there shall be* no place to fly unto. (12) With thy LORD *shall be* the sure mansion of rest on that day: (13) on that day shall a man be told that which he hath done first and last. (14) Yea, a man *shall be* an evidence against himself; (15) and though he offer his excuses, *they shall not be received*. (16) Move not thy tongue, *O Muhammad, in repeating the revelations brought thee by Gabriel, before he shall have finished the same*, that thou mayest quickly commit them to memory; (17) for the collecting

(1) *I swear, or I will not swear.* See note on chap. lvi. 74.

(2) *The soul that accuseth itself.* "Being conscious of having offended, and of failing of perfection, notwithstanding its endeavours to do its duty; or, *the pious soul which shall blame others* at the last day for having been remiss in their devotions, &c. Some understand the words of the soul of Adam in particular, who is continually blaming himself for having lost Paradise by his disobedience."—Sale, Baidhāwi.

(9) *Sun and moon . . . in conjunction.* "Rising both in the west (Prelim. Disc., pp. 131-134); which conjunction is no contradiction to what is mentioned just before, of the moon's being eclipsed; because those words are not to be understood of a regular eclipse, but metaphorically of the moon's losing her light, at the last day, in a preternatural manner. Some think the meaning rather to be that the sun and the moon shall be *joined* in the loss of their light."—Sale, Baidhāwi.

(13) *That which he hath done.* "Or the good which he hath done, and that which he hath left undone."—Sale.

(16-19) See notes on chap. liii. 6. Rodwell remarks that these words show that Muhammad had in mind the promulgation of a written book from the first. Compare chap. xx. 113.

the *Qurán* in thy mind, and the *teaching thee the true reading thereof, are incumbent on us.* (18) But when we shall have read the same *unto thee by the tongue of the angel,* do thou follow the reading thereof; (19) and afterwards *it shall be our part to explain it unto thee.* (20) By no means *shalt thou be thus hasty for the future.* But ye love that which hasteneth away, (21) and neglect the life to come. (22) *Some countenances on that day shall be bright,* (23) looking towards their LORD; (24) and *some countenances on that day shall be dismal:* (25) they shall think that a crushing calamity shall be brought upon them. (26) Assuredly. When *a man's soul* shall come up to his throat *in his last agony,* (27) and the *standers-by* shall say, Who bringeth a charm to recover him? (28) and shall think it to be his departure out of this world; (29) and one leg shall be joined with the other leg: (30) on that day unto thy LORD shall he be driven.

(19) *Our part to explain it.* The *Qurán* cannot be understood without the Traditions, which, so far as they relate to the text of the *Qurán*, may be regarded as the words of Muhammad explanatory of his *Qurán*. This mystery of the *Qurán* gives rise to that mass of literature comprised within the writings of the Muslim fathers, and to which Muslims invariably refer when any question of doctrine or practice requires an answer. A bann has been set upon free thought and independent investigation in matters of religion so far as the orthodox are concerned. Gabriel explained everything to Muhammad. Muhammad explained what was necessary to the faithful. The faithful handed this down to the collectors of the six received books of tradition. These form the basis of opinion in the commentaries, and the commentaries are the authorities of the Maulvies and Mullahs who teach the people. How different this from the simple teaching of the Old and New Testaments current among Christians—at least among those of the Protestant faith.

(20) *That which hasteneth away, i.e.,* “the fleeting pleasures of this life. The words intimate the natural hastiness and impatience of man (chap. xvii. 12), who takes up with a present enjoyment, though short, and bitter in its consequences, rather than wait for real happiness in futurity.”—Sale.

(29) *One leg, &c., i.e.,* “when he shall stretch forth his legs together, as is usual with dying persons. The words may also be translated ‘and when one affliction shall be joined with another affliction.’”—Sale.

R $\frac{2}{18}$.

|| (31) For he believed not, neither did he pray; (32) but he accused *God's Apostle* of imposture, and turned back *from obeying him*; (33) then he departed unto his family, walking with a haughty mien. (34) Wherefore, woe be unto thee; woe! (35) And again, woe be unto thee; woe! (36) Doth man think that he shall be left at full liberty, *without control*? (37) Was he not a drop of seed, which was emitted? (38) Afterwards he became a little coagulated blood, and *God* formed him, and fashioned him with just proportion; (39) and made of him two sexes, the male and the female. (40) Is not he *who hath done this* able to quicken the dead?

(31) *He believed not.* "Or, 'He did not give alms;' or, 'He was not a man of veracity.' Some suppose Abu Jahl, and others one Abi Ibn Rábía, to be particularly inveighed against in this chapter."
—Sale.

(34, 35) Rodwell translates this passage, "*That hour* is nearer to thee and nearer. It is ever nearer to thee and nearer still." Palmer agrees with Sale, as do also the Persian and Urdu translators.

CHAPTER LXXVI.

ENTITLED SURAT AL INSÁN (MAN).

Revealed at Makkah.

INTRODUCTION.

IN the Arabic copies of the Qurán the title of this chapter is *AL DAHR* (A SPACE OF TIME).

Beyond the statement that God has created and directed man, this chapter has very little to say of his career in this world. Almost the whole of the revelation is taken up with a description of the joys of Paradise.

The story recorded by Umr Bin Muhammad (Itqán 28, see Noëldেকে), and given by Sale in note on ver. 10, as affording the occasion of this revelation, is entirely unworthy of credence. That story would oblige us to regard the chapter, or at least vers. 8-31, as Madínic, whereas the style and language show it to be Makkan.

The purpose of the chapter seems to have been to encourage and comfort the Muslims amidst the opposition of the unbelievers, by setting before them, in contrast with present poverty and suffering, the riches and joy of the believers in Paradise.

Probable Date of the Revelations.

As already observed, this chapter is without doubt of Makkan origin. Some (Itqán 28 and 37) have thought ver. 24 to be Madínic, but for this opinion there is no good reason given. Noëldেকে, with whom Muir substantially agrees, fixes the date about the fifth year of the Call.

Principal Subjects.

	VERSES
Man conceived and born by the power of God	1, 2
Unbelievers warned by the terrors of hell	3, 4
The rewards of the Muslims in Paradise	5-22
The Qurán revealed by degrees	23

	VERSES
Muhammad and the Muslims exhorted to patience and prayer	24-26
Unbelievers love the present life	27, 28
Only those saved whom God willeth to save	29-31

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

R $\frac{1}{19}$. || (1) Did there not pass over man a *long* space of time, during which he was a thing not worthy of remembrance? (2) Verily we have created man of the mingled seed of both sexes, that we might prove him: and we have made him to hear and to see. (3) We have surely directed him in the way, whether *he be* grateful or ungrateful. (4) Verily we have prepared for the unbelievers chains, and collars, and burning fire. (5) But the just shall drink of a cup of *wine* mixed with the *water of Káfúr*, (6) a fountain whereof the servants of GOD shall drink; they shall convey the same by channels *whithersoever they please*. (7) *These* fulfil *their* vow, and dread the day, the evil whereof will disperse itself far abroad; (8) and give food unto the poor, and the orphan, and the bondman, for his sake, (9) *saying*, We feed you for GOD's sake only: we

(1) "Some take these words to be spoken of Adam, whose body, according to the Muhammadan tradition, was at first a figure of clay, and was left forty years to dry before God breathed life into it: others understand them of man in general, and of the time he lies in the womb." See notes on chap. ii. 30.

(2) *To hear and to see*. "That he might be capable of receiving the rules and directions given by God for his guidance; and of meriting reward or punishment for his observance or neglect of them."—*Sale*.

(5) *Káfúr*. "Is the name of a fountain in Paradise, so called from its resembling *camphor* (which the word signifies) in odour and whiteness. Some take the word for an appellative, and think the wine of Paradise will be mixed with camphor, because of its agreeable coolness and smell."—*Sale*, *Baidhāwī*.

The faithful may not taste wine on earth, but they shall have rivers of it in Paradise. It is said, however, that the wine of Paradise will not intoxicate the blissful inhabitants thereof (chap. lxxviii. 34, 35). This wine (*khamr*) would, however, intoxicate a Muslim here. See note on chap. xlvii. 16.

desire no recompense from you, nor any thanks: (10) verily we dread from our LORD a dismal *and* calamitous day. (11) Wherefore GOD shall deliver them from the evil of that day, and shall cast on them brightness of countenance and joy; (12) and shall reward them for their patient persevering with a garden and silk *garments*: (13) therein shall they repose themselves on couches; they shall see therein neither sun nor moon; (14) and the shades thereof *shall be* near, *spreading* above them; and the fruits thereof shall hang low, so as to be easily gathered. (15) And *their attendants* shall go round about unto them with vessels of silver and goblets: the bottles shall be bottles of silver *shining like glass*; (16) they shall determine the measure thereof *by their wish*. (17) And therein shall they be given to drink of a cup *of wine* mixed with *the water* of Zanjabil, (18) a fountain in *Paradise* named

(10) "It is related that Hasan and Husain, Muhammad's grandchildren, on a certain time being both sick, the Prophet, among others, visited them, and they wished Ali to make some vow to God for the recovery of his sons: whereupon Ali and Fátima, and Fidda, their maid-servant, vowed a fast of three days in case they did well; as it happened they did. This vow was performed with so great strictness, that the first day, having no provisions in the house, Ali was obliged to borrow three measures of barley of one Simeon, a Jew of Khaibar, one measure of which Fátima ground the same day, and baked five cakes of the meal, and they were set before them to break their fast with after sunset: but a poor man coming to them, they gave all their bread to him, and passed the night without tasting anything except water. The next day Fátima made another measure into bread, for the same purpose; but an orphan begging some food, they chose to let him have it, and passed that night as the first; and the third day they likewise gave their whole provision to a famished captive. Upon this occasion Gabriel descended with the chapter before us, and told Muhammad that God congratulated him on the virtues of his family."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*.

(13) *Neither sun nor moon*. "Because they shall not need the light of either (see Rev. xxi. 23). The word *Zamharir*, here translated *moon*, properly signifies *extreme cold*; for which reason some understand the meaning of the passage to be, that in Paradise there shall be felt no excess either of heat or of cold."—Sale.

(17) *Zanjabil*. "The word signifies *ginger*, which the Arabs delight to mix with the water they drink; and therefore the water of this fountain is supposed to have the taste of that spice."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*.

Silsabil: (19) and youths, which shall continue *for ever in their bloom*, shall go round to attend them; when thou seest them, thou shalt think them to be scattered pearls: (20) and when thou lookest, there shalt thou behold delights and a great kingdom. (21) Upon them *shall be* garments of fine green silk and of brocades, and they shall be adorned with bracelets of silver: and their LORD shall give them to drink of a most pure liquor; (22) *and shall say unto them*, Verily this is your reward, and your endeavour is gratefully accepted.

R $\frac{2}{20}$. || (23) Verily we have sent down unto thee the Qurán by a *gradual* revelation. (24) Wherefore patiently wait the judgment of thy LORD, and obey not any wicked person or unbeliever among them. (25) And commemorate the name of thy LORD in the morning and in the evening; (26) and *during some part* of the night worship him, and praise him a long *part of the* night. (27) Verily these *men* love the transitory *life*, and leave behind them the heavy day of *judgment*. (28) We have created them, and have strengthened their joints; and when we please, we will substitute *others* like unto them in their stead. (29) Verily this *is* an admonition: and whoso willeth, taketh the way unto his LORD: (30) but ye shall not will, unless GOD willeth; for GOD is knowing *and* wise. (31) He leadeth whom he pleaseth into his mercy; but for the unjust hath he prepared a grievous punishment.

(18) *Silsabil*. "Signifies water which flows gently and pleasantly down the throat."—*Sale*.

(22) The passage beginning with ver. 12 and ending here is to be understood literally. See note on chap. iii. 15.

(23) *Gradual revelation*. See notes on chap. xxv. 34.

(25, 26) "The *times* of prayer are as yet only mentioned generally as morning, evening, and night."—*Muir's Life of Mahomet*, vol. ii. p. 140, note. See also note on chap. lxxiii. 20.

(29-31) Man's freedom of will does not seem to be recognised here. Man wills to take "the way unto his Lord" only because God wills him to do so. The teaching of the text is that even the will of man is subject to God's control.

CHAPTER LXXVII.

ENTITLED SURAT AL MURSALÁT (THE MESSENGERS).

Revealed at Makkah.

INTRODUCTION.

THIS chapter seems to be a sort of philippic denunciatory of the conduct of those unbelievers at Makkah who charged him with being an impostor. The words "Woe be on that day unto those who accused the prophets of imposture" are repeated as a kind of refrain, and occur no less than ten times in the course of the chapter. It is the Prophet's cry of "Woe! woe!" to the unbelievers of Makkah. May not this characteristic have given rise to the opinion expressed by Jaláluddín al Syuti, that this chapter was revealed while Muhammad and Abu Baqr were hidden in the cave during the flight from Makkah to Madína?

Probable Date of the Revelations.

The general style and language of this chapter prove it to be of early Makkan origin. Muhammad appears as a "warner" crying "Woe! woe!" to the idolaters who have rejected him as an impostor. Ver. 39 would seem to indicate that this opposition was more than passive, and now ready to take an active form. These circumstances justify the date assigned by Noéldeke and also by Muir, which is about the fourth year of the ministry.

Principal Subjects.

	VERSES
Oath by the messengers of God that the judgment-day is inevitable	1-7
Woe on that day to those who accuse Muhammad of imposture	8-15
In former times infidels were destroyed for accusing their prophets of imposture	16-19

	VERSES
God the Creator of all things, therefore woe to those who accuse his messengers of imposture	20-28
The woe of those who have been cast into hell for calling their prophets impostors	29-40
The joy of those who did not call their prophets impostors .	41-44
The infidel Quraish soon to be overtaken by the woes of the judgment-day	45-50

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

R 21 || (1) By the *angels* which are sent by God, following one another in a continual series; (2) and those which move swiftly with a rapid motion; (3) and by those which disperse *his commands*, by divulging them *through the earth*; (4) and by those which separate *truth from falsehood*, by distinguishing *the same*; (5) and by those which communicate *the divine* admonitions, (6) to excuse or to threaten: (7) verily that which ye are promised *is* inevitable. (8) When the stars, therefore, shall be put out, (9) and when the heaven shall be cloven in sunder, (10) and when the mountains shall be winnowed, (11) and when the apostles shall have a time assigned to them *to appear and bear testimony against their respective people*; (12) to what a day shall *that appointment* be deferred! (13) to the day of separation: (14) and what shall cause thee to understand what the day of separation *is*? (15) On that day, woe be unto them who accused *the prophets* of

(1-6) "Some understand the whole passage of the verses of the Qurán, which continued to be sent down, parcel after parcel, during the space of several years, and which rescind (for so the verb *asafa* may also be translated) and abolish all former dispensations, divulging and making known the ways of salvation, distinguishing truth from falsehood, and communicating admonition, &c. Some interpret the first three verses of the winds, sent in a continual succession, blowing with a violent gust, and dispersing rain over the earth; and others give different explications."—Sale.

(7) *That which ye are promised.* "The day of judgment."—Sale.

(15) *Woe . . . unto them who accused . . . of imposture.* See introduction to chap. xi. This sentence occurs ten times in this chapter,

imposture! (16) Have we not destroyed the *obstinate unbelievers* of old? (17) We will also cause those of the latter times to follow them. (18) Thus do we deal with the wicked. (19) Woe be, on that day, unto them who accused *the prophets* of imposture! (20) Have we not created you of a contemptible drop of *seed*, (21) which we placed in a sure repository, (22) until the fixed term of *delivery*? (23) And we were able to *do this*: for we are most powerful. (24) On that day, woe be unto those who accused *the prophets* of imposture! (25) Have we not made the earth to contain (26) the living and the dead, (27) and placed therein stable and lofty *mountains*, and given you fresh water to drink? (28) Woe be, on that day, unto those who accused *the prophets* of imposture! (29) *It shall be said unto them*, Go ye to the *punishment* which ye denied as a falsehood: (30) go ye into the shadow of *the smoke of hell*, which shall ascend in three columns, (31) and shall not shade you from the heat, neither shall it be of service against the flame; (32) but it shall cast forth sparks as big as towers, (33) resembling yellow camels in colour. (34) Woe be, on that day, unto those who accused *the prophets* of imposture! (35) This shall be a day whereon they shall not speak to any purpose; (36) neither shall they be permitted to excuse themselves. (37) Woe be, on that day, unto those who accused *the prophets* of imposture! (38) This shall be the day of separation: we will assemble both you and your predecessors. (39) Wherefore, if ye have any cunning stratagem, employ stratagems against me. (40) Woe be, on that day, unto those who accused *the prophets* of

illustrating the intensity of the Prophet's feelings. The charge of forgery is no modern invention of the Christian opponents of Islám. See note on chap. vi. 48.

(33) *Yellow camels*. "Being of a fiery colour. Others, however, suppose these sparks will be of a dusky hue, like that of black camels, which always inclines a little to the yellow; the word translated yellow signifying sometimes black. Some copies, by the variation of a vowel, have cables instead of camels."—Sale.

imposture ! (41) But the pious *shall dwell* amidst shades and fountains, (42) and fruits of the *kinds* which they shall desire : (43) *and it shall be said unto them*, Eat and drink with easy digestion, *in recompense* for that which ye have wrought ; (44) for thus do we reward the righteous doers. (45) Woe be, on that day, unto those who accused *the prophets* of imposture ! (46) Eat, *O unbelievers*, and enjoy *the pleasures of this life* for a little while : verily ye are wicked men. (47) Woe be, on that day, unto those who accused *the prophets* of imposture ! (48) And when it is said unto them, Bow down ; they do not bow down. (49) Woe be, on that day, unto those who accused *the prophets* of imposture ! (50) In what new revelation will they believe, after this ?

(48) *When it is said, &c.* These words are said by some to have reference to the Thaqifites, who during the last years of the Prophet declared their willingness to accept Islām provided they were exempted from the duty of prayer. For this opinion no good reason can be given, as the passage refers in general to all unbelievers.

CHAPTER LXXVIII.

ENTITLED SURĀT AL NABĀ (THE NEWS).

Revealed at Makkah.

INTRODUCTION.

THIS chapter receives its title from ver. 2, where it signifies News of the Resurrection, which news was the burden of the Prophet's message at this period. The whole is a warning to the unbelievers to repent and believe the Qurān ere it be too late, ere he say, "Would to God I were dust."

Probable Date of the Revelations.

The opinion of most writers is that this chapter belongs to the earlier Makkan revelations, though it is admitted that vers. 37-41 were added at a somewhat later date. Believing that ver. 17 presupposes chap. lxxvii. 12 *seq.*, Noëldeke places this chapter immediately after chap. lxxvii.

Principal Subjects.

	VERSES
Unbelievers shall yet learn the truth of the resurrection . . .	1-5
God the Creator and Preserver of all things . . .	6-16
Judgment-day scenes described . . .	17-20
The recompense of unbelievers in hell described . . .	21-30
The joys of believers in Paradise described . . .	31-37
No intercessor except by God's permission . . .	37, 38
Sinners exhorted to flee from the day of wrath . . .	39-41

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

|| (1) Concerning what do *the unbelievers* ask questions of one another? (2) Concerning the great news of *the*

THIRTIETH
SIPARĀ.

R $\frac{1}{1}$. *resurrection*, (3) about which they disagree. (4) Assuredly they shall hereafter know *the truth thereof*. (5) Again, assuredly they shall hereafter know *the truth thereof*. (6) Have we not made the earth for a bed, (7) and the mountains for stakes *to fix the same*? (8) And have we not created you of two sexes; (9) and appointed your sleep for rest; (10) and made the night a garment *to cover you*; (11) and destined the day to the gaining *your* livelihood; (12) and built over you seven solid *heavens*; (13) and placed *therein* a burning lamp? (14) And do we not send down from the *clouds* pressing forth rain, water pouring down in abundance, (15) that we may thereby produce corn and herbs, (16) and gardens planted thick *with trees*? (17) Verily the day of separation is a fixed period: (18) the day whereon the trumpet shall sound, and ye shall come in troops *to judgment*; (19) and the heaven shall be opened, and shall be *full of gates for the angels to pass through*; (20) and the mountains shall pass away, and become *as a vapour*; (21) verily hell shall be a place of ambush, (22) a receptacle for the transgressors, (23) who shall remain therein for ages: (24) they shall not taste any refreshment therein or any drink, (25) except boiling water and filthy corruption: (26) a fit recompense *for their deeds*! (27) For they hoped that they should not be brought to an account, (28) and they disbelieved our signs, accusing them of falsehood. (29) But everything have we computed and written down. (30) Taste, therefore: we will not add unto you *any other* than torment.

(6, 7) See note on chaps. xvi. 15, and xxxi. 9.

(8-29) The numerous proofs of God's almighty power cited here have been noticed so frequently in the Makkan Suras as to make further comment unnecessary.

(30) *We will not add . . . other than torment.* "This, say the commentators, is the most severe and terrible sentence in the whole Qurán pronounced against the inhabitants of hell; they being hereby assured that every change in their torments will be for the worse."
—Sale.

|| (31) But for the pious *is prepared* a place of bliss: R $\frac{2}{2}$.
 (32) gardens planted with trees, and vineyards, (33) and
damsels with swelling breasts, of equal age *with themselves*,
 (34) and a full cup. (35) They shall hear no vain dis-
 course there, nor any falsehood. (36) *This shall be their*
 recompense from thy LORD; a gift *fully* sufficient: (37)
from the LORD of heaven and earth, and of whatever *is*
 between them; the Merciful. *The inhabitants of heaven*
or of earth shall not dare to demand audience of him: (38)
 the day whereon the spirit *Gabriel* and the *other* angels
 shall stand in order, they shall not speak *in behalf of*
themselves or others, except he *only* to whom the Merciful
 shall grant permission, and who shall say that which is
 right. (39) *This is* the infallible day. Whoso, therefore,
 willeth, let him return unto his LORD. (40) Verily we
 threaten you with a punishment nigh at hand: (41) the
 day whereon a man shall behold *the good or evil deeds*
 which his hands have sent before him; and the unbeliever
 shall say, Would to God I were dust!

(31-37) One is at a loss how to interpret this of spiritual joy. See note on chap. iii. 15.

(38) *The spirit*. See notes on chap. ii. 86, 253.

Except he only, &c. See notes on chaps. ix. 81, xxxix. 45, and xl. 7.

CHAPTER LXXIX.

ENTITLED SURAT AL NÁZÍÁT (THOSE WHO TEAR FORTH).

Revealed at Makkah.

INTRODUCTION.

THIS chapter consists of three parts ; vers. 1-14 containing a declaration concerning the certainty of the approach of the resurrection and judgment-day, vers. 15-26, giving a brief account of the call and ministry of Moses, and vers. 37-46, also relating to the doctrine of the resurrection and judgment-day.

The second of these parts is too detailed in its character to belong to the very early Makkan Suras, where Jewish history and legend are alluded to in a vague way. It is probably a fragment of a later Sura inserted here by the compilers.

Probable Date of the Revelations.

Noëldeke places this chapter immediately before chap. lxxvii. Muir places it at a later period, *i.e.*, about the sixth year of the Call. We would follow Noëldeke for the first fourteen verses ; vers. 27-46 perhaps belong to a period somewhat later, but from vers. 15-26 we would follow Muir.

Principal Subjects.

	VERSES
Oaths by the messengers of death that there will be a resurrection and judgment-day	1-7
Infidels shall be restored to life notwithstanding their unbelief	8-14
The story of Moses and his mission to Pharaoh	15-26
The Creator can raise the dead	27-33
The righteous and the wicked in judgment, their various condition	34-41
No one knows the time of judgment, but whenever it comes it will be soon for the infidels	42-46

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

|| (1) By the *angels* who tear forth *the souls of some* with R $\frac{1}{3}$.
 violence; (2) and by those who draw forth *the souls of*
others with gentleness; (3) by those who glide swim-
 mingly *through the air with the commands of God*; (4) and
 those who precede and usher *the righteous to Paradise*;
 (5) and those who subordinately govern the affairs of *this*
world: (6) on a *certain day* the disturbing *blast of the*
trumpet shall disturb *the universe*; (7) and the subsequent
blast shall follow it. (8) On that day *men's hearts* shall
 tremble: (9) their looks *shall be cast down*. (10) *The*
infidels say, Shall we surely be made to return whence we
 came? (11) After we shall have become rotten bones,
shall we be again raised to life? (12) They say, This then
will be a return to loss. (13) Verily it *will be* but one
 sounding *of the trumpet*, (14) and, behold, they *shall*
appear alive on the face of the earth. (15) Hath not the
 story of Moses reached thee? (16) When his LORD called
 unto him in the holy valley Tuwá, (17) *saying*, Go unto
 Pharaoh; for he is insolently wicked: (18) and say, Hast
 thou *a desire* to become just and holy? (19) and I will

(1, 2) *The angels who tear forth*. "These are the angel of death and his assistants, who will take the souls of the wicked in a rough and cruel manner from the inmost part of their bodies, as a man drags up a thing from the bottom of the sea; but will take the souls of the good in a gentle and easy manner from their lips, as when a man draws a bucket of water at one pull.

"There are several other interpretations of this whole passage; some expounding all the five parts of the oath of the stars, others of the souls of men, others of the souls of warriors in particular, and others of war-horses; a detail of which, I apprehend, would rather tire than please."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*.

(10) *Shall we be made to return, i.e.*, "shall we be raised from the dead and be restored to our former condition?"

(13) *One sounding, viz.*, "the second or third blast, according to different opinions."—Sale.

(14) *They shall appear alive, &c.* "Or, 'they shall appear at the place of judgment.' The original word, *al Sábira*, is also one of the names of hell."—Sale.

(16) See references in chap. xx. 8-10.

(16-26) See notes on chap. vii. 104-136.

direct thee unto thy LORD, that thou mayest fear *to transgress*. (20) And he showed him the very great sign of the *rod turned into a serpent*: (21) but he charged *Moses* with imposture, and rebelled *against God*. (22) Then he turned back hastily; (23) and he assembled *the magicians*, and cried aloud, (24) saying, *I am your supreme LORD*. (25) Wherefore GOD chastised him with the punishment of the life to come, and *also* of this present life. (26) Verily herein *is* an example unto him who feareth *to rebel*.

R $\frac{2}{4}$

|| (27) *Are ye more difficult to create, or the heaven which God hath built?* (28) He hath raised the height thereof, and hath perfectly formed the same: (29) and he hath made the night thereof dark, and hath produced the light thereof. (30) After this, he stretched out the earth, (31) whence he caused to spring forth the water thereof, and the pasture thereof; (32) and he established the mountains, (33) for the use of yourselves, and of your cattle. (34) When the prevailing, the great *day* shall come, (35) on that day shall a man call to remembrance what he hath purposely done: (36) and hell shall be exposed to the view of the spectator. (37) And whoso shall have transgressed, (38) and shall have chosen this present life, (39) verily hell shall be his abode; (40) but whoso shall have dreaded the appearing before his LORD, and shall have refrained *his* soul from lust, (41) verily Paradise

(30) *The earth*. "Which had been created before the heavens, but without expansion."—*Sale, Jalāluddīn*.

(35) *Purposely done*. Sins committed without intent are not recognised by Muslims.

(40) *Shall have refrained his soul from lust*. "Without going the length of Dr. Prideaux and others, who seem to think that Mahomed thought more of gratifying his lust than anything else, it seems on the whole that he was, judge him by what standard you like, a lustful man, and one who, as the Prophet of God, did not check his passions so much as he ought to have done."—*Brinckman in "Notes on Islām."*

The Muslims will not, however, admit that their Prophet can be charged with immorality, inasmuch as he had the Divine permission for all he did. Looking at this matter from their standpoint, the

shall be *his* abode. (42) They will ask thee concerning the *last* hour, when *will be* the fixed time thereof? (43) By what means *canst* thou *give* any information of the same? (44) Unto thy LORD *belongeth the knowledge of* the period thereof: (45) and thou *art* only a warner, who fearest the same. (46) The day whereon they shall see the same, *it shall seem to them* as though they had not tarried *in the world longer* than an evening or a morning thereof.

Christian will abstain from urging this question against the prophetic claim of Muhammad. Many inspired writers were polygamists.

CHAPTER LXXX.

ENTITLED SURAT AL ABAS (HE FROWNED).

Revealed at Makkah.

INTRODUCTION.

THE story told by the Muslim writers to account for the occasion upon which this chapter was revealed is related by Sale as follows :—
 “A certain blind man, named Abdullah Ibn Omm Maktúm, came and interrupted Muhammad while he was engaged in earnest discourse with some of the principal Quraish, whose conversion he had hopes of ; but the Prophet taking no notice of him, the blind man, not knowing he was otherwise busied, raised his voice and said, ‘O Apostle of God, teach me some part of what God hath taught thee ;’ but Muhammad, vexed at this interruption, frowned and turned away from him, for which he is here reprehended. After this, whenever the Prophet saw Ibn Omm Maktúm, he showed him great respect, saying, ‘The man is welcome on whose account my Lord hath reprimanded me ;’ and he made him twice governor of Madína.”

Noëldeke doubts this story, with very good reason. This Ibn Omm Maktúm belonged to one of the most influential families of the tribe of Quraish, whereas the drift of the passage makes us expect a man of the common multitude.

The chapter relates to the obduracy of those unbelievers, who fail to recognise and obey the God who creates and preserves them.

Probable Date of the Revelations.

All authorities agree in regarding this chapter as an early Makkan Sura. Noëldeke places it in the early part of his first period. Muir makes it one of the first Suras enunciated by Muhammad as a public preacher.

Principal Subjects.

	VERSES
Muhammad rebuked for frowning on a poor blind Muslim	1-11
The Qurán written in honourable, exalted, and pure volumes	12-15
Man cursed for turning aside from his Creator	16-23
It is God who provides man with food	24-32
On the judgment-day men will desert their nearest relatives and friends	33-37
The bright and sad faces of the resurrection-day	38-42

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

|| (1) *The Prophet* frowned and turned aside (2) because *R* $\frac{1}{5}$. the blind *man* came unto him: (3) and how dost thou know whether he shall peradventure be cleansed *from his sins*, (4) or *whether* he shall be admonished, and the admonition shall profit him? (5) *The man* who is wealthy (6) thou receivest respectfully; (7) whereas *it is not to be charged* on thee that he is not cleansed: (8) but him who cometh unto thee earnestly, (9) seeking *his salvation*, and who feareth *God*, (10) dost thou neglect. (11) By no means *shouldst thou act thus*. Verily, *the Qurán* is an admonition (12) (and he who is willing retaineth the same); (13) *written* in volumes honourable, (14) exalted, and pure; (15) by the hands of scribes honoured and just. (16) May man be cursed! What hath seduced him to infidelity? (17) Of what thing doth God create him? (18) Of a drop of seed (19) doth he create him: and he

(1-11) Muhammad is justly praised for the magnanimous spirit shown in this passage. Throughout his career we rarely after find him courting the favour of the rich or the great, and he was ever ready to recognise merit in the poorest of his followers.

(13-15) *Written in volumes*. "Being transcribed from the 'preserved table,' highly honoured in the sight of God, kept pure and uncorrupted from the hands of evil spirits, and touched only by the angels. Some understand hereby the books of the prophets, with which the Qurán agrees in substance."—*Sale, Zamakhshari*.

(16) *Man be cursed*. This expression is limited to the unbelievers by what follows. Jesus prayed for his enemies; Muhammad cursed his.

formeth him with proportion; (20) and then facilitateth *his passage out of the womb*: (21) afterwards he causeth him to die, and layeth him in the grave; (22) hereafter, when it shall please him, he shall raise him to life. (23) Assuredly. He hath not hitherto fully performed what *God* hath commanded him. (24) Let man consider his food; *in what manner it is provided*. (25) We pour down water by showers; (26) afterwards we cleave the earth in clefts, (27) and we cause corn to spring forth therein, (28) and grapes and clover, (29) and the olive and the palm, (30) and gardens planted thick with trees, (31) and fruits, and grass, (32) for the use of yourselves and of your cattle. (33) When the stunning sound *of the trumpet* shall be heard; (34) on that day shall a man fly from his brother, (35) and his mother, and his father, (36) and his wife, and his children. (37) Every man of them, on that day, shall have business *of his own* sufficient to employ *his thoughts*. (38) On that day *the faces of some shall be* bright, (39) laughing, *and joyful*; (40) and upon *the faces of others*, on that day, *shall there be* dust; (41) darkness shall cover them. (42) These are the unbelievers, the wicked.

(33) See note on chap. lxxix. 13. The first blast, however, is referred to here. See Prelim. Disc., p. 135.

CHAPTER LXXXI.

ENTITLED SURAT AL TAKWÍR (THE FOLDING UP).

Revealed at Makkah.

INTRODUCTION.

THE title of this chapter is taken from the first verse. The only matter worthy of notice here is the allusion it makes to the vision of Gabriel which Muhammad claimed he had in Mount Hira. This vision is here referred to as a Divine attestation to his apostleship. Noëldeke thinks this vision to have been "a night vision," and, from vers. 15-18, he concludes "the revelation took place toward the end of the night, when the light of the stars was waning and the dawn about to break."

Probable Date of the Revelations.

What is said in this chapter of Muhammad's vision is so like the statement of chapter liii. as to suggest that the date is probably the same. The style and language agrees very well with this opinion.

Principal Subjects.

	VERSES
The terrible signs of the judgment-day	I-14
Oaths that the Qurán is the word of God, and that Muham- mad is neither a madman nor deluded by the devil	15-25
The Qurán an admonition to all men	26-29

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

|| (1) When the sun shall be folded up; (2) and when $R \frac{1}{6}$ the stars shall fall; (3) and when the mountains shall be

(1) *Folded up.* "As a garment that is to be laid by."—*Salé.*

made to pass away; (4) and when the camels ten months gone with young shall be neglected; (5) and when the wild beasts shall be gathered together; (6) and when the seas shall boil; (7) and when the souls shall be joined *again to their bodies*: (8) and when the girl who hath been buried alive shall be asked (9) for what crime she was put to death; (10) and when the books shall be laid open; (11) and when the heaven shall be removed; (12) and when hell shall burn fiercely; (13) and when Paradise shall be brought near; (14) *every* soul shall know what it hath wrought. (15) Verily I swear by the stars which are retrograde, (16) which move swiftly, *and* which hide themselves; (17) and by the night, when it cometh on; (18) and by the morning, when it appeareth; (19) that these *are* the words of an honourable messenger, (20) endued with strength, of established dignity in the sight of the possessor of the throne, (21) *obeyed by the angels under his authority*, and faithful: (22) and your companion *Muhammad* is not distracted. (23) He had already seen him in the clear horizon: (24) and he suspected not the

(4-6) See Prelim. Disc., p. 135.

(8) *Buried alive* "For it was customary among the ancient Arabs to bury their daughters alive as soon as they were born, for fear they should be impoverished by providing for them, or should suffer disgrace on their account."—*Sale*.

See also note on chap. xvi. 60.

(11) *The heaven . . . removed*. "Or plucked away from its place, as 'the skin is plucked off' from a camel which is flaying, for that is the proper signification of the verb here used. Marracci fancies the passage alludes to that in the Psalms (Ps. civ. 2), where, according to the versions of the Septuagint and the Vulgate, God is said to have 'stretched out the heaven like a skin.'"—*Sale*.

(16) *Which hide, &c.* "Some understand hereby the stars in general, but the more exact commentators, five of the planets, viz., the two which accompany the sun and the three superior planets, which have both a retrograde and a direct motion, and hide themselves in the rays of the sun, or when they set."—*Sale*.

(19) *An honourable messenger*. "Gabriel."—*Sale*.

(20) *Endued with strength*. See note on chap. liii. 6.

(23) See notes on chap. liii. 7-11.

(24) *And he suspected not*. "Some copies, by a change of one letter only, instead of *dhanīnin* read *danīnin*, and then the words

secrets *revealed unto him.* (25) Neither *are* these the words of an accursed devil. (26) Whither, therefore, are you going? (27) This *is* no other than an admonition unto all creatures; (28) unto him among you who shall be willing to walk uprightly; (29) but ye shall not will, unless GOD willeth, the LORD of all creatures.

should be rendered, 'He is not tenacious of, or grudges not to communicate to you, 'the secret revelations' which he has received.'
—*Sale.*

(25) *An accursed devil.* "Who has overheard by stealth the discourse of the angels. The verse is an answer to a calumny of the infidels, who said the Qurán was only a piece of divination or magic; for the Arabs suppose the soothsayer or magician receives his intelligence from those evil spirits who are continually listening to learn what they can from the inhabitants of heaven."—*Sale.*

See notes on chap. xv. 17, 18.

CHAPTER LXXXII.

ENTITLED SURAT AL INFITÁR (THE CLEAVING IN SUNDER).

Revealed at Makkah.

INTRODUCTION.

THIS chapter is typical of the Suras first enunciated at Makkah. The burden of the Prophet is the unbelief of man in the doctrine of a future judgment, in which God shall reward the righteous and punish the wicked.

Probable Date of the Revelations.

Nothing more definite can be said as to the date of this chapter than that it is one of the earliest Makkan Suras. Noëldéke places it immediately before chapter lxxxi.

Principal Subjects.

	VERSES
Signs of the judgment-day	1-5
Astonishing unbelief of man in his Creator	6-9
Guardian angels record the deeds of men	10-12
In the judgment the righteous shall be rewarded and the wicked punished	13-16
On the day of judgment there shall be no intercessor	17-19

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

R ½. || (1) When the heaven shall be cloven in sunder; (2) and when the stars shall be scattered; (3) and when the seas shall be suffered to join their waters; (4) and when

(1-4) These are all signs of the judgment-day. See Prelim. Disc., p. 135.

the graves shall be turned upside down: (5) *every* soul shall know what it hath committed, and *what* it hath omitted. (6) O man, what hath seduced thee against thy gracious LORD, (7) who hath created thee, and put thee together, and rightly disposed thee? (8) In what form he pleased hath he fashioned thee. (9) Assuredly. But ye deny the *last* judgment as a falsehood. (10) Verily *there are appointed* over you guardian *angels*, (11) honourable *in the sight of God*, writing down *your actions*, (12) who know that which ye do. (13) The just *shall* surely be in a *place of* delight, (14) but the wicked *shall* surely be in hell; (15) they shall be cast therein to be burned, on the day of judgment, (16) and they *shall* not be absent therefrom *for ever*. (17) What shall cause thee to understand what the day of judgment *is*? (18) Again, what shall cause thee to understand what the day of judgment *is*? (19) *It is* a day whereon one soul shall not be able to obtain anything in behalf of *another* soul; and the command on that day shall be GOD's.

(6-8) Compare chap. lxxx. 16 *seq.*

(10) See chap. l. 26, and Prelim. Disc., pp. 148, 149.

(18, 19) Compare chap. lxxvii. 11-14.

CHAPTER LXXXIII.

ENTITLED SURAT AL TATFÍF (THOSE WHO GIVE SHORT
MEASURE).

Revealed at Makkah.

INTRODUCTION.

THIS chapter opens with a philippic against the use of false weights and measures. Woes are then pronounced against those who charge their prophets with imposture, while the believers are comforted by a description of the joys which await them in Paradise. The infidels may with mocking and jesting taunt the Muslims now, but the time will come when the Muslims shall laugh at the infidels as they look down from the couches of Paradise upon their writhings in hell-fire.

Probable Date of the Revelations.

Muslim authors differ as to the location of this chapter. Some hold (Itqán, 37) that vers. 1-6 only are Madínic, others that the whole chapter is Madínic (Itqán, 28, 55). According to others, this is the last Makkan Sura, or the first Madínic, or revealed between Makkah and Madína. Noéldeke and Muir alike place it among the early Makkan Suras, making the date to be about the fourth year of Muhammad's public ministry.

Principal Subjects.

	VERSES
Denunciation of those who use false weights and measures	1-6
The acts of the wicked are recorded in the book Sajjín .	7-9
Woe to those who reject Muhammad and deny the judgment-day	10-18
The acts of the righteous are registered in Illiyún	18-21
The rewards of the righteous in Paradise	22-28
Unbelievers mock at Muslims now, but shall be laughed at in turn	29-36

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

|| (1) Woe be unto those who give short measure or weight; (2) who, when they receive by measure from *other* men, take the full; (3) but when they measure unto them, or weigh unto them, defraud! (4) Do not these think they shall be raised again (5) at the great day, (6) the day whereon mankind shall stand before the LORD of all creatures? (7) By no means. Verily the register of the actions of the wicked is surely in Sajjīn. (8) And what shall make thee to understand what Sajjīn is? (9) *It is a book distinctly written.* (10) Woe be on that day unto those who accused the prophets of imposture, (11) who denied the day of judgment as a falsehood! (12) And none denieth the same as a falsehood except every unjust and flagitious person, (13) who, when our signs are rehearsed unto him, saith, *They are fables of the ancients.* (14) By no means; but rather their lusts have cast a veil over their hearts. (15) By no means. Verily they shall be shut out from their LORD on that day; (16) and they shall be sent into hell to be burned: (17) then shall it be said unto them by the infernal guards, *This is what ye denied as a falsehood.* (18) Assuredly. But the register

(1-6) This passage, as well as many others in this portion of the Qurán, illustrates the character of the instruction given by the reformer of Makkah. It has a genuine ring about it. A pure morality is insisted on, and enforced by the doctrine of a final judgment.

(7) "*Sajjīn* is the name of the general register, wherein the actions of all the wicked, both men and genii, are distinctly entered. *Sajjīn* signifies a prison; and this book, as some think, derives its name from thence, because it will occasion those whose deeds are there recorded to be imprisoned in hell. Sajjīn or Sajín is also the name of the dungeon beneath the seventh earth, the residence of Iblís and his host; where it is supposed, by some, that this book is kept, and where the souls of the wicked will be detained till the resurrection. If the latter explication be admitted, the words, 'And what shall make thee to understand what Sajjīn is?' should be enclosed within a parenthesis."—Sale, *Baidhawí*, *Jaláluddín*.

See also Prelim. Disc., p. 129.

(13) See notes on chaps. vi. 24, and xxi. 5.

of the actions of the righteous is Illíyún: (19) and what shall cause thee to understand what Illíyún is? (20) *It is a book distinctly written: (21) those who approach near unto God are witnesses thereto. (22) Verily the righteous shall dwell among delights: (23) seated on couches, they shall behold objects of pleasure; (24) thou shalt see in their faces the brightness of joy. (25) They shall be given to drink of pure wine, sealed; (26) the seal whereof shall be musk: and to this let those aspire who aspire to happiness: (27) and the water mixed therewith shall be of Tasnīm, (28) a fountain whereof those shall drink who approach near unto the divine presence. (29) They who act wickedly laugh the true believers to scorn, (30) and when they pass by them, they wink at one another; (31) and when they turn aside to their people, they turn aside making scurrilous jests; (32) and when they see them, they say, (33) Verily these are mistaken men. But they*

(18) *Illíyún.* "The word is a plural, and signifies *high places*. Some say it is the general register wherein the actions of the righteous, whether angels, men, or genii, are distinctly recorded. Others will have it to be a place in the seventh heaven, under the throne of God; where this book is kept, and where the souls of the just, as many think, will remain till the last day. If we prefer the latter opinion, the words, 'And what shall make thee to understand what Illíyún is?' should likewise be enclosed in a parenthesis."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*.

(21) *Witnesses thereto.* "Or are present with and keep the same."—Sale.

(25) *Pure wine.* See note on chap. lxxvi. 5.

(26) *The seal, &c., i.e.,* "the vessels containing the same shall be sealed with musk, instead of clay. Some understand by the seal of this wine its farewell, or the flavour it will leave in the mouth after it is drunk."—Sale.

(27) *Tasnīm.* "Tasnīm is the name of a fountain in Paradise, so called from its being conveyed to the highest apartments."—Sale.

(28) *A fountain, &c.* "For they shall drink the water of Tasnīm pure and unmixed, being continually and wholly employed in the contemplation of God; but the other inhabitants of Paradise shall drink it mixed with their wine."—Sale.

(33) *Not . . . keepers, i.e.,* "the infidels are not commissioned by God to call the believers to account, or to judge of their actions."—Sale.

are not sent *to be* keepers over them. (34) Wherefore one day the true believers, *in their turn*, shall laugh the infidels to scorn: (35) *lying* on couches, they shall look down *upon them in hell*. (36) Shall not the infidels be rewarded for that which they have done?

(34) *Shall laugh . . . to scorn*. "When they shall see them ignominiously driven into hell. It is also said that a door shall be shown the damned, opening into Paradise, and they shall be bidden to go in; but when they come near the door, it shall suddenly shut; and the believers within shall laugh at them."—*Salé, Baidhāwī*.

CHAPTER LXXXIV.

ENTITLED SURAT AL INSHIQÁQ (THE RENDING IN SUNDER).

Revealed at Makkah.

INTRODUCTION.

THIS chapter begins with very much the same language, and the style and composition throughout is much the same, as that of chapters lxxxi. and lxxxii. We cannot, therefore, err much if we regard the

Probable Date of the Revelations

to be about the same. With this opinion both Muir and Noéldeke seem to agree, as these chapters are brought quite near together in their chronological lists.

Principal Subjects.

	VERSES
Signs of the judgment-day	1-5
The books of the righteous and the wicked given into their hands, and the consequence thereof	6-15
Oaths attesting the doctrine of the resurrection	16-20
The unbelievers denounced and threatened	21-25

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

R $\frac{1}{3}$. || (1) When the heaven shall be rent in sunder, (2) and shall obey its LORD, and shall be capable *thereof*; (3) and when the earth shall be stretched out, (4) and shall cast

(3) *The earth . . . stretched out.* "Like a skin, every mountain and hill being levelled."—Sale.

forth that which *is* therein, and shall remain empty, (5) and shall obey its LORD, and shall be capable *thereof*: (6) O man, verily labouring thou labourest to *meet* thy LORD, and thou shalt meet him. (7) And he who shall have his book given into his right hand (8) shall be called to an easy account, (9) and shall turn unto his family with joy; (10) but he who shall have his book given him behind his back (11) shall invoke destruction *to fall upon him*, (12) and he shall be sent into hell to be burned; (13) because he rejoiced insolently amidst his family *on earth*. (14) Verily he thought he should never return *unto God*: (15) yea, verily, but his LORD beheld him. (16) Wherefore I swear by the redness of the sky after sunset, (17) and by the night, and the *animals* which it driveth together, (18) and by the moon when she is in the full, (19) ye shall surely be transferred *successively* from state to state. (20) What *aileth* them, therefore, that they believe not *the resurrection*, (21) and that, when the Qurán is read unto them, they worship not? (22) Yea, the unbelievers accuse *the same* of imposture; (23) but God well knoweth the *malice* which they keep hidden *in their breasts*. (24) Wherefore denounce unto them a grievous punishment, (25) except those who believe and do good works: for them *is prepared* a never-failing reward.

(4) *That which is therein*. "As the treasures hidden in its bowels, and the dead bodies which lie in their graves."—Sale.

(6) *Thou shalt meet him*. "Or, and thou shalt meet thy labour; whether thy works be good or whether they be evil."—Sale.

(9) *His family, i.e.*, "his relations and friends who are true believers; or rather, to his wives and servants, or the damsels and youths of Paradise, who wait to receive him."—Sale, Baidhawí.

(10) *Behind his back*. "That is, into his left hand; for the wicked will have that hand bound behind their back, and their right hand to their neck."—Sale.

(19) *From state to state, i.e.*, "from the state of the living to that of the dead, and from the state of the dead to a new state of life in another world."—Sale.

(21) *Worship not*. "Or, humble not themselves."—Sale.

CHAPTER LXXXV.

ENTITLED SURAT AL BURÚJ (THE CELESTIAL SIGNS).

Revealed at Makkah.

INTRODUCTION.

THE first seven verses of this chapter are generally supposed to refer to the persecution of the Christians in Najrán by the cruel king Dhú Nawás. Geiger, however, and after him Noëldeke, adopts the opinion of al Bogháwi that the three men in the furnace (Dan. iii.) are here alluded to.

Vers. 8 and 11, says Noëldeke, "have probably been added later on by Muhammad himself, as they differ from the other verses, with which they are otherwise connected, by reason of a greater length, a more diffuse style, and a somewhat modified rhyme." The term *máminát* (female believers) does not occur in any but the latest chapters of the Qurán.

Probable Date of the Revelations.

The chapter, excepting perhaps vers. 8-11, is of Makkan origin. Noëldeke assigns it to the earlier half of his first period.

Principal Subjects.

	VERSES
Cursed were the persecutors of the believers burned with fire	1-7
The believers persecuted for their faith in God . . .	8, 9
For the infidels is hell-fire, but for believers Paradise . .	10-12
God is Creator and Sovereign Ruler of the universe . . .	13-16
Pharaoh and Thamúd examples to warn those who reject the Qurán	17-20
The glorious Qurán is kept in the Preserved Table . . .	21

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

|| (1) By the heaven *adorned* with signs; (2) by the promised day of *judgment*; (3) by the witness and the witnessed; (4) cursed were the contrivers of the pit, (5) of fire supplied with fuel; (6) when they sat around the same, (7) and were witnesses of what they did against the true believers, (8) and they afflicted them for no other reason but because they believed in the mighty, the glorious GOD, (9) unto whom *belongeth* the kingdom of heaven and earth; and GOD *is* witness of all things. (10) Verily for those who persecute the true believers of either sex, R 10

(1) *Signs*. "The original word properly signifies 'towers, which some interpret of real towers, wherein it is supposed the angels keep guard; and others, of the stars of the first magnitude: but the generality of expositors understand thereby the twelve signs of the zodiac, wherein the planets make their several stations.'"—*Sale*.

See notes on chap. xv. 17, 18.

(3) "The meaning of these words is very uncertain, and the explanations of the commentators consequently vary. One thinks 'the witness' to be Muhammad, and 'that which is borne witness of' to be 'the resurrection' or 'the professors of the Muhammadan faith;' or else that these latter are 'the witness,' and the professors of every other religion those who will be 'witnessed against' by them. Another supposes 'the witness' to be the 'guardian angel,' and his charge the person 'witnessed against.' Another expounds the words of the day of Arafát, the 9th of Dhul Hajja, and of the day of slaying the victims, which is the day following, or else of Friday, the day of the weekly assembling of the Muhammadans at their mosques, and of the people who are assembled on those days."—*Sale, Jalál-uddín, Baidháwi, Yahya*.

(4) *Contrivers of the pit*. "Literally, 'the lords of the pit.' These were the ministers of the persecution raised by Dhú Nawás, king of Yaman, who was of the Jewish religion, against the inhabitants of Najrán; for they having embraced Christianity (at that time the true religion, by the confession of Muhammad himself), the bigoted tyrant commanded all those who would not renounce their faith to be cast into a pit or trench filled with fire, and there burnt to ashes. Others, however, tell the story with different circumstances."—*Sale*.

See, on this subject, Introduction to Muir's *Life of Mahomet*, p. clxii.

(6) *And were witnesses, &c.* Or, as some choose to understand the words, 'And shall be witnesses against themselves at the day of judgment, of their unjust treatment of the true believers.'—*Sale*.

and afterwards repent not, *is prepared* the torment of hell; and they *shall suffer* the pain of burning. (11) But for those who believe, and do that which is right, *are destined* gardens beneath which rivers flow: this *shall be* great felicity. (12) Verily the vengeance of thy LORD *is* severe. (13) He createth, and he restoreth *to life*: (14) he *is* inclined to forgive, *and* gracious; (15) the possessor of the glorious throne, (16) who effecteth that which he pleaseth. (17) Hath not the story of the hosts (18) of Pharaoh and of Thamúd reached thee? (19) Yet the unbelievers cease not to accuse *the divine revelations* of falsehood; (20) but God encompasseth them behind, *that they cannot escape*. (21) Verily *that which they reject* is a glorious Qurán; (22) *the original whereof is written* in a table kept in heaven.

(10) *The pain of burning.* "Which pain, it is said, the persecutors of the 'Christian' martyrs above mentioned felt in this life; the fire bursting forth upon them from the pit, and consuming them."—Sale, *Baidháwi*.

(17, 18) See notes on chaps. vii. 104-136, and xi. 61-68.

(22) *A table kept.* "And preserved from the least change or corruption. See the Prelim. Disc., p. 108."—Sale.

CHAPTER LXXXVI.'

ENTITLED SURAT AL TÁRIQ (THE STAR WHICH APPEARED
BY NIGHT).

Revealed at Makkah.

INTRODUCTION.

ACCORDING to al Wakídí, the first three verses of this chapter, which, by the way, give it a title, were revealed when Abu Tálib was frightened by seeing a shooting star. This story receives some colouring from the mention of the guardian angel in ver. 4, as the shooting stars were supposed to be darts cast at the devils by the angels guarding the gates of heaven. Noëldeke, however, thinks the words point to a planet or fixed star.

This chapter seems to us to be composed of two small Suras or fragments of Suras, vers. 11-17 being the second, belonging to a later period, because of the mention of *plots* against Muhammad, which point to the time preceding the first emigration to Abyssinia.

Probable Date of the Revelations.

The first part of this chapter certainly belongs to the earliest period of Muhammad's ministry. Muir and Noëldeke place the whole chapter there; but, for the reason stated above, we prefer to regard vers. 11-17 as belonging to about the fourth year of the ministry at Makkah.

Principal Subjects.

	VERSES
Oath by the star of piercing brightness	1-3
Every soul has its guardian angel	4
God the Creator, and therefore can raise the dead . . .	5-8
The judgment-day shall reveal secret thoughts . . .	9, 10
Oaths by heaven and earth that the Qurán is God's word .	11-14
Muhammad exhorted to bear patiently with the unbelievers plotting his ruin	15-17

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

R ¹₁₁

|| (1) By the heaven, and that which appeareth by night: (2) but what shall cause thee to understand what that which appeareth by night *is*? (3) *it is* the star of piercing brightness: (4) every soul hath a guardian *set* over it. (5) Let a man consider, therefore, of what he is created. (6) He is created of seed poured forth, (7) issuing from the loins and the breast-bones. (8) Verily *God* is able to restore him *to life*, (9) the day whereon *all* secret thoughts and actions shall be examined into; (10) and he shall have no power *to defend himself*, nor any protector. (11) By the heaven which returneth *the rain*, (12) and by the earth which openeth *to let forth vegetables and springs*, (13) verily this *is* a discourse distinguishing *good from evil*, (14) and it *is* not composed with lightness, (15) Verily *the infidels* are laying a plot *to frustrate my designs*; (16) but I will lay a plot *for their ruin*. (17) Wherefore, *O Prophet*, bear with the unbelievers! let them alone a while.

(3) *The star, &c.* "Some take the words to signify any bright star, without restriction, but others think some particular star or stars to be thereby intended; which one supposes to be the morning star (peculiarly called 'al Tāriq,' or 'the appearing by night'), another Saturn (that planet being by the Arabs surnamed 'al Thakib,' or 'the piercing,' as it was by the Greeks 'Phænon,' or 'the shining'), and a third, the Pleiades."—*Salé*.

(7) *Loins and breast-bones.* "From the loins of the man and the breast-bones of the woman."—*Salé, Baidhāwī*.

(9) *Secret thoughts and actions.* The judgment-day shall reveal all such thoughts and actions, but some Muslims deny a moral character to mere thoughts so long as they are not manifested in words or actions.

(11) *Which returneth rain.* "Or, as some expound it, 'which performeth its periodic motion, returning' to the point from whence it began the same. The words seem designed to express the alternate returns of the different seasons of the year."—*Salé*.

CHAPTER LXXXVII.

ENTITLED SURAT AL ÁLÁ (THE MOST HIGH).

Revealed at Makkah.

INTRODUCTION.

IN some editions the title of this chapter is "Praise." The matter of these revelations is considered to be so precious as to vouchsafe to every reader ten celestial blessings for every letter in the books of Abraham, Moses, and Muhammad !

This chapter professes especially to encourage the Prophet, promising him help to rehearse and remember the revelations, except such portions as it might please God to suppress. Thus early do we find mention of the very convenient law of abrogation. This fact, together with the statement in the last verse that the Qurán is attested by the Scriptures of Abraham and Moses, arouses the suspicion that vers. 7 and 18, 19, have been inserted at a later period ; but if so, the additions were made by Muhammad himself.

Probable Date of the Revelations.

Some Muslim writers, comparing vers. 1 and 15, and inferring that the five daily prayers are here alluded to, have concluded this chapter to be Madínic. Ver. 6, referring to Muhammad's purpose to preach the Qurán publicly, together with the style and language of the chapter, shows it to be early Makkan. This can hardly apply to vers. 7, 18, and 19, for reasons given above. Noëldeke places the chapter immediately after chapter lxviii. in his chronological list of Suras.

Principal Subjects.

	VERSES
God, the Most High, praised for his works	1-5
God promises to help Muhammad to proclaim the Qurán	6-9
The God-fearing only shall be admonished	10, 11
The wicked shall be punished, but the righteous shall be blessed	12-15
Men choose the present life rather than the life to come	16, 17
The books of Abraham and Moses attest the Qurán	18, 19

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

R ¹/₁₂. || (1) Praise the name of thy LORD, the Most High, (2) who hath created (3) and completely formed *his creatures*, and who determineth *them to various ends*, and directeth *them to attain the same*; (4) and who produceth the pasture *for cattle*, (5) and *afterwards* rendereth the same dry stubble of a dusky hue. (6) We will enable thee to rehearse *our revelations*; and thou shalt not forget *any part thereof*, (7) except what God shall please; for he knoweth that which is manifest and that which is hidden. (8) And we will facilitate unto thee the most easy *way*. (9) Wherefore admonish *thy people*, if *thy* admonition shall be profitable *unto them*. (10) Whoso feareth *God*, he will be admonished: (11) but the most wretched *unbeliever* will turn away therefrom; (12) who shall be cast to be broiled in the greater fire *of hell*, (13) wherein he shall not die, neither shall he live. (14) Now hath he attained felicity, who is purified *by faith*, (15) and who remembereth the name of his LORD, and prayeth. (16) But ye prefer this present life; (17) yet the life to come *is* better, and more durable. (18) Verily, this *is written* in the ancient books, (19) the books of Abraham and Moses.

(3) *Who determineth, &c.* "Determining their various species, properties, ways of life," &c.—Sale, Baidhāwī.

And directeth. "Guiding the rational by their reason and also by revelation, and the irrational by instinct, &c."—Sale, Baidhāwī.

(6) See note on chap. lxxv. 16–19.

(7) *Except what God shall please, i.e.,* "except such revelations as God shall think fit to abrogate and blot out of thy memory."—Sale. See also notes on chap. ii. 105.

(8) *The most easy way.* "To retain the revelations communicated to thee by Gabriel; or, as some understand the words, 'We will dispose thee to the profession and strict observance of the most easy religion, that is, of Islām.'"—Sale.

(12) See note on chap. ii. 38.

(19) Compare chap. iv. 52, 53.

CHAPTER LXXXVIII.

ENTITLED SURAT AL GHÁSHIYA (THE OVERWHELMING).

Revealed at Makkah.

INTRODUCTION.

THE object of the revelations of this chapter seems to have been to inspire reverence for the Prophet and his teachings by describing the tortures of the wicked in hell. The joys of Paradise are described for the comfort of the poor and as yet despised Muslims of Makkah. Muhammad is only a warner, but the very exhortations to use no force against the unbelievers show that the idea of compulsory conversion of the people was now present in his mind.

Probable Date of the Revelations.

The hint that force might have been used to convert the Quraish (ver. 22) implies strong opposition to Muhammad. This, with the somewhat detailed description of the joys of Paradise, points to a period of Muhammad's ministry near to and yet preceding the earliest persecutions of the Muslims. This would be, as Noëldeke has it, about the fourth year of the ministry at Makkah.

Principal Subjects.

	VERSES
The terrible day of judgment	1-3
Description of the torments of hell	4-7
The joyful state of the Muslims on the judgment-day	8-16
God manifests himself in his works	17-20
Muhammad only to warn, not to rule over, the infidels	21, 22
God will himself punish the unbelievers	23-26

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

R¹₁₃. || (1) Hath the news of the overwhelming *day of judgment* reached thee? (2) The countenances of *some*, on that day, *shall be cast down*; (3) labouring *and toiling*, (4) they shall be cast into scorching fire to be broiled: (5) they shall be given to drink of a boiling fountain: (6) they shall have no food, but of dry thorns and thistles: (7) which shall not fatten, neither shall they satisfy hunger. (8) *But* the countenances of *others*, on that day, *shall be joyful*; (9) well pleased with their *past* endeavour: (10) they *shall be placed* in a lofty garden, (11) wherein thou shalt hear no vain discourse: (12) therein *shall be* a running fountain; (13) therein *shall be* raised beds, (14) and goblets placed *before them*, (15) and cushions laid in order, (16) and carpets ready spread. (17) Do they not consider the camels, how they are created? (18) and the heaven, how it is raised? (19) and the mountains, how they are fixed? (20) and the earth, how it is extended? (21) Wherefore warn *thy people*; for thou *art* a warner only: (22) thou art not empowered to act with authority over them. (23) But whoever shall turn back, and dis-

(3) *Labouring and toiling, i.e.*, “dragging their chains, and labouring through hell-fire, as camels labour through mud, &c. Or, ‘Employing and fatiguing themselves’ in what shall not avail them.”—*Salé*.

(6) *Dry thorns and thistles*. “Such as the camels eat when green and tender. Some take the original word *al Dhari* for the name of a thorny tree.”—*Salé*.

(8-16) Compare with these verses chaps. lxxviii. 31-37, iii. 15, and see notes there.

(17) *The camels*. “These animals are of such use, or rather necessity, in the East, that the creation of a species so wonderfully adapted to those countries is a very proper instance, to an Arabian, of the power and wisdom of God. Some, however, think the ‘clouds’ (which the original word *abl* also signifies) are here intended, ‘the heaven’ being mentioned immediately after.”—*Salé*.

(21, 22) See note on chap. ii. 119.

(23) *Whoever shall turn back*. “Qr ‘except him who shall turn back and be an infidel; and God shall punish him,’ &c. By which

believe, (24) God shall punish him with the greater punishment *of the life to come*. (25) Verily unto us shall they return: (26) then shall it be our part to bring them to account.

exception some suppose that power is here given to Muhammad to chastise obstinate infidels and apostates."—*Sale*.

See note on chap. v. 59.

CHAPTER LXXXIX.

ENTITLED SURAT AL FAJR (THE DAYBREAK).

Revealed at Makkah.

INTRODUCTION.

THIS chapter, like almost all the earlier Makkan Suras, opens with a number of oaths, which seem to have been uttered as a kind of warning to call special attention to the solemnity of what was to follow. The fourth verse shows us that Muhammad formed these imprecations with deliberate purpose, and uttered them after careful consideration.

The burden of the preacher's warning was levelled against the oppression and greed of the rich in his own town. Perhaps they had already begun to treat harshly the slave converts to Islám. However this may be, they are warned by the examples of Ád, Thamúd, and Pharaoh, who were destroyed for their wickedness and oppression. They are also pointed to the judgment-day, when the wicked shall vainly regret their evil deeds. The chapter ends with a call to the believing soul to enter the joy of Paradise.

Probable Date of the Revelations.

Some Muslim writers (*Itqán*, 29) regard this chapter as Madínic. Noéldeke tells of one author (Hibat Allah) who declares that it was revealed at Makkah in A.H. 8. He, however, regards it as early Makkan, and in his chronological table places it immediately after chapter lxxxviii.

Principal Subjects.

	VERSES
Various oaths by natural objects	I-4
Unbelievers are warned by the fate of Ád, Thamúd, and Pharaoh	5-13
Man praises God in prosperity, but reproaches him in adversity	14-17

	VERSES
Oppression of the poor and the orphan denounced . . .	18-22
The wicked will vainly regret their evil deeds on the judgment-day	23-25
The believing soul invited to the joys of Paradise . . .	26-30

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

|| (1) By the daybreak and ten nights; (2) by that ^{NISF.} which is double, and that which is single; (3) and by the ^R 14. night when it cometh on: (4) *is there* not in this an oath formed with understanding? (5) Hast thou not considered how thy LORD dealt with *Ád*, (6) *the people of Iram*, adorned with lofty buildings, (7) the like whereof

(1) *Ten nights.* "That is, the ten nights of Dhúl Hajja, or the tenth of that month (whence some understand the day break mentioned just before, or the morning of that day or of the preceding); or the night of the 10th of Muharram; or, as others rather think, the 10th, 11th, and 12th of Dhúl Hajja. All which are days peculiarly sacred among the Muhammadans."—*Sale*.

(2, 3) "These words are variously interpreted. Some understand thereby all things in general; some, all created beings—which are said to have been created by pairs, or of two kinds (chap. li. 49)—and the Creator, who is single; some, of the *primum mobile* and the other orbs; some, of the constellations and the planets; some, of the nights before mentioned, taken either together or singly; and some, of the day of slaying the victims (the 10th of Dhúl Hajja) and of the day of Arafát, which is the day before, &c."—*Sale, Zamakhshari*.

(6) *The people of Iram.* "Iram was the name of the territory or city of the *Ádites*, and of the garden mentioned in the next note, which were so called from Iram or Aram, the grandfather of *Ád*, their progenitor. Some think Aram himself to be here meant, and his name to be added to signify the ancient *Ádites*, his immediate descendants, and to distinguish them from the latter tribe of that name; but the adjective and relative joined to the word are, in the original, of the feminine gender, which seems to contradict this opinion."—*Sale, Baidháwi*.

Lofty buildings, "or 'pillars.' Some imagine these words are used to express the great size and strength of the old *Ádites*; and then they should be translated, 'who were of enormous stature.' But the more exact commentators take the passage to relate to the sumptuous palace and delightful gardens built and made by Shaddád, the son of *Ád*. For they say *Ád* left two sons, Shaddád and Shaddíd, who reigned jointly after his decease and extended their power over the greater part of the world; but Shaddíd dying, his brother became

hath not been erected in the land; (8) and with Thamúd, who hewed the rocks in the valley *into houses*; (9) and with Pharaoh, the contriver of the stakes: (10) who had behaved insolently in the earth, (11) and multiplied corruption therein? (12) Wherefore thy LORD poured on them various kinds of chastisement: (13) for thy LORD *is* surely in a watch-tower, *whence he observeth the actions of men*. (14) Moreover, man, when his LORD trieth him *by prosperity*, and honoureth him, and is bounteous unto him, (15) saith, My LORD honoureth me; (16) but when he proveth him *by afflictions* and withholdeth his provisions from him, (17) he saith, My LORD despiseth me. (18) By no means: but ye honour not the orphan, (19)

sole monarch; who, having heard of the 'Celestial Paradise,' made a garden in imitation thereof in the deserts of Aden, and called it Iram, after the name of his great-grandfather. When it was finished, he set out with a great attendance to take a view of it; but when they were come within a day's journey of the place, they were all destroyed by a terrible noise from heaven. Al Baidhāwī adds that one Abdullah Ibn Kalābah (whom, after D'Herbelot, I have elsewhere named Colabah, Prelim. Disc., p. 21) accidentally hit on this wonderful place as he was seeking a camel."—*Sale, Baidhāwī*.

See Prelim. Disc., pp. 20, 21.

(7) *The like, &c.* "If we suppose the preceding words to relate to the vast stature of the Adites, these must be translated, 'The like of whom hath not been created,' &c."—*Sale*.

(8) "The learned Greaves, in his translation of Abul Fida's 'Description of Arabia,' has falsely rendered these words, which are there quoted, 'Quibus petræ vallis responsum dederunt,' *i.e.*, 'To whom the rocks of the valley returned answer;' which slip being made by so great a man, I do not at all wonder that La Roque and Petis de la Croix, from whose Latin version and with whose assistance La Roque made his French translation of the aforesaid treatise, have been led into the same mistake, and rendered those words, 'A qui les pierres de la vallée redirent réponse.' The valley here meant, say the commentators, is Wādi al Qurá, lying about one day's journey (not five and upwards, as Abul Fida will have it) from al Hajr."—*Sale*.

(9) See note on chap. xxxviii. 11.

(12) *Various kinds.* "The original word signifies a 'mixture,' and also a 'scourge' of platted thongs; whence some suppose the 'chastisement of this life' is here represented by a 'scourge,' and intimated to be as much lighter than that of the next life as 'scourging' is lighter than death."—*Sale, Baidhāwī*.

(18) *By no means.* "For worldly prosperity or adversity is not a certain mark either of the favour or disfavour of God."—*Sale*.

neither do ye excite *one another* to feed the poor; (20) and ye devour the inheritance *of the weak*, with undistinguishing greediness, (21) and ye love riches with much affection. (22) By no means *should ye do thus*. When the earth shall be minutely ground to dust: (23) and thy LORD shall come, and the angels rank by rank; (24) and hell, on that day, shall be brought nigh: on that day shall man call to remembrance *his evil deeds*: but how *shall remembrance avail him?* (25) He shall say, Would to God that I had heretofore done *good works* in my lifetime! On that day none shall punish with his punishment; (26) nor shall any bind with his bonds. (27) O thou soul which art at rest, (28) return unto thy LORD, well pleased *with thy reward*, and well-pleasing *unto God*: (29) enter among my servants; (30) and enter my Paradise.

(20) *Ye devour . . . the weak*. "Not suffering women or young children to have any share in the inheritance of their husbands or parents."—Sale. See chap. iv. 2-7 and notes there.

(24) "There is a tradition that, at the last day, hell will be dragged towards the tribunal by 70,000 halters, each halter being hauled by 70,000 angels; and that it will come with great roaring and fury."—Sale, Baidhāwi, Jalāluddīn.

(25) *My lifetime*. "Or, 'For' this 'my' latter 'life.'"—Sale.

(26) "That is, none shall be able to punish or to bind, as God shall then punish and bind the wicked."—Sale, Baidhāwi.

(27) *Thou soul, &c.* "Some expound this of the soul, which having, by pursuing the concatenation of natural causes, raised itself to the knowledge of that Being which produced them and exists of necessity, 'rests' fully contented, or 'acquiesces' in the knowledge of him and the contemplation of his perfections. By this the reader will observe that the Muhammadans are no strangers to Quietism. Others, however, understand the words of the soul, which, having attained the knowledge of the truth, 'rests' satisfied and 'relies securely' thereon, undisturbed by doubts; or of the soul, which is 'secure' of its salvation and free from fear or sorrow."—Sale, Baidhāwi.

CHAPTER XC.

ENTITLED SURAT AL BALAD (THE TERRITORY).

Revealed at Makkah.

INTRODUCTION.

THIS chapter is quoted by Muir in his "Life of Mahomet," vol. ii. p. 65, to show how earnestly Muhammad at first strove after the truth. According to this author, these revelations, along with those of seventeen more of these short Suras, are not to be regarded as having been proclaimed publicly at the time of composition, but as expressing rather the private thoughts of the inquirer after truth, entertained even years before he set up his claim to be a prophet of God. The eighteen chapters thus described are as follows—103, 100, 99, 91, 106, 1, 101, 95, 102, 104, 82, 92, 105, 89, 90, 93, 94, and 108.

The commentators fancy a definite individual to be addressed in this chapter, and, as usual, they suggest the ubiquitous character of Walid Ibnal Mughaira. It is better to regard the exhortation here to be addressed to men in general.

Probable Date of the Revelations.

All authorities agree in placing this chapter among the earliest Makkan revelations. It is safe to assign it to the first year of the Call, when, even if written before, it was proclaimed as one of the "signs" to an unbelieving people.

Principal Subjects.

	VERSES
Man, though created in misery, yet boasts of his riches .	1-7
Captives to be freed and the poor and orphan to be fed .	8-16
Description of the companions of the right and left hand .	17-20

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

|| (1) I swear by this territory, (2) (and thou, *O Prophet*, R 15 residest in this territory), (3) and by the begetter, and that which he hath begotten; (4) verily we have created man in misery. (5) Doth he think that none shall prevail over him? (6) He saith, I have wasted plenty of riches. (7) Doth he think that none seeth him? (8) Have we not made him two eyes, (9) and a tongue, and two lips; (10) and shown him the two highways of good and evil? (11) Yet he attempteth not the cliff. (12) What shall make thee to understand what the cliff is? (13) *It is* to free the captive; (14) or to feed, in the day of famine, (15) the orphan who is of kin, (16) or the poor man who

(1) *I swear.* Or, *I will not swear.* See note on chap. lvi. 74. Territory, viz., "the sacred territory of Makkah."—Sale See Prelim. Disc., p. 181.

(2) "*Or, Thou shalt be allowed to do what thou pleasest in this territory;* the words, in this sense, importing a promise of that absolute power which Muhammad attained on the taking of Makkah."

"This interpretation is a mere fancy of the commentators."—Sale Baidhāwī.

(3) "Some understand these words generally; others of Adam or Abraham, and of their offspring, and of Muhammad in particular."—Sale, Baidhāwī.

(4) *Misery.* "Or, 'to trouble.' The passage was revealed to comfort the Prophet under the persecutions of the Quraish."—Sale, Baidhāwī.

(5) "Some expositors take a particular person to be here intended, who was one of Muhammad's most inveterate adversaries, as al Walid Ibn al Mughaira; others suppose Abul Ashadd Ibn Qalda to be the man, who was so very strong, that a large skin being spread under his feet, and ten men pulling at it, they could not make him fall, though they tore the skin to pieces."—Sale, Zamakhshari, Baidhāwī.

(6) *He saith.* "In a vain and ostentatious manner, or in opposing of Muhammad."—Sale, Baidhāwī.

(13) *To free the captive.* This passage seems to tell forcibly against those Muslims who pursue the slave-trade. The disposition to free the slave is here said to be a sign of a man's being a true believer. Muhammad himself practised the precept here enunciated. How sad that he should have so far modified this teaching, indefinite as it is, as to make Islām responsible for nearly all the slave-dealing practised at the present day! One might hope for a reform on this subject among Muslims, based on passages like this and the example of the Prophet already alluded to, but unfortunately these precepts

lieth on the ground. (17) *Whoso doth this*, and is *one* of those who believe, and recommend perseverance unto each other, and recommend mercy unto each other; (18) these *shall be* the companions of the right hand. (19) But they who shall disbelieve our signs shall be the companions of the left hand : (20) above them *shall be* arched fire.

belong to the earlier chapters of the Qurán, and must therefore be regarded as having been abrogated by the later utterances. The worst of it is that *even in this passage slaveholding is not condemned as a sin* inconsistent with love to our neighbour. It is right to hold the slave, but a great merit to bestow upon him freedom.

(18, 19) See note on chap. l. 16, 17.

CHAPTER XCI.

ENTITLED SURAT AL SHAMS (THE SUN).

Revealed at Makkah.

INTRODUCTION.

THE first ten verses of this chapter are very similar in style and rhythm to chap. xc., and may with it be numbered among what Muir calls the "Soliloquies." In regard to the following verses, however, we think that, owing to the change in style, they must be relegated to a later period. This illustrates how the Prophet revised and improved the revelations in later years, for we can hardly refer the additions to these short chapters to the compilers.

Probable Date of the Revelations.

The first part of this chapter may well be classed along with the preceding chapter as a revelation of the first year of Muhammad's ministry. The allusion to *imposture* in the latter part of the chapter, however, points to the third and fourth year of the Call.

Principal Subjects.

	VERSES
Oaths that man's happiness and misery depends on the purity or corruption he hath wrought in it . . .	1-10
Thamúd destroyed for rejecting their prophet . . .	11-15

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

|| (1) By the sun, and its rising brightness; (2) by the R 16.
moon, when she followeth him; (3) by the day, when it

(2) *When she followeth him, i.e., "when she rises just after him, as she does at the beginning of the month; or when she sets after him, as happens when she is a little past the full."*—Sale, Baidhāwī.

showeth his splendour; (4) by the night, when it covereth him with darkness; (5) by the heaven, and him who built it; (6) by the earth, and him who spread it forth; (7) by the soul, and him who completely formed it, (8) and inspired into the same its *faculty of distinguishing and power of choosing* wickedness and piety; (9) now is he who hath purified the same happy; (10) but he who hath corrupted the same is miserable. (11) Thamúd accused *their prophet Sâlih* of imposture, through the excess of their wickedness: (12) when the wretch among them was sent to *slay the camel*; (13) and the Apostle of GOD said unto them, *Let alone the camel of GOD, and hinder not her drinking.* (14) But they charged him with imposture, and they slew her. Wherefore their LORD destroyed them for their crime, and made *their punishment equal unto them all*: (15) and he feareth not the issue thereof.

(8) *Wickedness and piety.* Sale's words in italics here destroy the meaning of the original. The translation according to Rodwell is "breathed into it its wickedness and its piety." Instead of "breathed," Palmer has "taught." In any case, God is made the author of man's sin as well as of good.

(11-15) *Thamúd.* See notes on chaps. vii. 74-80, and liv. 19 *seq.*

(12) *The wretch.* Kidâr Ibn Salîf. See chaps. vii. 78, and liv. 29, notes.

CHAPTER XCII.

ENTITLED SURAT AL LAIL (THE NIGHT).

Revealed at Makkah.

INTRODUCTION.

"JALĀLUDDĪN," says Sale, "thinks this whole description belongs peculiarly to Abu Baqr; for when he had purchased Bilāl, the Ethiopian (afterwards the Prophet's Muadhdhin, or crier to prayers), who had been put to the rack on account of his faith, the infidels said he did it only out of a view of interest; upon which this passage was revealed."

The style and language of this chapter are, however, against this explanation. It is best, therefore, to regard the whole as addressed to Muhammad's hearers generally.

Probable Date of the Revelations.

Muir places this chapter among the "Soliloquies;" but this chapter seems to me to be ruled out of that category by the statements of ver. 14 *seq.*, where Muhammad appears as a warner, and therefore is entered upon his public ministry. The whole must, however, be assigned to an early date.

Principal Subjects.

	VERSES
Oaths by various natural objects	1-4
The obedient blessed and the covetous accursed	5-13
The covetous threatened with hell-fire	14-16
True believers shall be rewarded hereafter	17-21

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

R $\frac{1}{17}$ || (1) By the night, when it covereth *all things* with darkness; (2) by the day, when it shineth forth; (3) by him who hath created the male and the female: (4) verily your endeavour *is* different. (5) Now whoso is obedient and feareth *God*, (6) and professeth the truth of that *faith* which is most excellent; (7) unto him will we facilitate *the way* to happiness: (8) but whoso shall be covetous, and shall be wholly taken up *with this world*, (9) and shall deny the truth of that which is most excellent; (10) unto him will we facilitate *the way* to misery; (11) and his riches shall not profit him when he shall fall headlong *into hell*. (12) Verily unto us *appertaineth* the direction of *mankind*; (13) and ours *is* the life to come and the present life. (14) Wherefore I threaten you with fire which burneth fiercely, (15) which none shall enter to be burned except the most wretched, (16) who shall have disbelieved and turned back. (17) But he who strictly bewareth *idolatry and rebellion* shall be removed far from the same; (18) who giveth his substance in alms, (19) and by whom no benefit *is bestowed* on any, that it may be recompensed, (20) but *who bestoweth the same* for the sake of his LORD, the Most High, (21) and hereafter he shall be well satisfied *with his reward*.

CHAPTER XCIII.

ENTITLED SURAT AL ZUHÁ (THE BRIGHTNESS).

Revealed at Makkah.

INTRODUCTION.

A STRIKING peculiarity of this chapter, and also of the next one, is that it is addressed throughout to Muhammad himself. The following is a summary of the reasons assigned by Muslim tradition why it was revealed. "It is related," says Sale, "that no revelation having been vouchsafed to Muhammad for several days in answer to some questions put to him by the Quraish, because he had confidently promised to resolve them the next day, without adding the exception, 'If it please God' (chap. xviii. 23), or because he had repulsed an importunate beggar, or else because a dead puppy lay under his seat, or for some other reason, his enemies said that God had left him; whereupon this chapter was sent down for his consolation."

The traditions, however, are founded on the attempt to explain or illustrate the text. The most that can be said is that the chapter indicates the mental depression of the Prophet in the early and unsuccessful period of his ministry.

Probable Date of the Revelations.

Both Muir and Noéldeke assign this chapter to a very early date, the former placing it after chap. xc., and the latter after chap. xciv. in chronological order.

Principal Subjects.

	VERSES
Muhammad comforted by the assurance that God is with him	1-3
The life to come to be preferred to the present life . . .	4, 5
Muhammad exhorted to care for the orphan and beggar . . .	6-11

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

R 19

|| (1) By the brightness *of the morning*; (2) and by the night, when it groweth dark: (3) thy LORD hath not forsaken thee, neither doth he hate *thee*. (4) Verily the life to come *shall be* better for thee than this present life: (5) and thy LORD shall give thee *a reward* wherewith thou shalt be well pleased. (6) Did he not find thee an orphan, and hath he not taken care *of thee*? (7) And did he not find thee wandering in error, and hath he not guided *thee into the truth*? (8) And did he not find thee needy, and hath he not enriched *thee*? (9) Wherefore oppress not the orphan: (10) neither repulse the beggar: (11) but declare the goodness of thy LORD.

(1) *The brightness*. "The original word properly signifies the bright part of the day, when the sun shines full out, three or four hours after it is risen."—*Sale*.

(7) *Wandering in error*. That is, in the idolatry of the Arabs. This passage is conclusive against those Muslims who pretend that Muhammad never sinned. See also notes on chap. iv. 105, ix. 43, xl. 57, and xlvii. 21.

(9, 10) Muhammad seems to have shown kindness to the poor and orphans throughout his life. He ever remembered that he had once been in their condition.

See Rodwell's notes on this chapter.

CHAPTER XCIV.

ENTITLED SURAT AL INSHIRÁH (HAVE WE NOT OPENED ?).

Revealed at Makkah.

INTRODUCTION.

LIKE the preceding chapter, this one is addressed to Muhammad himself. It was probably intended to express the encouragement he received from the sense of God's presence with him.

Probable Date of the Revelations.

Since this chapter seems to be closely connected with the one preceding, it is obviously of about the same date.

Principal Subjects.

	VERSES
God made Muhammad's mission easy to him	1-4
He is exhorted to labour and pray after the mission is ended	5-8

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

|| (1) Have we not opened thy breast; (2) and eased R $\frac{1}{20}$ thee of thy burden, (3) which galled thy back; (4) and

(1) *Opened thy breast.* "By disposing and enlarging it to receive the truth, and wisdom, and prophecy; or, by freeing thee from uneasiness and ignorance? This passage is thought to intimate the *opening* of Muhammad's heart, in his infancy, or when he took his journey to heaven, by the Angel Gabriel, who, having wrung out the black drop, or seed of original sin, washed and cleansed the same, and filled it with wisdom and faith; but some think it relates to the occasion of the preceding chapter."—*Salé, Baidhāwī, Yahya.*

(2) *Thy burden, i.e.,* "of thy sins committed before thy mission; or of thy ignorance and trouble of mind."—*Salé.*

raised thy reputation for thee? (5) Verily a difficulty *shall be attended* with ease. (6) Verily a difficulty *shall be attended* with ease. (7) When thou shalt have ended *thy preaching*; labour to serve God in return for his favours; (8) and make thy supplication unto thy LORD.

(7) *When thou shalt have ended*, or, "*When thou shalt have finished thy prayer, labour in preaching the faith.*"—Sale, Baidhāwi.

CHAPTER XCV.

ENTITLED SURAT AL TÍN (THE FIG).

Revealed at Makkah.

INTRODUCTION.

THIS chapter contains what seems to be one of the earliest notices of the judgment-day in the Qurán. Indeed, if vers. 7 and 8 are rightly understood as addressed to Muhammad himself, we may regard this Sura as giving expression to his own apprehension of the doctrine of the judgment-day taught in the Qurán.

Probable Date of the Revelations.

Some Muslim writers, blindly following traditions manufactured to illustrate the Qurán, have declared this chapter to be Madínic. But the statement of the third verse, to say nothing of language and style, plainly points to Makkah. Noëldeke places it immediately after chap. lxxxv.

Principal Subjects.

	VERSES
Oaths that God created man "a most excellent fabric"	1-4
God has made all men vile except true believers	5, 6
None may rightly deny the judgment-day	7, 8

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

|| (1) By the fig and the olive ; (2) and by Mount R ¹/₂₁.

(1) *The fig and the olive.* "God, say the commentators, swears by these two fruits, because of their great uses and virtues ; for the fig is wholesome and easy of digestion, and physically good to carry off

R

Sinai, (3) and this territory of security; (4) verily we created man of a most excellent fabric; (5) afterwards we rendered him the vilest of the vile: (6) except those who believe and work righteousness; for they shall receive an endless reward. (7) What, therefore, shall cause thee to deny the *day of judgment after this?* (8) Is not GOD the most wise judge?

phlegm, and gravel in the kidneys or bladder, and to remove obstructions of the liver and spleen, and also cures the piles, and the gout, &c.; the olive produces oil, which is not only excellent to eat, but otherwise useful for the compounding of ointments; the wood of the olive-tree, moreover, is good for cleansing the teeth, preventing their growing rotten, and giving a good odour to the mouth; for which reason the prophets, and Muhammad in particular, made use of no other for toothpicks.

"Some, however, suppose that these words do not mean the fruits or trees above mentioned, but two mountains in the Holy Land, where they grow in plenty; or else the temple of Damascus and that at Jerusalem."—*Sale, Baidhāwī, Jalāluddīn, Zamakhsharī.*

(3) *This territory.* That of Makkah, see chap. xc. i. See also Rodwell's note *in loco*.

(4, 5) "As the commentators generally expound this passage, 'We created man of comely proportion of body, and great perfection of mind; and yet we have doomed him, in case of disobedience, to be an inhabitant of hell.' Some, however, understand the words of the vigorous constitution of man in the prime and strength of his age, and of his miserable decay when he becomes old and decrepit; but they seem rather to intimate the perfect state of happiness wherein man was originally created, and his fall from thence, in consequence of Adam's disobedience, to a state of misery in this world, and becoming liable to one infinitely more miserable in the next."—*Sale.*

The meaning here seems to be about the same as that given under chap. xci. 8.

(7) "Some suppose these words directed to Muhammad, and others to man in general, by way of apostrophe."—*Sale.*

CHAPTER XCVI.

ENTITLED SURAT AL ALAQ (CONGEALED BLOOD).

Revealed at Makkah.

INTRODUCTION.

THE five first verses of this chapter are generally regarded as the first revelation of the Qurán. Like the first verses of chap. lxxiv., these were connected with a vision of Gabriel. These two visions are referred to in chap. lxxxi. as the ground of Muhammad's assurance that he was truly a prophet of the Lord.

As to the vision in which Muhammad heard these five verses summoning him to the prophetic office, one tradition regards it as a real occurrence, while another tradition, said to have emanated from the same source, declares the whole incident to have been a dream. The former of these traditions is that of Urwa Ibn al Zubair, received from Ayesha, who heard it from Muhammad many years after the event. It is given as follows by Noéldeke :—"The revelation commenced with real dreams, which illuminated Muhammad like the glow of the dawn. Thereupon he retired to the solitude of Mount Hirá. When he had spent some time there in devotion, the angel appeared to him and said, 'Read !' Muhammad answered, 'I cannot read.' Thereupon the angel pressed him mightily, and repeated the command. This was all repeated three times, when at last the angel pronounced these five verses. Muhammad was greatly frightened at seeing this, and hastened to his wife, Khadija, who comforted him."

The other tradition, which represents this vision as simply a dream, is found in Ibn Hishaám, 151, on the authority of Umar Ibn Qatáda. In this tradition it is said that "when Muhammad woke up, the words of the revelation were impressed upon his heart."

After noticing briefly the views of Weil, who thinks Muhammad received in these verses the direction to read publicly a revelation previously given, and who is followed by Muir,—and of Sprenger,

who thinks that Muhammad was here commanded to "read the holy books of the Jews and Christians,"—Noëldeke, "following the import of the text, and keeping in mind the tradition, without considering its embellishment," explains the origin of these verses as follows:—"Muhammad, having for some time led an ascetic life in solitude, and having wrought himself up by means of meditation and inner struggles to that condition which is adapted to apparitions, feels himself at last induced by a dream or vision definitely to undertake the work of proclaiming what he had recognised as the truth—in other words, to proclaim himself a prophet. This call to take up this work assumed in his mind the form of the first revelation, the drift of which is, 'Preach to thy fellow-men that which thou hast learned (above all, the unity of God), in the name of thy Lord, who has raised man from the smallest beginning to a higher level, and who therefore may help also thee. Proclaim to them the truth, since thy Lord is the Mighty One who has taught man the art of writing, formerly unknown to thee, and who thereby has furnished thee with a powerful instrument to spread the faith.'" Noëldeke rejects the position of Weil and Muir, but both his own explanation and the former of the traditions quoted above, which he regards as the most important, seem to me to require the supposition of a period preceding this vision during which Muhammad felt himself drawn toward the prophetic office. The tradition distinctly mentions dreams which occurred previous to this vision, and that the result of these dreams was the awakening of the spirit of inspiration. Granting, then, that these verses are the first of the Qurán, and that the "Soliloquies" of Muir should follow in chronological order, having now been *proclaimed* in public for the first time, may they not still represent the thoughts of Muhammad during these years of doubt and uncertainty?

As to the remainder of the chapter, it is said to refer to the opposition of Abu Jahl to the Muslim cause, and must therefore have been added by Muhammad at a later date.

Probable Date of the Revelations.

The date of the first five verses of this chapter, being the first part of the Qurán, would be the celebrated Night of Power, which occurred in the month of Ramadhán. The remaining verses are of later origin.

Principal Subjects.

	VERSES
Command to Muhammad to recite the Qurán	1-5
Rebuke of Abu Jahl for hindering the Muslim cause . .	6-14
Abu Jahl threatened with the pains of hell	15-19

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

|| (1) Read, in the name of thy LORD, who hath created R $\frac{1}{22}$
all things; (2) who hath created man of congealed blood.
 (3) Read by thy most beneficent LORD; (4) who taught
 the use of the pen; (5) who teacheth man that which he
 knoweth not. (6) Assuredly. Verily man becometh insol-
 ent, (7) because he seeth himself abound in riches. (8)
 Verily unto thy LORD *shall be* the return of *all*. (9) What
 thinkest thou *as to* him who forbiddeth (10) *our* servant
 when he prayeth? (11) What thinkest thou; if he follow
 the *right* direction; (12) or command piety? (13) What
 thinkest thou; if he accuse *the divine revelations* of false-
 hood, and turn his back? (14) Doth he not know that
 God seeth? (15) Assuredly. Verily, if he forbear not,
 we will drag him by the forelock, (16) the lying, sinful
 forelock. (17) And let him call his council *to his assis-*

(1) *Read.* Rodwell translates the word *Qurāa recite*. See his note *in loco*.

(2) *Congeaed blood.* "All men being created of thick or concreted blood except Adam, Eve, and Jesus."—*Sale, Yahya*.

See also note on chap. xxii. 5.

(3) *Read, &c.* "These words, containing a repetition of the command, are supposed to be a reply to Muhammad, who, in answer to the former words spoken by the angel, had declared that he could not read, being perfectly illiterate; and intimate a promise that God, who had inspired man with the art of writing, would graciously remedy this defect in him."—*Sale, Baidhāwi*.

On the question of Muhammad's ability to read and write, see chaps. xvii. 47, and xxix. 47, and notes there.

(6) *Man becometh insolent.* "The commentators agree the remaining part of the chapter to have been revealed against Abu Jahl, Muhammad's great adversary."—*Sale*.

(9, 10) *Him who forbiddeth.* "For Abu Jahl threatened that if he caught Muhammad in the act of adoration, he would set his foot on his neck; but when he came and saw him in that posture, he suddenly turned back as in a fright; and being asked what was the matter, said there was a ditch of fire between himself and Muhammad, and a terrible appearance of troops to defend him."—*Sale, Baidhāwi*.

(15) *Drag him by his forelock.* See note on chap. xi. 56.

(17) *His council, i.e.,* "the council or assembly of the principal Makkans, the far greater part of whom adhered to Abu Jahl."—*Sale*.

tance; (18) we also will call the infernal guards *to cast him into hell*. (19) Assuredly. Obey him not: but *continue to adore God, and draw nigh unto him*.

(18) *Infernal guards*. See chap. lxxiv. 31-32.

CHAPTER XCVII.

ENTITLED SURAT AL QADR (NIGHT OF POWER).

Revealed at Makkah.

INTRODUCTION.

"THE word 'al Qadr,'" says Sale, "signifies 'power,' and 'honour' or 'dignity,' and also the 'divine decree ;' and the night is so named either from its excellence above all other nights in the year, or because, as the Muhammadans believe, the 'divine decrees' for the ensuing year are annually on this night fixed and settled, or taken from the 'preserved table' by God's throne, and given to the angels to be executed. On this night Muhammad received his first revelations, when the Qurán, say the commentators, was sent down from the aforesaid table, entire and in one volume, to the lowest heaven, from whence Gabriel revealed it to Muhammad by parcels, as occasion required."

Muir, in his *Life of Mahomet*, vol. ii. p. 138, note, says that that which was sent down to Muhammad was more likely "a clear and vivid view of divine truth, which that night burst upon his mind."

Probable Date of the Revelations.

All authorities agree that this chapter belongs to the earliest Makkan period. Noëldeke places it immediately after chap. xciii.

Principal Subjects.

VERSES

The Qurán or a divine illumination vouchsafed to Muhammad on the night of al Qadr		I
The night of al Qadr described and lauded		2-5

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

R $\frac{1}{23}$. || (1) Verily we sent down *the Qurán* in the night of al Qadr. (2) And what shall make thee understand *how excellent* the night of al Qadr *is*? (3) The night of al Qadr *is* better than a thousand months. (4) Therein do the angels descend, and the spirit of *Gabriel* also, by the permission of their LORD; *with his decrees* concerning every matter. (5) It *is* peace until the rising of the morn.

(1) *Al Qadr*. "The Muslim doctors are not agreed where to fix the night of al Qadr; the greater part are of opinion that it is one of the ten last nights of Ramadhán, and, as is commonly believed, the seventh of those nights reckoning backwards, by which means it will fall between the 23d and 24th days of that month."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*, *Zamakhsharī*.

See also notes on chap. xliv. 2, 3.

(3) *The night, &c.* Muslims usually spend this whole night in fasting and prayer.

(4) *The spirit*. See notes on chap. ii. 86, 253.

Every matter. See above on ver. 1.

CHAPTER XCVIII.

ENTITLED SURAT AL BAIYANA (THE EVIDENCE).

Revealed at Madína.

INTRODUCTION.

THIS chapter has been thought by some authors to be of Makkan origin, but this opinion has nothing in its favour beyond the fact that it is found among Makkan revelations. We find herein all three of the Madína parties, Idolaters, Jews, and Christians, mentioned; while the style, language, and contents all point to Madína.

This chapter tells of the divisions and disputes which arose among the different religious sects at Madína, owing to some individuals from each party having become Muslims.

Probable Date of the Revelations.

The mention of disputes having arisen among the Jews and Christians owing to the proclamation of Islám at Madína, points to an early period at Madína as the date of this chapter. The same may be inferred from that kindly spirit in which allusion is made to the Jews, who were so soon separated from the Prophet by bitterest enmity. For reasons like these, Noéldeke places this chapter immediately after chap. ii. in his chronological list of Suras.

Principal Subjects.

	VERSES
The idolaters stagger at the revelations of the Qurán . . .	1, 2
Jews and Christians dispute among themselves since the advent of Muhammad and his new religion . . .	3, 4
Unbelievers of all classes threatened with divine judgments . . .	5
Muslims are "the best of creatures;" their reward . . .	6-8

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

SULS. || (1) The unbelievers among those to whom the Scriptures were given, and *among* the idolaters, did not stagger until the *clear* evidence had come unto them: (2) an apostle from GOD, rehearsing *unto them* pure books of revelations, wherein *are contained* right discourses. (3) Neither were they unto whom the Scriptures were given divided among themselves until after the *clear* evidence had come unto them. (4) And they were commanded no other *in the Scriptures* than to worship GOD, exhibiting unto him the pure religion, and being orthodox; and to be constant at prayer, and to give alms; and this is the right religion. (5) Verily those who believe not, among those who have received the Scriptures, and among the idolaters, *shall be cast* into the fire of hell, to remain therein *for ever*. These are the worst of creatures. (6) But they who believe and do good works, these are the best of creatures: (7) their

(1) *Did not stagger, i.e.,* "did not waver in their religion, or in their promises to follow the truth, when an apostle should come unto them. For the commentators pretend that before the appearance of Muhammad, the Jews and Christians, as well as the worshippers of idols, unanimously believed and expected the coming of that Prophet; until which time they declared they would persevere in their respective religions, and then would follow him; but when he came they rejected him through envy"—Sale, *Jaláluddín, &c.*

Clear evidence, viz., "Muhammad or the Qurán."—Sale.

(3) *Until after, &c.* "But when the promised Apostle was sent, and the truth became manifest to them, they withstood the clearest conviction, differing from one another in their opinions, some believing and acknowledging Muhammad to be the prophet foretold in the Scriptures, and others denying it."—Sale, *Baidhāwi*.

See notes on chaps. vi. 20, vii. 160.

(4) *They were commanded, &c.* "But these divine precepts in the law and the Gospel have they corrupted, changed, and violated."—Sale, *Baidhāwi, &c.*

This is the right religion, i.e., Islám. We have here another proof of the identity of Islám with Judaism and Christianity in the mind of Muhammad. He has therefore pointed to the evidence of the falsity of his own claim to be a true prophet of God.

reward with their LORD *shall be* gardens of perpetual abode, through which rivers flow; they shall remain therein for ever. (8) GOD will be well pleased in them; and they shall be well pleased in him. This *is prepared* for him who shall fear his LORD.

CHAPTER XCIX.

ENTITLED SURAT AL ZILZÁL (THE EARTHQUAKE).

Revealed at Makkah.

INTRODUCTION.

OWING to the rhetorical style of the first verses, this chapter has been considered by some to be Madínic, but the received opinion is that it is Makkan. It appears to be a mere fragment of a Sura.

Probable Date of the Revelations.

Little can be discovered as to the date of this chapter beyond the fact that it belongs to the earliest period of Muhammad's ministry at Makkah.

Principal Subjects.

	VERSES
The judgment-day shall be ushered in by a great earthquake	1-3
The earth shall be inspired to declare why she trembles	4, 5
Men shall be judged according to their deeds	6-8

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

R $\frac{1}{25}$. || (1) When the earth shall be shaken by an earthquake, (2) and the earth shall cast forth her burdens; (3) and a man shall say, What aileth her? (4) On that

(1) *An earthquake.* "This earthquake will happen at the first, or, as others say, at the second blast of the trumpet."—*Sale*. See Prelim. Disc., pp. 135, 136.

(2) *Burdens.* "Treasures and dead bodies within it. See chap. lxxxiv."—*Sale*.

day *the earth* shall declare her tidings, (5) for that day thy LORD will inspire her. (6) On that day men shall go forward in distinct classes, that they may behold their works. (7) And whoever shall have wrought good of the weight of an ant, shall behold the same. (8) And whoever shall have wrought evil of the weight of an ant, shall behold the same.

(5) *Will inspire her, i.e.,* "will inform all creatures of the occasion of her trembling, and casting forth her treasures and her dead, by the circumstances which shall immediately attend them. Some say the earth will, at the last day, be miraculously enabled to speak, and will give evidence of the actions of her inhabitants."—*Salé*. See also Prelim. Disc., p. 143.

(7, 8) *Weight of an ant.* See note on chap. iv. 38, 39.

CHAPTER C.

ENTITLED SURAT AL ADIYÁT (THE WAR-HORSES WHICH
RUN SWIFTLY).

Revealed at Makkah.

INTRODUCTION.

SOME Muslim writers, imagining that the first verses of this chapter refer to the camels employed by Muhammad in warfare, have erroneously classified it as Madínic.

The purport of the revelations is that God will certainly bring to light the secret thoughts of covetous and worldly men.

Probable Date of the Revelations.

On this subject nothing more can be said than that this chapter belongs to an early period of the ministry of Muhammad at Makkah.

Principal Subjects.

	VERSES
Oaths that man is ungrateful to his God	1-6
Man loves the things of this world	7, 8
Man's secret thoughts shall be discovered in the judgment-day	9-11

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

R $\frac{1}{26}$. || (1) By the *war-horses* which run swiftly to the battle, with a panting noise; (2) and by those which strike fire,

(1-5) "Some will have it that not horses but the camels which went to the battle of Badr, are meant in this passage. Others in-

by dashing *their hoofs against the stones* ; (3) and by those which make a sudden incursion *on the enemy* early in the morning, (4) and therein raise the dust, (5) and therein pass through the midst of the *adverse* troops : (6) verily man *is* ungrateful unto his LORD ; (7) and he *is* witness thereof ; (8) and he *is* immoderate in the love of *worldly* good. (9) Doth he not know, therefore, when that which *is in* the graves shall be taken forth, (10) and that which *is in men's* breasts shall be brought to light, (11) that their LORD *will*, on that day, *be* fully informed concerning them ?

terpret all the parts of the oath of the human soul ; but their explanations seem a little forced, and therefore I choose to omit them.”—*Sale, Yahya, Baidhawī.*

CHAPTER CL.

ENTITLED SURAT AL QÁRÍA (THE STRIKING).

Revealed at Makkah.

INTRODUCTION.

THE name given to the judgment-day, which is made the title of this chapter, is translated "smiting" by Palmer and "blow" by Rodwell. It describes or designates the great day of assizes, not because it will "strike the hearts of all creatures with terror," as Sale has it, but because on that day the wicked will receive the stroke of justice from an angry God.

Probable Date of the Revelations.

All authorities regard this chapter as of Makkan origin. Noël-deke and Muir alike assign it a place among the earliest revelations of the Qurán.

Principal Subjects.

	VERSES
The day of judgment a day of striking	1-5
The good and bad shall be judged according to their works	6-9
Háwíyah described	10, 11

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

R 27. || (1) The striking! (2) What is the striking? (3) And what shall make thee to understand how *terrible* the

(1) *The striking, &c.* Savary translates beautifully thus, "Day of calamities! terrible day! Who is able to depict it unto thee? In that day men shall be like unto scattered locusts."

striking *will be?* (4) On that day men shall be like moths scattered abroad, (5) and the mountains shall become like carded wool of various colours *driven by the wind*. (6) Moreover, he whose balance shall be heavy *with good works*, (7) shall lead a pleasing life : (8) but *as to him whose balance shall be light*, (9) his dwelling *shall be the pit of hell*. (10) What shall make thee to understand how *frightful the pit of hell is?* (11) *It is a burning fire.*

(9) *Pit of hell.* "The original word, *Háwiyah*, is the name of the lowest dungeon of hell, and probably signifies a deep pit or gulf."—*Sale.*

CHAPTER CII.

ENTITLED SURÁT AL TAKÁSUR (THE EMULOUS DESIRE OF
MULTIPLYING).

Revealed at Makkah.

INTRODUCTION.

THIS chapter is a sort of philippic directed against the covetousness and self-seeking of the Quraish, so often animadverted on in the Qurán. For this reason, perhaps, the judgment-day is referred to only to warn the wicked, and not, as usual, to comfort the righteous. We have given the explanation of this chapter found in Muslim commentators in Sale's note quoted below, though regarding it as a pure fiction.

Probable Date of the Revelations.

Like chap. ci., this one also belongs to the earliest period of the ministry at Makkah.

Principal Subjects.

	VERSE
Men spend their time seeking the things of this world	1-3
The judgment-day shall reveal their folly	3-5
In consequence they shall see hell-fire	6-8

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

R 28.

|| (1) The emulous desire of multiplying *riches and children* employeth you, (2) until ye visit the graves. (3)

(2) *Until ye visit, &c., i.e., "until ye die.* According to the exposition of some commentators, the words should be rendered thus:

By no means *should ye thus employ your time*: hereafter shall ye know *your folly*. (4) Again, by no means: hereafter shall ye know *your folly*. (5) By no means: if ye knew *the consequence hereof* with certainty of knowledge, *ye would not act thus*. (6) Verily ye shall see hell: (7) again, ye shall surely see it with the eye of certainty. (8) Then shall ye be examined, on that day, concerning the pleasures *with which ye have amused yourselves in this life*.

‘The contending,’ or vying ‘in numbers wholly employeth you, so that ye visit even the graves,’ to number the dead; to explain which they relate that there was a great dispute and contention between the descendants of Abd Manáf and the descendants of Sahm, which of the two families were the more numerous; and it being found, on calculation, that the children of Abd Manáf exceeded those of Sahm, the Sahmites said that their numbers had been much diminished by wars in the time of ignorance, and insisted that the dead as well as the living should be taken into the account; and by this way of reckoning they were found to be more than the descendants of Abd Manáf.”—Sale, *Zamakhshari*, *Baidhawi*.

CHAPTER CIII.

ENTITLED SURAT AL ASAR (THE AFTERNOON).

Revealed at Makkah.

INTRODUCTION.

THIS chapter seems to be merely a remnant of some longer Sura. Muir places it at the head of his chronological list of Suras, and therefore first among Muhammad's soliloquies. As to the

Probable Date of the Revelations,

the most that we can say is that the chapter belongs to the number of the early Makkan Suras.

Principal Subjects.

	VERSES
Men generally seek for gain and find loss	1, 2
The righteous, however, are the exception to this rule . . .	3, 4

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

R $\frac{1}{29}$. || (1) By the afternoon; (2) verily man *employeth himself in that which will prove of loss*: (3) except those who believe and do that which is right; (4) and *who mutually recommend the truth, and mutually recommend perseverance unto each other.*

(1) *The afternoon*, "or the time from the sun's declination to his setting, which is one of the five appointed times of prayer. The original word also signifies 'the age,' or 'time' in general."—Sale.

CHAPTER CIV.

ENTITLED SURAT AL HAMZA (THE SLANDERER).

Revealed at Makkah.

INTRODUCTION.

THIS chapter is also a philippic against the enemies of Muhammad, who, hearing his pious ejaculations, spoke of him as a madman or as one possessed of an evil spirit. It is probable that some person is specially intended, as the commentators will have it, though the application of the chapter is also general.

Like chap. ii., there is mention of the righteous in speaking of future judgment. The

Probable Date of the Revelations

is about the same as that of the three preceding chapters.

Principal Subjects.

	VERSES
Woes pronounced on slanderers and backbiters	1-4
Al Hutama described	5-9

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

|| (1) Woe unto every slanderer *and* backbiter, (2) who R 30.
heapeth up riches, and prepareth the same *for the time to*
come ! (3) He thinketh that his riches will render him

(1) *Slanderer*. "Akhnas Ibn Shuraik, or Walid Ibn al Mughaira, or Umaiya Ibn Khalf, who were guilty of slandering others, and especially the Prophet."—Sale, *Baidhawī*, &c.

immortal. (4) By no means. He shall surely be cast into Al Hutama. (5) And who shall cause thee to understand what Al Hutama is? (6) *It is* the kindled fire of God; (7) which shall mount above the hearts *of those who shall be cast therein*. (8) Verily it *shall be as* an arched vault above them (9) on columns of vast extent.

(4) *Al Hutama*. The name of one of the apartments of hell (Prelim. Disc., p. 148), which is so called because it will 'break in pieces' whatever shall be thrown into it.—Sale.

(6) *Kindled fire of God*. "And therefore shall not be extinguished by any."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*.

CHAPTER CV.

ENTITLED SURAT AL FÍL (THE ELEPHANT).

Revealed at Makkah.

INTRODUCTION.

THIS chapter is remarkable for its allusion to an incident in the history of Makkah, as an example of how God deals with His enemies. The inappropriateness of the example, however, will be manifest when we recollect that the army destroyed was an army of "the people of the book," going to avenge an insult offered their holy place by the idolaters, who are here being warned. The story of the commentators, with its embellishments, is given in Sale's note quoted below. The chapter is probably a fragment of a longer Sura.

Probable Date of the Revelation.

Noëldeke places this chapter in the first Makkan period, and in his chronological list of Suras it follows chap. cii.

Principal Subject.

The army of Abraha destroyed for attacking the Kaabah . VERSES
1-5

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

|| (1) Hast thou not seen how thy LORD dealt with the R ¹/₃₁ masters of the elephant? (2) Did he not make their

(1) *How thy Lord dealt, &c.* "This chapter relates to the following piece of history, which is famous among the Arabs. Abraha Ibn al Sabáh, surnamed al Ashram, i.e., the slit-nosed, king or viceroy of

treacherous design an occasion of drawing them into error ; (3) and send against them flocks of birds, (4) which cast

Yaman, who was an Ethiopian and of the Christian religion, having built a magnificent church at Sanáa, with a design to draw the Arabs to go in pilgrimage thither, instead of visiting the temple of Makkah, the Quraish, observing the devotion and concourse of the pilgrims at the Kaabah began considerably to diminish, sent one Nufail, as he is named by some, of the tribe of Kinánáh, who, getting into the aforesaid church by night, defiled the altar and walls thereof with his excrements. At this profanation Abraha being highly incensed, vowed the destruction of the Kaabah, and accordingly set out against Makkah at the head of a considerable army, wherein were several elephants, which he had obtained of the king of Ethiopia, their number being, as some say, thirteen, though others mention but one. The Makkans, at the approach of so considerable a host, retired to the neighbouring mountains, being unable to defend their city or temple ; but God himself undertook the protection of both. For when Abraha drew near to Makkah, and would have entered it, the elephant on which he rode, which was a very large one, and named Mahmúd, refused to advance any nigher to the town, but knelt down whenever they endeavoured to force him that way, though he would rise and march briskly enough if they turned him towards any other quarter : and while matters were in this posture, on a sudden a large flock of birds, like swallows, came flying from the sea-coast, every one of which carried three stones, one in each foot, and one in its bill ; and these stones they threw down upon the heads of Abraha's men, certainly killing every one they struck. Then God sent a flood, which swept the dead bodies, and some of those who had not been struck with the stones, into the sea : the rest fled towards Yaman, but perished by the way ; none of them reaching Sanáa, except only Abraha himself, who died soon after his arrival there, being struck with a sort of plague or putrefaction, so that his body opened and his limbs rotted off by piecemeal. It is said that one of Abraha's army, named Abu Yaqsum, escaped over the Red Sea into Ethiopia, and going directly to the king, told him the tragical story ; and upon that prince's asking him what sort of birds they were that had occasioned such a destruction, the man pointed to one of them, which had followed him all the way, and was at that time hovering directly over his head, when immediately the bird let fall the stone, and struck him dead at the king's feet."—*Sale, Baidháwi, Zamakhshari, Jaláluddín.*

Muir ascribes the destruction of Abraha's army to an outbreak of virulent small-pox (the word translated small stones meaning also small-pox), which resulted in a panic which scattered the army among the valleys, where they, being abandoned by their guides, perished. See *Life of Mahomet*, Introd. vol. i. p. cclxv. Muhammad, however, gives the legend of the idolaters as a veritable piece of inspired revelation. See also Rodwell's note *in loco*.

down upon them stones of baked clay; (5) and render them like the leaves of corn eaten *by cattle*?

(4) *Stones of baked clay.* "These stones were of the same kind with those by which the Sodomites were destroyed (chap. xi. 81), and were no bigger than vetches, though they fell with such force as to pierce the helmet and the man through. It is said also that on each stone was written the name of him who was to be slain by it,"—*Salé.*

CHAPTER CVI.

ENTITLED SURAT AL QURAISH (THE QURAISH).

Revealed at Makkah.

INTRODUCTION.

LIKE the preceding chapter, this one also appears to be a mere fragment of a longer Sura. Some writers regard it as a portion of chap. cv. In it Muhammad exhorts the Quraish to thank the Lord of the Kaabah for their commercial blessings, connected with the dispatch of the two annual caravans.

Probable Date of the Revelation.

For reasons already given, the date of this chapter must be the same as that of chap. cv.

Principal Subject.

The Quraish exhorted to thank God for commercial privileges VERSES
1-4

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

R $3\frac{1}{2}$. || (1) For the uniting of *the tribe of Quraish*; (2) their uniting in *sending forth the caravan of merchants and pur-*

(1) *For the uniting, &c.* "Some connect these words with the following, and suppose the natural order to be, 'Let them serve the Lord of this house, for the uniting,' &c. Others connect them with the last words of the preceding chapter, and take the meaning to be, that God had so destroyed the army of Abraha for the uniting of the Quraish, &c. And the last opinion is confirmed by one copy, men-

veyors in winter and summer; (3) let them serve the LORD of this house, who supplieth them with food against hunger, (4) and hath rendered them secure from fear.

tioned by al Baidhāwī, wherein this and the preceding make but one chapter."—*Sale*.

(2) *The caravan*. "It was Hāshim, the great-grandfather of Muhammad, who first appointed the two yearly caravans here mentioned; one of which set out in the winter for Yaman, and the other in summer for Syria."—*Sale*.

(3) *Who supplieth . . . food*. "By means of the aforesaid caravans of purveyors; or, 'who supplied them with food in time of a famine,' which those of Makkah had suffered."—*Sale, Baidhāwī*.

(4) *Secure from fear*. "By delivering them from Abraha and his troops, or by making the territory of Makkah a place of security."—*Sale*.

CHAPTER CVII.

ENTITLED SURAT AL MÁÚN (NECESSARIES).

Revealed at Makkah.

INTRODUCTION.

THIS chapter, which is evidently merely a fragment of a longer Sura, deals with those who fail to make their religious practice conform to their profession. The title is taken from the seventh verse. It is also sometimes entitled DÍN (Religion), which name is found in the first verse.

Probable Date of the Revelations.

The first part of this chapter is probably Makkan, though Zamakhshari, Baidháwi, &c. (Itqán 30) classify the whole chapter as Madínic. Noëldeke places it very early in the first period. Muir fixes it, with more probability, at about the fifth year of Muhammad's public ministry. Verses 4-7 may also be Makkan, but there is much in favour of their being regarded as Madínic.

Principal Subjects.

	VERSES
Denunciation of the infidels, who deny the Qurán and oppress the orphan	1, 2
Hypocrites rebuked for neglect of prayer and charity	3-7

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

R 33. || (1) What thinkest thou of him who denieth the *future* judgment as a falsehood? (2) *It is* he who pusheth away

(1) *Judgment as a falsehood.* Rodwell translates, "who treateth our religion as a lie."

(2) *He who pusheth away the orphan.* "The person here intended,

the orphan; (3) and stirreth not up *others* to feed the poor. (4) Woe be unto those who pray, (5) *and* who are negligent at their prayer: (6) who play the hypocrites, (7) and deny necessities *to the needy*.

according to some, was Abu Jahl, who turned away an orphan, to whom he was guardian, and who came to him naked, and asked for some relief out of his own money. Some say it was Abu Sufián, who, having killed a camel, when an orphan begged a piece of the flesh, beat him away with his staff; and others think it was al Walid Ibn al Mughaira, &c."—Sale.

See notes on chap. xciii.

(7) *Necessaries*. "The original word, al máún, properly signifies *utensils*, or whatever is of necessary use, as a *hatchet*, a *pot*, a *dish*, and a *needle*, to which some add a *bucket* and a *hand-mill*; or, according to a tradition of Ayesha, *fire*, *water*, and *salt*; and this signification it bore in the time of ignorance; but since the establishment of the Muhammadan religion, the word has been used to denote alms, either legal or voluntary; which seems to be the true meaning in this place."—Sale.

CHAPTER CVIII.

ENTITLED SURAT AL KAUTHAR (ABUNDANCE).

Revealed at Makkah.

INTRODUCTION.

THESE three verses are said by the best authorities to have been revealed to comfort Muhammad on account of an insult offered him by al As Ibn Wafl, who called Muhammad *a tailless man*, i.e., one having no sons. The opinion of those, who regard the chapter to be Madinic, because they think it refers to the death of Muhammad's son Ibrahim, is wrong. In such a case the taunt would be ridiculous.

Probable Date of the Revelations.

This chapter is one of the oldest in the Qurán, and therefore it must be placed among the early Makkan Suras.

Principal Subject.

Muhammad comforted with abundance of goods . . .

VERSES

1-3

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

R $\frac{1}{34}$ || (1) Verily we have given thee al Kauthar. (2)

(1) *Al Kauthar*. "This word signifies *abundance*, especially of good, and thence the gift of wisdom and prophecy, the Qurán, the office of intercessor, &c. Or it may imply abundance of children, followers, and the like. It is generally, however, expounded of a river in Paradise of that name, whence the water is derived into Muhammad's pond, of which the blessed are to drink before their admission into

Wherefore pray unto thy LORD, and slay *the victims*.
(3) Verily he who hateth thee shall be childless.

that place. According to a tradition of the Prophet's, this river, wherein his Lord promised him abundant good, is sweeter than honey, whiter than milk, cooler than snow, and smoother than cream; its banks are of chrysolites, and the vessels to drink thereout of silver; and those who drink of it shall never thirst."—*Sale*.

See also Prelim. Disc., p. 153.

This latter interpretation of *Kauthar* as a river of Paradise, though old, is, according to Noëldeke, certainly wrong. The word is in reality an adjective meaning "much, ample, in abundance," and not a proper noun.

(2) *Slay the victims*. "Which are to be sacrificed at the pilgrimage in the valley of Mina. Al Baidháwi explains the words thus: Pray with fervency and intense devotion, not out of hypocrisy; and slay the fatted camels and oxen, and distribute the flesh among the poor; for he says this chapter is the counterpart of the preceding, exhorting to those virtues which are opposite to the vices there condemned."—*Sale*.

CHAPTER CIX.

ENTITLED SURAT AL KÁFIRÚN (THE UNBELIEVERS).

Revealed at Makkah.

INTRODUCTION.

THIS chapter contains the reply of Muhammad to certain of the Quraish who proposed a compromise between Islám and the ancient religion of Makkah, whereby he would concede to their gods an honourable place. Probably the occasion was like that of the lapse described in the notes on chap. xxii. 53.

Probable Date of the Revelation.

Noëldeke places this chapter near the end of the first period of Muhammad's Makkan ministry, because it predicates a time when the Prophet could have had disputes with the idolaters, and a time after which they could have come to him with an offer of compromise. The date would therefore be about the fourth or fifth year of the Call.

Principal Subject.

Muhammad declines to compromise with idolatry	VERSES 1-6
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IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

R $\frac{1}{35}$. || (1) Say: O unbelievers, (2) I will not worship that which ye worship; (3) nor will ye worship that which I

(1) *O unbelievers.* "It is said that certain of the Quraish once proposed to Muhammad, that if he would worship their gods for a

worship. (4) Neither do I worship that which ye worship; (5) neither do ye worship that which I worship. (6) Ye have your religion, and I my religion.

year, they would worship his God for the same space of time; upon which this chapter was revealed."—*Salé*.

(2-6) "These verses," says Muir, "breathe a spirit of uncompromising hostility to idolatry."—*Life of Mahomet*, vol. ii. p. 141.

CHAPTER CX.

ENTITLED SURAT AL NASR (ASSISTANCE).

Revealed at Madína.

INTRODUCTION.

THIS chapter has all the appearance of being a fragment of a Madína Sura. It may, however, have been composed at Makkah, as stated by Muslim, i. 446, and by Waqkidi, who says it was composed after the battle of Hunain. Noéldeke's opinion is that it was composed when Muhammad was about to march against Makkah, and when he could count with certainty on the successful issue of the campaign. The chapter therefore records Muhammad's anticipation of the success of his religion.

Probable Date of the Revelation.

The date of this chapter, according to the views expressed above, is about A.H. 8.

Principal Subject.

Command to praise God for the victory of Islám

VERSES

1-3

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

R $\frac{1}{36}$. || (1) When the assistance of GOD shall come, and the victory; (2) and thou shalt see the people enter into the

(1) *Victory, i.e., "when God shall cause thee to prevail over thine enemies, and thou shalt take the city of Makkah."*—Sale.

See notes on chap. xlviii. 1 and 18. This verse corresponds in sentiment with xlviii. 1-3, and probably belongs to the same date. The style and matter are Madínic.

religion of God by troops; (3) celebrate the praise of thy LORD, and ask pardon of him; for he is inclined to forgive.

(2) *By troops.* "Which happened in the ninth year of the Hijra, when Muhammad having made himself master of Makkah, and obliged the Quraish to submit to him, the rest of the Arabs came in to him in great numbers, and professed Islám."—*Sale, Baidhāwī.*

See a similar expression in chap. xxxix. 71, 73, a late Makkan Sura, containing Madīnic passages.

(3) *Ask pardon of him.* "Most of the commentators agree that this chapter was revealed before the taking of Makkah, and suppose it gave Muhammad warning of his death; for they say that when he read it al Abbās wept; and being asked by the Prophet what was the reason of his weeping, answered, 'Because it biddeth thee to prepare for death;' to which Muhammad replied, 'It is as thou sayest.' And hence, adds Jalāluddīn, after the revelation of this chapter, the Prophet was more frequent in praising and asking pardon of God, because he thereby knew that his end approached: for Makkah was taken in the eighth year of the Hijra, and he died in the beginning of the tenth."—*Sale.*

Muhammad is here again described as a sinner. See notes on chaps. ii. 253, iv. 105, ix. 43, xl. 57, xlvii. 21, and xciii. 7.

CHAPTER CXI.

ENTITLED SURAT AL ABU LAHAB.

Revealed at Makkah.

INTRODUCTION.

THIS chapter was composed soon after the assembly of the Bani Hâshim, called together by Muhammad in order that he might invite them to turn to God and accept of Islâm. His uncle, Abd al Uzza Ibn Abdul Muttalib, who was surnamed Abu Lahab, came with others, but discovering the nature of the meeting, cried out, "Let him be damned! Is this all thou hast called us together for?" At these words the whole assembly broke up, as they could see no sense in Muhammad's speech when he told them he was a "warner sent them before a grievous chastisement." The words of this chapter contain the curses of Muhammad uttered against Abu Lahab on this occasion.

Probable Date of the Revelation.

Muir and Noëldke fix the date of this chapter at a very early period of the Prophet's ministry at Makkah. But surely the intensity of the hatred here manifest between the parties points to a later date. I would say the fourth or fifth year of the Call.

Principal Subject.

The curse of Muhammad against Abu Lahab and his house .

VERSES

1-5

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

|| (1) The hands of Abu Lahab shall perish, and he shall perish. (2) His riches shall not profit him, neither that which he hath gained. (3) He shall go down to be burned into flaming fire; (4) and his wife *also*, bearing wood, (5) *having* on her neck a cord of twisted fibres of a palm-tree. R 37

(1) *Abu Lahab*. "Abu Lahab was the surname of Abdul Uzza, one of the sons of Abdul Muttallib, and uncle to Muhammad. He was a bitter enemy to his nephew, and opposed the establishment of the new religion to the utmost of his power.

"By the *hands* of Abu Lahab some commentators, by a synecdoche, understand his person; others, by a metonymy, his affairs in general, they being transacted with those members; or his hopes in this world and the next."—*Sale, Baidhāwī, Jalāluddīn*.

He shall perish. "He died of grief and vexation at the defeat his friends had received at Badr, surviving that misfortune but seven days. They add that his corpse was left above ground three days till it stank, and then some negroes were hired to bury him."—*Sale, Baidhāwī*.

The readers should remember that the stories related by the commentators relating to the enemies of the Prophet are all open to suspicion, and none should be received as true without careful consideration. See on this point Muir's *Life of Mahomet*, Introd., p. lviii.

(2) *His riches, &c.* "And accordingly his great possessions, and the rank and esteem in which he lived at Makkah, were of no service to him, nor could protect him against the vengeance of God. Al Baidhāwī mentions also the loss of his son Utba, who was torn to pieces by a lion in the way to Syria, though surrounded by the whole caravan."—*Sale*.

(3) *Flaming fire*. "Arab *nār dhāt lahab*, alluding to the surname of Abu Lahab, which signifies the 'father of flames.'"—*Sale*.

(4) *His wife*. "Her name was Umm Jamīl: she was the daughter of Harb, and sister of Abu Sufián."—*Sale*.

Bearing wood. "For fuel in hell, because she fomented the hatred which her husband bore to Muhammad; or bearing a bundle of thorns and brambles, because she carried such, and strewed them by night in the Prophet's way."—*Sale, Baidhāwī, Jalāluddīn*.

CHAPTER CXII.

ENTITLED SURAT AL IKHLÁS (DECLARATION OF GOD'S UNITY).

Revealed at Makkah.

INTRODUCTION.

"THIS chapter," says Sale, "is held in particular veneration by the Muhammadans, and declared by a tradition of their Prophet to be equal in value to a third part of the whole Qurán. It is said to have been revealed in answer to the Quraish, who asked Muhammad concerning the distinguishing attributes of the God he invited them to worship." Whether, as Muir seems to think, this is the confession of faith adopted by Muhammad immediately after his call to the prophetic office or not, it seems clearly to be one of the earliest chapters of the Qurán.

Probable Date of the Revelation.

Muir places this chapter among the earliest Makkan Suras. Noël-deke places it near the end of the first period, or about the fourth year of the Call. I agree with Muir, inasmuch as a creed of a later date would have been more diffuse in style.

Principal Subject.

	VERSES
The unity of God declared	1-4

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

R $\frac{1}{38}$ || (1) Say, *God* is one GOD; (2) the eternal GOD; (3)

(1, 2) *One God*. See note on chap. ii. 164, and Prelim. Disc., pp. 118, 119, note.

he begetteth not, neither is he begotten ; (4) and there is not any one like unto him.

(3) *He begetteth not.* This is directed against the Makkan idolaters, who worshipped angels, whom they called "daughters of God." See Prelim. Disc., pp. 38, 39.

Neither is he begotten. The primary allusion here is to the idolatry of the Quraish, noticed in the preceding note, but afterwards was made to apply to the Jews, who are said to have called Ezra the son of God, and to the Christians who worship Christ, the Son of God. See notes on chaps. ix. 30, and iv. 169.

(4) This verse, with those which precede, expresses a Bible truth. The whole chapter is made up of Scriptural phrases.

CHAPTER CXIII.

ENTITLED SURAT AL FALAQ (THE DAYBREAK).

Revealed at Makkah.

INTRODUCTION.

"THE commentators relate," says Sale, "that Lubaid, a Jew, with the assistance of his daughters, bewitched Muhammad by tying eleven knots on a cord which they hid in a well: whereupon Muhammad falling ill, God revealed this chapter and the following, and Gabriel acquainted him with the use he was to make of them, and of the place where the cord was hidden: according to whose directions the Prophet sent Ali to fetch the cord, and the same being brought, he repeated the two chapters over it, and at every verse (for they consist of eleven) a knot was loosed, till, on finishing the last words, he was entirely freed from the charm."

This chapter with the next are called by Muslims the *al Mauwidhatâni*, or Preservative Chapters. They engrave them upon amulets, &c., as charms against evil influences.

Probable Date of the Revelations.

We cannot do better than give the following from Noëldeke:—

"To fix the date of these two Suras (cxiii. and cxiv.) is a most difficult task. This is due to the grotesqueness of the style adopted in such superstitious productions, which allow of no safe conclusion. Indeed, we cannot even be sure these chapters originated before the Hijra. For granting that Muhammad did utter such magic formula in his last years, it assuredly differed from the usual style of the Madîna Suras. It is therefore possible that in the tradition, embellished with marvellous excrescences, there is a certain modicum of truth. Possible, however, it is also, as Wiel thinks, that Muhammad applied incantations already existing in order to free himself from the imaginary spell. To such incantations against Satanic

influences allusion seems to be made in chaps. xli. 36 and xvi. 160, and in other places. Be this as it may, there can be no doubt that these two Suras have originated at the same time. How difficult the point of chronology is appears evident from the fact that not even Muir, who otherwise fixes the date of each Sura so definitely, ventures to give a decided opinion. He says, indeed, that the date of these Suras is unimportant, but in this he is certainly wrong. It would be of great importance to know certainly the period whereto we might assign these evidences of Muhammad's superstition."

The exact date of these chapters cannot therefore be determined. Since, however, such formula as this is alluded to in the Makkan chapters xvi. and xli., I cannot agree with Noëldeke in thinking we cannot decide whether these chapters belong to Makkah. I also think the peculiarity of the style a strong argument in favour of Weil's suggestion that these formulæ were adopted by Muhammad from incantations already in popular use among the Arabs. The fear of being called a sorcerer would have forbidden Muhammad from adopting anything grotesque at a late date in his ministry.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

|| (1) Say, I fly for refuge unto the LORD of the day-R $\frac{1}{39}$
break, (2) *that he may deliver me* from the mischief of those
things which he hath created; (3) and from the mischief
of the night, when it cometh on; (4) and from the mis-

(1) *Daybreak*. "The original word properly signifies a *cleaving*, and denotes, says al Baidhāwī, the production of all things in general from the darkness of privation to the light of existence, and especially of those things which proceed from others, as springs, rain, plants, children, &c.; and hence it is used more particularly to signify the breaking forth of the light from darkness, which is a most wonderful instance of the divine power."—Sale.

(2) *From the mischiefs*, i.e., "from the mischiefs proceeding either from the perverseness and evil choice of those beings which have a power to choose, or the natural effects of necessary agents, as fire, poison, &c., the world being good in the whole, though evils may follow from these two causes."—Sale, *Baidhāwī*.

(3) *From . . . the night*. "Or, as the words may be rendered, 'From the mischief of the moon when she is eclipsed.'"—Sale.

(4) *Women blowing on knots*. Rodwell has "weird women." "That is, of witches, who used to tie knots in a cord and to blow on them, uttering at the same time certain magical words over them, in order to work on or debilitate the person they had a mind to

chief of *women* blowing on knots; (5) and from the mis-
chief of the envious, when he envieth.

injure. This was a common practice in former days, what they call in France *Nouër l'éguille*; and the knots which the wizards in the northern parts tie, when they sell mariners a wind (if the stories told of them be true), are also relics of the same superstition."—*Salé*. On the superstitious fears of Muhammad see Muir's *Life of Mahomet*, vol. iii. pp. 61, 62, and iv. p. 80.

CHAPTER CXIV.

ENTITLED SURAT AL NÁS (MEN).

Revealed at Makkah.

INTRODUCTION.

THIS chapter so much resembles the one preceding it, that I have recorded all there that need be said. The date may also be regarded as the same.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

|| (1) Say, I fly for refuge unto the LORD of men, (2) the R $\frac{1}{40}$ king of men, (3) the GOD of men, (4) *that he may deliver me from the mischief of the whisperer, who slyly with-*

(1-4) *The whisperer, &c., i.e., "the devil, who withdraweth when a man mentioneth God, or hath recourse to his protection."*—Sale.

The whisperers seem to have been evil spirits and men, judging by what follows.

See notes on the preceding chapter.

(5, 6) *Evil suggestions . . from genii and men.* This chapter shows that Muhammad felt himself to be in some manner specially moved by evil influences. More than once he offered up special prayer for protection against such ; see chap. xxiii. 98. He attributed his mistakes to Satanic influences. See notes on chaps. xxii. 53, and liii. 19, 20. Other prophets are said to have been open to the evil suggestions of demons and men. See chaps. vi. 112, and vii. 200, 201, also note and references at chap. iv. 116.

It should be observed that protection is also sought against the evil suggestions of men. He no doubt had in mind the suggestions of the aged Makkan chief Walid Ibn al Mughaira and others of his townsmen, who advised him to a compromise, whereby the true God

draweth, (5) who whispereth evil suggestions into the breasts of men; (6) from genii and men.

should be worshipped along with the gods of the Kaabah. These suggestions led to the lapse referred to in some of the passages noted above, and which left an indelible impression upon Muhammad's mind ever afterwards.

INDEX.

A TABLE SHOWING THE APPROXIMATE CHRONOLOGICAL
ORDER OF THE CHAPTERS OF THE QURÁN.

According to Jaláluddín.	According to Noéldeke.	According to Muir.	Jaláluddín.	Noéldeke.	Muir.	Jaláluddín.	Noéldeke.	Muir.	Jaláluddín.	Noéldeke.	Muir.
96	96	103 ¹	75	100	110	40	38	37	3	46	16
68	74	100	104	79	85	41	36	30	33	6	13
73	111	99	77	77	83	42	43	26	60	13	29
74	106	91	50	78	78	43	72	15	4	2 ¹²	7
111	108	106	90	88	77	44	67	51	99	98	113
81	104	1	86	80	76	45	23	46 ⁸	57	64	114
87	107	101	54	75	75	46	21	72	47	62	98 ¹³
92	102	95	38	83	70	51	25	35	62	8	2
89	105	102	7	69	109	88	17	36	55	47	3
93	92	104	72	51	107	18	27	19	76	3	8
94	90	82	36	52	55	16	18	18	13	61	47
103	94	92	25	56	56	71	32 ⁸	27	98	57	62
100	93	105	35	70	67 ⁷	14	41	42	59	4	5
108	97	89	19	55	53	21	45	40	110	65	59
102	86	90	20	112	32	23	16	38	24	59	4
107	91	93	56	109	39	32	30	25	22	33	58
109	80	94	26	113 ⁴	73	52	11	20	63	63	65
105	68	108	27	114 ⁵	79	67	14	43	58	24	63
113	87	96 ²	28	1	54	69	12	12	49	58	24
114	95	113	17	54 ⁶	34	70	40	11	66	22	33
112	103	74	10	37	31	78	28	10	65	48	57
53	85	111	11	71	69	79	39	14	64	66	61
80	73	87 ³	12	76	68	82	29	6	61	60	48
97	101	97	15	44	41	84	31	64	48	110	60
91	99	88	6	50	71	30	42	28	5	49	66
85	82	80	37	20	52	29	10	23	9 ¹⁰	9	49
95	81	81	31	26	50	83	34	22	1 ¹¹	5	9
106	53	84	34	15	45	2	35	21	...	...	...
101	84	86	39	19	44	8	7	17	...	...	...

¹ Muir's first period comprises eighteen Suras, which he calls "rhapsodies."

² Muir's second period begins here.

³ Muir's third period begins here.

⁴ Indeterminate.

⁵ Intermediate.

⁶ Here begin the Suras of Noéldeke's second period.

⁷ Here begins Muir's fourth period.

⁸ Here begin the Suras of Noéldeke's third period.

⁹ Here begins Muir's fifth period.

¹⁰ The last Sura in Jaláluddín's list.

¹¹ Jaláluddín regards the place of this Sura as indeterminable and yet as belonging to an early period of the ministry of the Prophet.

¹² Here begin the Madína Suras.

¹³ Here begin the Madína chapters, according to Muir.

AN INDEX

TO THE

PRELIMINARY DISCOURSE, THE TEXT, AND NOTES ON THE QURÁN.

Aaron. See *Moses*.

Abbás, one of Muhammad's uncles, taken at Badr and obliged to ransom himself, viii. 69 n.; professes Islám, viii. 71 n.; remarkable for his loud voice, ix. 25 n.

Abdullah, the father of Muhammad, P.D. 68.

Abdullah Ibn Ubbai Solúl, the hypocrite, admired for his person and eloquence, lxiii. 14 n.; raises a scandalous story of Ayesha, xxiv. 11 n.; is present at an interview between Muhammad and his adversaries, xxxiii. 1 n.; occasions a quarrel, xlix. 9 n.; promises to assist the Bani Nadhír, but fails to do so, lix. 12 n.; endeavours to debauch Muhammad's men at Ohod, iii. 122 n.; excused from going on the expedition to Tabúk, ix. 43; desires Muhammad's prayers in his last sickness, and to be buried in the Prophet's shirt, ix. 81-85 n.

Abdullah Ibn Omm Maktum, a blind man, occasions a passage of the Qurán, lxxx. introd.

Abdullah Ibn Saad, one of Muhammad's amanuenses, imagines himself inspired and corrupts the Qurán, vi. 94 n.

Abdullah Ibn Salám, a Jew, intimate with Muhammad: his honesty, iii. 74 n.; supposed to have assisted in composing the Qurán, xvi. 105 n.

A'bdast. See *Purifications*.

Abd al Mutallib, the grandfather of Muhammad, P.D. 68.

Abd Manáf, a dispute between his descendants and the Sahmites, cii. 1 n.

Abd-ul-Rahmán Ibn Auf, one of Muhammad's first converts, P.D. 75; an instance of his charity, ix. 80 n.

- Abel**, the story of Cain and Abel, v. 30-34; his ram sacrificed by Abraham, xxxviii. 107 n.
- Abraha**, his army destroyed near Makkah, cv. 1 n.
- Abraham**, the patriarch, an idolater in his youth, vi. 77-84; rejects the idols of his fathers, vi. 76-84 n., xliii. 25-27; demolishes the Chaldean idols, xxi. 59; disputes with Nimrod, ii. 258 n.; escapes the fire into which he was thrown by order of Nimrod, xxi. 69 n.; prays for his father, viii. 115; entertains angels, xi. 69, li. 24-30; called the friend of God, iv. 124 n.; his sacrifice of his son, xxxvii. 101 n.; his religion was that of Islám, ii. 130-132 n.; builder of the Kaabah, ii. 125; his scriptures attest the Qurán, lxxxvii. 18, 19; legend concerning "the place of Abrahám," ii. 125 n.; is compared with Muhammad, xxi. introd., xxix. 17-23 n.
- Abraham's place**, the stone in it, P.D. 185. See also *Kaabah*.
- Abrogation**, stated and defined, v. 47-50 notes, xvii. 35 n., xxiv. 2 n., xiii. 39, lxxxvii. introd. and notes, P.D. 110, 111; the number of abrogated verses, ii. 105 n., xvi. 69 n., and 103.
- Abu Baqr**, is converted to Islám, P.D. 75.
- Abu Lahab**, Muhammad's uncle and bitter enemy, P.D. 76; his and his wife's punishment, cxi. 1, &c.
- Abu Tálib**, protects Muhammad against his enemies, P.D. 77; his death, P.D. 79; Muhammad refuses to pray for him on his deathbed, ix. 114 n.
- Abul Qásim**. See *Mahdi*.
- Adam**, traditions concerning his creation, ii. 30 n., and xvii. 12; his likeness the likeness of Jesus, iii. 58 n.; worshipped by angels, ii. 34 n., vii. 11; his fall, ii. 35 n., vii. 11-26; meets Eve at Mount Arafát, and retires with her to Ceylon, ii. 35 n.; his posterity extracted from his loins by God to acknowledge him for their Lord, vii. 173; names his eldest son as directed by the devil, vii. 190 n.
- Adites**, their progenitors, P.D. 20; their prodigious stature, P.D. 22, vii. 70; destroyed on account of their idolatry, P.D. 21, 22, xlvi. 20-27, vii. 73-80 notes. See also *Húd*.
- Adoption**, creates no matrimonial impediment, xxxiii. 4 n.
- Adulterers**, Muhammad's sentence against them, iii. 23 n.
- Adultery**, laws concerning, P.D. 209, iii. 23 n., and xxiv. 2-13 notes; its punishment, iv. 4, 15, 24, and xxiv. 2 and 3.
- Affliction**, meritorious, ii. 157 n.
- Ahl-i-Kitab**, who are so called in the Qurán, ii. 61 n.
- Ahmad**. See *Muhammad*.
- Ahqáf**, its people destroyed, xlvi. 20-27.
- Al Aika**. See *Midianites*.

- Aila or Elath**, the Sabbath-breakers there changed into apes, ii. 64, 65 notes.
- Al Aswad**, the record of the two liars, P.D. 271, 272, v. 59 n.
- Alexander the Great**, a prophet of Islám, xviii. 82 n.
- Ali**, is adopted by Muhammad and becomes his disciple, P.D. 75; veneration of the Shíahs for him, P.D. 226; sent to Makkah to publish part of the Qurán, ix. 63 n.; the charity and abstinence of him and his family, lxxvi. 10 n.
- Almsgiving (Ziqát)**, regulation concerning, P.D. 172, 173, ii. 109 n.; a condition of salvation, lxiii. 10, and iii. 92; comparison between Muslim and Jewish almsgiving, P.D. 174, 175; charity begins at home, ii. 214 n.; motives to give liberally, iv. 37 n., and ix. 104 n.; what should be given, ii. 219, 220; liberal givers rewarded, ii. 261-280.
- Amalakites**, the tribe, its descent, conquests, and destruction, P.D. 24.
- Amar and Arbád**, attempt to kill Muhammad, and their punishment, xiii. 14 n.
- Amar (Abu)**, a Christian monk and violent enemy to Muhammad, ix. 108 n.
- Amar (Banu)**, their abstinence on the pilgrimage, vii. 32 n.
- Amína**, Muhammad's mother, he is not permitted to pray for her, ix. 114 n.
- Ammár Ibn Yásar**, tortured by the Quraish because of his faith, xvi. 108 n.
- Amrán**. See *Imrán*.
- Ámru Banu**, build a mosque at Quba, ix. 108 n.
- Ámru Ibn Luhai**, the great introducer of idolatry among the Arabs, vi. 143 and 144 n.
- Anachronisms**, in the Qurán, ii. 48, 49, v. 23 n. and 47-50 notes, vii. 64, 128 and 131 notes, xiii. 39, xvii. 35 n., xxiv. 2 n., and lxx. 23.
- Anam**, the name of Luqman's son, xxxi. 12 n.
- Angel**, of death. See *Azraíl*.
- Angels**, their original, vii. 12 n.; impeccable, xviii. 48; of different forms and orders, xxxv. 1 n.; believed by the Arabs to be daughters of God, xvi. 59 n.; they worship Adam, ii. 34; assist the Muslims, iii. 13 n. and 125 n., viii. 9 n., ix. 26 and 40 n.; appear to Abraham and Lot, iv. 116 n.; intercede for sinners, xlii. 3; brought down the Qurán from heaven, xvi. 104; record the deeds of men, x. 22 n., l. 16, 17, lxxxii. 10-12; guard the precincts of hell, lxxiv. 31 n.; Munkir and Nákir, iv. 96 n.; belief in angels necessary, P.D. 118; principal angels, P.D. 119; Muslim doctrine of angels borrowed from the Jews, P.D. 120.

- Animals**, irrational, will be raised at the resurrection and judged, vi. 37 n.
- Ansárs**, term defined, viii. 73 n.; are honoured of God, ix. 20; three excommunicated, ix. 119 n.
- Ants**, their queen's speech to them on the approach of Solomon's army, xxvii. 18.
- Anushirwán**, destroys Mazdak and the Manicheans, P.D. 66.
- Apostles**, were not believed who wrought miracles, iii. 184 n.; were, like Muhammad, called impostors, iii. 185 n., and vi. 33.
- Apostles of Jesus**, described, v. 111 n.; an example to Muslims, lxi. 14; their faithfulness to Jesus, iii. 51, 52 n.; did not forge their scriptures, xxxvi. 16 n.; ask a table to be sent down from heaven, v. 112 n.; two of them sent to Antioch, xxxvi. 12 n.
- Apparel**, what kind ought to be worn by those who approach the divine presence, vii. 28-34 notes.
- Aqabah**, first pledge of, P.D. 81; second pledge of, P.D. 82.
- Arabia**, its name, P.D. 13; boundaries, P.D. 14; its fabled riches not its own, P.D. 15; productions, P.D. 16; government in pre-Islamic times, P.D. 14-30; how governed after Muhammad's time, P.D. 30-33; never conquered, P.D. 35; accepts Islám, P.D. 94, 95; its political power consolidated by Muhammad, P.D. 67, 68; a refuge for heretics, P.D. 64.
- Arabians**, ancient tribes, P.D. 20; no reliable history of ancient inhabitants, P.D. 25 n.; modern Arabs descended from Qahtán and Adnán, P.D. 28; the al A'riba and al Mustáriba, P.D. 24, 25; the Cushite Arabs, P.D. 26; their love of liberty, P.D. 33; their religion in pre-Islamic times, P.D. 34-48; two classes of Arabs, P.D. 49; their language, P.D. 49, 50; their learning and accomplishments, P.D. 50-60; their hospitality, P.D. 54-56; national defects, P.D. 56-58; become the chosen people of God, ii. 152 n.; their customs in relation to divorce and adoption, xxxiii. 4 n.; custom of burying daughters alive, vi. 137 n.; their superstitions in respect to eating, vi. 109 n., xxiv. 60; in respect to cattle, iv. 118; used to worship naked, and why, vii. 28-34 n.; their injustice to orphans and women, iv. 18-20 notes.
- Arabs of the desert**, more obstinate, ix. 91 n.
- Aráf**, the wall of, P.D. 152, vii. 47-50 notes.
- Arafát**, the mount, P.D. 186; why so called, ii. 35 and 198 notes.
- Aram**, the inundation of, P.D. 26, 27, xxxiv. 15 n.
- Ark**, Noah's ark, traditions of, liv. 15 n., xi. 41 n.; the ark of Israel taken by the Amalekites, ii. 248 n.

- Arrows, for divination forbidden, v. 4 n.
- Al Aás Ibn Wáíl, an enemy of Muhammad's, xv. 95 and xix. 80 notes.
- Asaf, Solomon's prime minister, xxvii. 40 n.
- Asáf and Naila, desecrate the Kaabah, ii. 159 n.
- Ashadd (Abu'l), his extraordinary strength, xc. 5 n.
- Ashama, king of Ethiopia, embraces Islám, v. 86 n.; prayed for after his death by Muhammad, iii. 199 n.
- Asharians, their founder and doctrine, P.D. 251-257.
- Ashura. See *Muharram*.
- Asía, the wife of Pharaoh, martyred by her husband for believing in Moses, lxvi. 11 n.
- Asim, his charity, ix. 80 n.
- Aslam, xlviii. 11 n.
- Astrology, hinted at, iii. 184 n.
- Al Aswad Ibn Abd Yaghúth, Al Aswad Ibn al Mutallib, two of Muhammad's enemies, xv. 95 n.
- Atonement, salvation by atonement denied, iii. 90 n. and 194 n., v. 49 n., xxii. 36 n. and 39 n.; use of the word *expiate*, iii. 194 n., v. 13 n., 70 n. and 96 n., xxxvii. 107 n.
- Aus and Khazraj, their enmity, iii. 100-109 notes.
- A'yat ul Kursi, ii. 255 n.
- Ayesha, calumnious report of, xxiv. introd. and 11 n.
- Azraíl, the angel of death, why appointed to that office, ii. 30 n.; a story of him and Solomon, xxxi. 34 n.
- Azar, the name given to Terah, Abraham's father, vi. 75 n.
- Baal, the chief idol of the Chaldeans, xxi. 59 n.
- Bába, his sect and their doctrine, P.D. 280, 281.
- Babel, the tower of, destroyed, xvi. 28 n.
- Bábik, his sect and their history, P.D. 275-277.
- Backbiting. See *Slander*.
- Badr, Muhammad's victory there, iii. 13 and 121 n.; the angels assisted the Muslims there, iii. 124 n.
- Bahaira, described, v. 102 n.
- Bairám. See *Feasts*.
- Bakhtanasr. See *Nebuchadnezzar*.
- Balaam, his punishment for cursing the Israelites, vii. 176 n.
- Balám, the ox to be slain for the feast of God, P.D. 156.
- Balance, the great, of judgment, P.D. 144, vii. 8 n.
- Balqís, the Queen of Sheba, xxvii. 42-45 notes.
- Baptism, the baptism of God, ii. 138 n.; of the Sabian religion, P.D. 35.
- Baqr (Abu), attends Muhammad in his flight from Makkah, ix. 40 n.; bears testimony to the truth by Muhammad's journey

- to heaven, xvii. 62 n. ; his wager with Ubbá Ibn Khalf, xxx. 1 n. ; strikes a Jew on the face for speaking irreverently of God, iii. 182 n. ; gives all he has towards the expedition of Tabúk, ix. 80 n. ; purchases Bilál, xc. 18 n. ; compared to Abrahám, viii. 69 n.
- Baqr I'd**, described, P.D. 232 n.
- Barnabas**, the Gospel of, iii. 53 n., and P.D. 123 and 124.
- Barzakh (Al)**, opinions of Muslims regarding it, P.D. 128, 129.
- Basharians**, their founder and doctrines, P.D. 247, 248.
- Bátinites**. See *Isma'ilians*.
- Be**, the command, *Kun fayakuna*, xxvi. 82 n.
- Bedouin Arabs**, punished for their treachery, xlviii. 15, 16 ; their hypocrisy rebuked, xlix. 14-18, xcvi. 100 n.
- Bees**, made use of as a similitude, xvi. 71 n.
- Believers**, the sincere ones described, viii. 2-5, xxiii. 1-10, their works, ix. 72, xxi. 20 ; heaven their reward, ix. 73, xiii. 28, and xxiii. 11. See *Paradise*.
- Benjamin**, son of Jacob, xii. 69 n.
- Birds**, omens taken from them, xvii. 14 n.
- Bismillah**, what it signifies, P.D. 100 ; of Jewish origin, i. introd. v. 5 n., vi. 118-121 n., xxiii. 101 n.
- Blessed**, their future happiness described, xxxvi. 55-58, xlv. 51-59. See *Paradise*.
- Blood**, forbidden, ii. 174 n. ; price of blood, iv. 91 n. ; blood-feuds abolished, iv. 92.
- Books**, account-books given into the hands of men on the judgment-day, P.D. 144, 145, and lxxxiv. 6-15.
- Bridge**, over hell, P.D. 147 ; this doctrine borrowed from the Magians, P.D. 147.
- Brotherhood**, of Muslims, iv. 32 n.
- Brutes**, in the judgment, P.D. 145, 146.
- Buáth**, the battle of, iii. 100-109.
- Budhail**, a dispute concerning his effects occasions a passage of the Qurán, v. 105 n.
- Buhaira**, the monk, xvi. 105 n.
- Burden**, every soul to bear its own, xxxv. 20, 21.
- Burkai (Al)**. See *Hakim*.
- Cain**. See *Abel*.
- Caleb**. See *Joshua*.
- Calf**, the golden, worshipped by the Israelites, ii. 50 n.
- Calumny**, forbidden, iv. 156.
- Camels**, an instance of God's wisdom, lxxxviii. 17 ; appointed for sacrifice, xxii. 34 ; Jacob abstains from their flesh and milk, iii. 93 n.

- Canaan**, an unbelieving son of Noah, xi. 40 n.
- Caravans**, of purveyors sent out by the Quarish, cvi. 1, &c., n.
- Carriion**, forbidden to be eaten, ii. 174 n.
- Cattle**, their use, vi. 138, and xl. 79; superstitions of old Arabians concerning them, v. 102.
- Ceylon**, the isle of. See *Sarandīb*.
- Charity**, commended, iv. 35-38 notes.
- Chastity**, commended, v. 6 n.
- Chess**. See *Games*.
- Children**, to inherit their parents' substance, ii. 220 n., and iv. 32 n.
- Christ**, his gospel attested, lvii. 27; his sonship not understood by Muhammad, ii. 116 n., xxi. 17 n., iii. 5 n., v. 21 n.; his divinity rejected by Muhammad, iii. 2 n., v. 19 n., and 110-117 notes, xix. 91-95 notes, xliii. introd. See also *Jesus*.
- Christians**, persecuted by Dhu Nawás, P.D. 45, 46, lxxxix. 1-9; dispute among themselves about the Qurán, xcvi. 3, 4; said to worship their priests, ix. 31 n.; called infidels and idolaters, ii. 135, and v. 19 n.; exhorted to become Muslims, lvii. 28, 29; Muhammad helped by them, xvi. 105 n., and xviii. 12 n.
- Christianity**, progress of, in Arabia, P.D. 45-48; state of, at time of Muhammad, P.D. 61-64; Muhammad's estimate of it, ii. 135 n.
- Circumcision**, Muslim doctrine and practice in regard to, P.D. 168.
- Coffee**. See *Things forbidden*.
- Collars**, to be worn by the unbelievers in the life to come, xiii. 6 n.
- Commandments**, given to the Jews, xiii. 103 n.
- Companions**, of God, what, vi. 22 n.
- Concubinage**, unlimited, lxvi. 1 note, lxx. 29-31; children of concubines legitimate, P.D. 213.
- Confession of faith**, the earliest, of Islám, cxii. 1, &c.; creed of Muhammad in Makkah, x. 104-109.
- Congeaed blood**, the matter of which man is created, xcvi. 1, &c.
- Contracts**, to be performed, v. 1.
- Covetousness**, denounced, xcii. 5-16, cii. introd.
- Cow**, ordered to be sacrificed by the Israelites, ii. 66 n.
- Création**, some account of it, xli. 8-11.
- Crime**, laws and penalties relating to grave offences, P.D. 210-216; crimes punished with death, xvii. 35 n.; petty crimes and their penalties, P.D. 217.

Cushites, described, P.D. 26.

Customs, relating to Bahaira, Saiba, Wasla, and Hámí. See *Things forbidden*, *Purifications*, and *Laws*.

Daughters, hated by the Arabs, yet ascribed to God by them, xliii. introd. and 15-18.

David, kills Goliah, ii. 249 n. and xvii. 6 n.; his extraordinary devotion, xxxviii. 16; the birds and mountains sing praises with him, xxxiv. 10; his repentance for taking the wife of Uriah, xxxviii. 23; his and Solomon's judgment, xxi. 79 n.; receives the Book of Psalms, xvii. 57.

Days, appointed to commemorate God, xxii. 29 n.

Dead body, raised to life by a part of the sacrificed cow, ii. 72 n.

Death, unavoidable, iii. 155; every soul shall taste it, iii. 186 n.

Debtors, to be mercifully dealt with, ii. 278-280.

Decrees, the doctrine of, P.D. 164; everything written in the books of, lvii. 22, 23, and xi. 7 n.; God decrees some to be saved and others to be lost, lxiv. 2, and x. 100 n.

Deceivers, their condition in the judgment, iv. 106, &c.

Demons, beset Muhammad, and are the authors of idolatry, vi. 112, 113 notes.

Devil. See *Iblis* and *Satan*.

Devils, included under the name of genii, vi. 130 n.; the patrons of unbelievers, vii. 28, xxvi. 223, and xliii. 35-38.

Dhu'l Qifl, the prophet, opinions concerning him, xxi. 85 n.; saves a hundred Israelites from slaughter, xxxviii. 48 n.

Dhu'l Nun. See *Jonas*.

Dhu Nawás, described, P.D. 28 and 45; his persecution of the Christians, P.D. 45, 46; his persecutions anathematised, lxxxv. 1-7.

Dhu'l Qarnain, who he was, xviii. 82; builds a wall to prevent incursions of Gog and Magog, xviii. 92-96.

Disputes, to be carried on with mildness, xxix. 45 n.

Ditch, war of the, xxxiii. 9 n.

Divining. See *Things forbidden*.

Divorce, ancient Arab custom of, abrogated, lviii. 1-9; of female converts to Islám, lx. 10; laws of divorce, iv. 18 n., xxxiii. 40 n., ii. 226-237, and P.D. 207-209; original law of Islám modified, lxv. 1-7; regulations concerning it, ii. 226-237 notes, and 241 n.; efforts to prevent, iv. 34 n.

Doctors, the four great Muslim authorities, P.D. 205.

Doctrine, the two sciences of divinity, P.D. 233; points of faith subject to scholastic discussion, P.D. 235.

Dogs, &c., allowed to be trained up for hunting, v. 5 n.

Drink, of the damned, vi. 71.

Duráh (Al), the celestial mode of the Kaabah, li. 4 n.

Earth, its creation, xli. 8-11 n.; remonstrates against the creation of man, ii. 30 n.; is kept steady by the mountains, xvi. 15 n., xxxi. 9 n.

Earthquake, a sign of the approach of the last day, xcix. 1.

Eden, the meaning of the word in Arabic, ix. 73 n.

Education, makes a man an infidel, xxx. 29 n.

Egypt, the plagues on, vii. 134-136.

Elephant, war of the, cv. introd. and 1, &c.

Elias, denounces the worship of Baal, xxxvii. 123-125. See *Al Khidr*.

Elisha, the prophet, vi. 87 n.

Emigration, to Abyssinia, P.D. 77, 78, and xxxix. 13 n.; to Madína, P.D. 85.

Enemy, admissible to slay an, ii. 191-194.

Enoch. See *Idris*.

Entering, into houses abruptly, forbidden, xxiv. 27 and 57 notes.

Esop. See *Iugmán*.

Eucharist, seems to have occasioned a fable in the Qurán, v. 112 n.

Eve. See *Adam*.

Evil, allowable in self-defence, viii. 60 n., xvi. 108 n. See also *Good*.

Examination, of the sepulchre, viii. 52 n.

Exegesis, rules for, P.D. 113, 114.

Expiation. See *Atonement*.

Ezekiel, raises the dry bones, ii. 243 n.

Ezra, and his ass restored to life after they had been dead a hundred years, ii. 259 n.; called by the Jews the son of God, and why, ix. 30 n.

Faith, defined, ii. 3-32; its evidence in new converts, lx. 12; assurance of faith presumptuous, ii. 4 n.; must accompany good works, xi. 24; the reward of those who fight for it, iii. 140 n. and 170; apostates from it to be put to death, xvii. 35 n.

Famine, afflicts the inhabitants of Makkah, xxiii. 76 n.; ceases at Muhammad's intercession, xlv. 9-15.

Fast, of Ramadhán instituted, ii. 184, 185 n., and P.D. 176-178.

Fasting, the duty required, P.D. 175, and ii. 183, &c.; voluntary fasting, P.D. 178; ordinary customs relating to, vii. 142.

- Fatalism**, Muhammad's belief in, iii. 145 and 155 notes.
- Fátihat**, the first chapter of the Qurán, chap. i.
- Fátimah**, Muhammad's daughter, one of the four perfect women, lxvi. 12 n.
- Fatra**, defined, v. 22 n., lxxiv. introd.
- Feasts**, the I'd-ul-Fitr and I'd-ul-Qurbán, P.D. 231; feast of God, P.D. 156.
- Fidelity**, recommended, ix. 7.
- Figs**, their virtues, xcv. 1 n.
- Fire**, the manner of striking it in the East, xxxvi. 180 n.
- Fishing**, allowed during the pilgrimage, v. 97 n.
- Flood**. See *Noah*.
- Food**, what kinds are forbidden. See *Things forbidden*.
- Forbidden fruit**, what, ii. 35 n.
- Forgiveness**, to whom it belongs, xxxiii. 36; enemies to be forgiven, why, ii. 108 n.; story of Hassan, iii. 134 n.
- Fornication**, forbidden, and its punishment, iv. 14 and 23 n., xvii. 35 n. See also *Adultery*.
- Fountain**, of molten brass flows for Solomon, xxxiv. 11 n.
- Fountains**, of Paradise, lxxvi. 5, and lxxxiii. 27.
- Free-will**, man's free-will recognised, iii. 145 n., vi. 12 n.; free-will denied, x. 100 n.
- Friendship**, with unbelievers forbidden, v. 57 n.
- Fugitives**. See *Muhájjirín*.
- Furqán**, one of the names of the Qurán, xxv. 1 n.; applied to inspired writings generally, ii. 52 n.
- Gabriel**, assists the Muslims at Badr, iii. 13; appears to Zacharias, iii. 38; appears twice to Muhammad in his proper form, liii. 6 n.; appears to the Virgin Mary, and causes her to conceive, xix. 17-22 n.; the dust of his horse's feet animates the golden calf, xx. 91; commanded to assist Muhammad against the Quraish, xv. 95 n.; orders Muhammad to go against the Bani Quraidha, xxxiii. 26 n.; Muhammad receives the Qurán through him, ii. 96 n., liii. 6, xevi. introd.; generally he reveals himself in human form, vi. 9 n., xix. 17 n.
- Games**, of chance, forbidden, P.D. 193; the game of chess, P.D. 194-196.
- Gaming**, forbidden. See *Things forbidden*.
- Ganím (Banu)**, build a mosque with an ill design, which is burnt, ix. 108 n.
- Garden**, the parable of a garden, lxviii. 17-34; Garden of Eden, see *Paradise*.
- Genii**, Muslim belief concerning them, P.D. 121, vi. 101 n.;

created of fire, lv. 14; some of them converted to Islám, xlv. 28-31, lxxii. introd.; fate in the judgment-day, P.D. 146.

Ghassán, the kingdom of, and how founded, P.D. 27, 28; its last Christian king, Jabálah, becomes a Muslim, and afterwards apostatises, P.D. 29.

Ghází, the true fanatic, ix. 20 n.

Ghulites, a sect of the Shíahs, P.D. 266.

Girls, black-eyed, of Paradise, xxxvii. 47.

God, the God of Islám, P.D. 118, 119; he is one God, cxii. 1-4, ii. 22 n., and 164 n.; manifested by his works, xli. 8-11 and 37-39, xlii. 28-33, xlv. 2-5, li. 20-22; Creator and source of life, xlv. 7; is able to raise the dead, ii. 117, vi. 96-102, xvi. 42 n., xxxvi. 82 n., xlv. 23-25; Sovereign, lxiv. 11 and 18; is eternal, lv. 26-30; his laws and word unalterable, vi. 115 n., xxx. 29; is all-powerful, lvii. 1-6, and lxxviii. 8-29; is everywhere present, lviii. 8; is omniscient, ii. 94 n., iv. 107, and lvii. 1-6; five things known only to him, xxxi. 34 n.; his goodness and love, ii. 166 n., iii. 31 n.; the Author of all good, iv. 78 n.; the Author of evil as well as of good, vii. 179, 180 n., xvii. 14 n., xxxv. 9 n.; a refuge against Satan, cxiv. 1-6; his ninety-nine names, vii. 181 n.; his throne, ii. 255 n.; the Trinity denied, iv. 169 n.; cannot have sons, vi. 102.

Goddesses, called the daughters of God, iv. 116.

Gog and Magog, described, xviii. 92-99 n.; they shall punish the infidels, xxix. 96.

Goliah. See *Jálút*.

Good works, who shall be redeemed by them. See *Salvation*.

Gospel attested by Muhammad and the Qurán, P.D. 126, and xlviii. 29; Muslim use of spurious Gospels, P.D. 124, 125.

Gospel of Barnabas, Muslim use of, P.D. 123 and 124, iii. 53 n.

Greaves (Mr.), a mistake of his, lxxxix. 8 n.

Greeks, overcome by the Persians, xxx. 1 n.

Gudarz, the name of Nebuchadnezzar, xvii. 7 n.

Habíb, his martyrdom, xxxvi. 12 n.

Háfídhá, an idol of A'd, vii. 66 n.

Hajj. See *Pilgrimage*.

Hakím Ibn Hášham, his prophetic career, P.D. 273-275.

Hámán, Pharaoh's chief minister, xxviii. 5 and 38 n.

Hámi, described, v. 102 n.

Hamza, his conversion, P.D. 78; is killed at Ohod, iii. 121 n.; his body mutilated, xvi. 127 n.

Hanbalites, their founder and their doctrines, P.D. 240, 241.

- Handha Ibn Safwán**, a prophet, xxii. 46 n., xxv. 40 n.
- Haníf**. See *Orthodox*.
- Hanífites**, their founder and doctrine, P.D. 23, 238.
- Hárith (Abu)**, a Christian bishop, disputes with Muhammad, iii. 60 n.
- Hárút and Márút**, their story, ii. 101 n.
- Háshamians**, their founder and doctrines, P.D. 245.
- Háshimites**, the Ban of, P.D. 78.
- Hátib, Ibn Abi Baltaa**, sends a letter discovering Muhammad's design against Makkah, which is intercepted, lx. 1 n.
- Háwlat (Al)**, the name of an apartment in hell, ci. 9 n.
- Háyátians**, their founder and doctrines, P.D. 246.
- Heavens**, Muslim belief concerning them, xxiii. 17; adorned with stars, lxvii. 5; seven in number, ii. 29, and xli. 11; created in six days, vii. 55, and x. 3; guarded by angels, lxxii. 8; will fall at the last day, xxii. 66 n.
- Hell**, Muhammad's notions of, borrowed from the Magians, P.D. 150, 151; punishments of, P.D. 149, ii. 38 n., iii. 197 n., xxiii. 105 n., xlv. 43-50, lvi. 40-56, lxxxviii. 4-7; the inmates of hell shall vainly seek for annihilation, xliii. 74-78; no repentance there, xxvi. 91-105; it shall not harm true believers, xix. 72 n.; Muslim culprits finally escape, P.D. 149 and 150, xix. 41 n., xxxii. 14 n.; guarded by nineteen angels, lxxiv. 30-34; its various apartments, ci. 10, 11 n., civ. 4 n.; it shall be filled with men and genii, l. 29, xviii. 102 n.; the sufferings of hell corporeal, xiv. 20; in the judgment-day it shall be dragged towards God's tribunal, lxxxix. 24 n.
- Heresy**, it finds a refuge in Arabia, P.D. 63.
- Higgins (Godfrey)**, quoted, ii. 174 n., xi. 13 n.
- Hijáz**, its name and boundaries, P.D. 16; chief cities of, P.D. 16-19; the founder of the kingdom, P.D. 26; phylarchical government of, inaugurated, P.D. 30.
- Hijra**, the era of, P.D. 87 n. See also *Emigration*.
- Hira**, the kingdom and its history, P.D. 27-29.
- Himyárites**. See *Yaman*.
- Hobal**, the chief idol of the Kaabah, P.D. 42.
- Holy Spirit**. See *Spirit*.
- Honey**, an excellent medicine, xvi. 71 n.
- Houris**. See *Húr al Oyún*.
- Húd**, the prophet of A'd, P.D. 21; his story, see *A'd*.
- Hudailians**, their founder and doctrines, P.D. 244.
- Hudaibiyah**, the treaty of, xlviii. 26 n.; Muhammad's dream there, xlviii. 27 n.
- Hulúl (Al)**, the doctrine of, P.D. 266.
- Hunain**, the battle of, ix. 25 n.

Húr al Oyún, or girls of Paradise, earliest mention of, lii. 20 ; number allowed to each of the true believers, P.D. 157.

Husband. See *Divorce*, *Wives*, and *Marriage*.

Hypocrites, described, lxiii. 1-4 ; their perfidy, xli. 49-51, and lix. 11-17 ; threatened, ix. 52-65 notes, xxxiii. 60-62, lxiii. 1-3, lxvi. 9.

Iblís, refuses to worship Adam, and why, ii. 34, vii. 11-18, xvii. 63-65 ; is accursed, vi. 13, 18, xv. 34, 35 ; respited till the judgment-day, vi. 14, 15, xv. 36-38 ; has no power to injure God's people, xv. 42, xvii. 67. See also *Satan*.

I'd. See *Feasts*.

Idolaters, acknowledge God yet worship the creature, xl. 8-14 ; choose Satan for their friend instead of God, xviii. 48 ; will be deserted by their own gods in the judgment-day, x. 29, &c., xli. 47, 48 ; to be treated harshly, ix. 36, lxvi. 9 ; not to be prayed for while such, ix. 114 ; shall be cast into hell-fire, iv. 120, vii. 49 n., xxi. 98-101 ; not permitted to enter Muslim places of worship, ix. 28 ; the Arab idolaters slay their daughters, xvi. 61 ; idolatrous practices among modern Muslims, P.D. 37 n. See *Idols* and *Idolatry*.

Idolatry, Arab idolatry and star-worship, P.D. 36-38 ; to be restored before the judgment-day, P.D. 134 ; the heinousness of the sin of idolatry, ii. 216 ; Muslim idea of, iii. 151 n.

Idols, their insignificance, xxx. 39 ; will appear as witnesses against their worshippers, x. 29 ; famous idols of Makkah, Lát, Uzzah, Mínáh, Wadd, &c., described, P.D. 38-43 ; stones worshipped, P.D. 43, and v. 4 n.

Idrís, supposed to be the same with Enoch, xix. 57 n. ; a model of patience, xxi. 85.

Ifríts, how they differ from the genii, xxvii. 39 n.

Ihíz, a sort of food used by the Arabs in times of scarcity, xxxiii. 76 n.

Illiyún, the meaning of the word, lxxxiii. 18-21.

Ilyásín, who, xxiii. 130 n.

I'mám, the meaning of the word, ii. 124 n.

Immodesty, condemned, xxiv. 31.

Immunity, declared to the idolaters for four months, ix. 1-5.

Imposture, charged on all the prophets, xxiii. 35-43 ; charged on Muhammad, see *Muhammad*.

Imrán, father of the Virgin Mary, and whether confounded with the father of Moses, iii. 33 n. ; the wife of Imrán, iii. 35 n.

Infanticide prohibited by Muhammad, P.D. 202-204, xvi. 61 n., vii. 33 n.

- Infidels**, why the Qurán was sent to them, ii. 6 n.; prospered to secure destruction, ii. 211; would not be convinced by miracles, vi. 7-9, 34 and 109 notes; how they will appear at the last day, vi. 30 n.; will drink boiling water, vi. 71; no friendship with them allowed to Muslims, iv. 88 n. and 139 n.; to be made war upon, ii. 191-193; forbidden to approach Makkah, ix. 28 n.; who die such, not to be prayed for, ix. 114 n.; to be forgiven on conversion to Islám, iv. 85, viii. 40, &c.
- Inheritance**, laws regarding, P.D. 212, 213; legacies to poor, &c., ii. 180 n.; legacies to wives, ii. 240 n.; inheritance of idiots, &c., iv. 4 n.; old rules affecting women and children abolished, iv. 6 n.; law relating to portions, iv. 10-13 n.
- Injury**, to forgive the same is meritorious, xlii. 38.
- Inspiration**, why God reveals his word by inspiration, xlii. 50, 51; who are inspired, iv. 162; as applied to Muslim tradition, iv. 57 n.; claimed by Muhammad, iv. 162, and xi. 13; Muhammad's inspiration, iv. 162, xvi. introd., xvii. 88 n., xx. 112, 113 notes; a bee inspired, xvi. 70.
- Intercalation**, of a month, forbidden, ix. 36 n.
- Intercession**, Muhammad no intercessor, ii. 152 n., vii. 188 n.; efficiency of Muhammad's intercession in the judgment-day, vi. 50, ix. 81 n., xx. 108 n., lxxi. 29 n.; none admissible on the judgment-day, v. 108 n., xi. 46 n., xvi. 39 n., xxxix. 45 n., lxxxii. 17-19; angels permitted to intercede, xxi. 29 n.; angels called intercessors by Arab idolaters, P.D. 38; Christian doctrine of intercession inconsistent with Islám, xx. 108 n.
- Iram**, the city of A'd, lxxxix. 6 n.; the garden of, P.D. 20, 21.
- Iron**, its usefulness, lvii. 29.
- Isaac**, promised, xi. 71; his faith, xi. 74; represented in the Qurán as Jacob's brother, xi. 71 n.
- Isháqians**, their doctrines, P.D. 267.
- Ismá'íl**, his posterity accounted to be Arabs, P.D. 25; nowhere called the child of promise, xi. 71 n.; is offered up as a sacrifice, xxxvii. 99 n.; numbered among the prophets of Islám, ii. 133, xix. 55. See also *Abrahám*.
- Ismá'ílians**, their enmity to Muhammadans, P.D. 279.
- Islám**, the religion of all the prophets, ii. 136 n., iii. 83 n., vii. 104, 127 n., xvi. 91 n., xxi. 92 n., xlii. 11-13, and P.D. 116 seq.; the five fundamental points of, P.D. 117; to be exalted above all religions, ii. 193 n., ix. 33 n., xlviii. 28 n.; its various sects, P.D. 236-290; succeeds as a religion through political weakness of Rome and Persia, P.D. 65; propagated by the sword, P.D. 84, ii. 190-193 n., ix. 1 and 124 notes;

what it owes to Judaism, see *Judaism*; some reasons for its success, ii. 85 n. and 94 n., x. 32-37 n.; its antagonism to Christianity denied, and reply, ii. 89 n., v. 72 n., xxv. 35 n.; why said to be further removed from Christianity than heathenism, iii. 31 n.; incapable of elevating the human race, xxii. 61; never changed, xxx. 29 n.

Israelites, pass the Red Sea, vii. 138; miraculously fed in the wilderness, vii. 161; lust for the herbs of Egypt, ii. 60; worship golden calf, ii. 50; word put into their mouth at Jericho, ii. 58; command to sacrifice a red cow, ii. 66 n.; refuse to enter the Holy Land, and their punishment, v. 25; their transgression, xvii. 4 n.; desire a king, ii. 246; cursed by David and Jesus, v. 82; they inherit the eastern and western shores of the Red Sea, vii. 137 n., xvii. 106 n. See also *Jews*.

Jabarians, their name and creed, P.D. 259-261.

Jacob, bequeaths the religion of Islām to his children, iii. 132; grows blind by weeping for the loss of Joseph, xii. 84; recovers his sight by means of Joseph's garment and goes into Egypt, xii. 93.

Jadd Ibn Qais, his excuse for remaining behind in time of war, ix. 49 n.

Jadis, the tribe destroyed by the Tasmians, P.D. 23.

Jahidhians, their founder and doctrines, P.D. 246.

Jahl (Abu), a great enemy of Muhammad, xxii. 8; his injustice to an orphan, cvii. 2 n.; his advice concerning Muhammad, viii. 30 n.; slain at Badr, viii. 49 n.

Jallās (Al), Ibn Suwaid, ix. 75 n.

Jálút, or Goliath, sent against the Israelites, xvii. 5 n.; slain by David, ii. 251. See also *Saul*.

Jannat. See *Paradise*.

Jásúsa (Al), the beast which will appear at the approach of the last day, xxvii. 84.

Jawádh (Abu'l), the hypocrite, ix. 58 n.

Jawwas Ibn Omaiya, mentioned, xlviii. 18.

Jesus, promised to Mary, his miraculous birth, he is compared to Adam, iii. 58 n.; speaks in infancy, iii. 46; when a child he animates a bird of clay, iii. 48 n.; is called the Spirit of God, iv. 169 n.; his worship compared to the worship of heathen idols, xliii. 57 and 58; not God, v. 19 n., ix. 30 n.; yet called "the word of God," ii. 84 n., iii. 39-45 notes; his miracles, ii. 86 n., iii. 46-53; his miraculous birth, ii. 253 n., iii. 45-50, v. 109, xix. 22 n., xxi. 91 n.; his *sinlessness*, ii. 253 n., xix. 19 n.; causes a table with provisions

- to descend from heaven, v. 112 n.; rejected by the Jews, iii. 53; sends two of his disciples to Antioch, who work miracles, xxxvi. 12; receives the gospel, v. 50; the Jews lay a plot for his life, but are disappointed, and whether he died or not, iii. 53, 54 notes; was not crucified, iii. 53 n., iv. 154 n.; yet was to die, iii. 54 n., v. 117 n.; he died and rose again, iii. 54 n., v. 117 n., xix. 34; only an apostle, ii. 253, v. 79; a sign of the resurrection, xliii. 61; various opinions concerning him, xix. 38, his descent from heaven, p.d. 133. See also *Christ*.
- Jethro.** See *Shuaib*.
- Jews,** particularly appealed to, ii. 39 n.; accused of having corrupted the Scriptures and of stifling passages, ii. 39, 40 notes, iii. 77; they accuse the Virgin Mary of fornication, iv. 156; plot against Jesus, iii. 53 n.; proof required by them of a prophet's mission, iii. 184; metamorphosed into swine and apes for their infidelity, v. 65; their law confirmed by Jesus and the Qurán, v. 50; dispute with Muhammadans concerning God's favour, xxii. 19; their power in Arabia, p.d. 64; had revealed to them the law and the prophets, xlv. 15, 16; reject Muhammad through envy, ii. 89 n., iii. 19 n.; certain Jews confirm the Qurán, ii. 18 n., xxvi. 197 n., xlv. 9; dispute among themselves about the Qurán, xcviii. 3, 4; unfit for Muslim companionship, lviii. 15, 21; hated by Muhammad, ii. 137 n. to 146 n., iii. 118 n., lviii. 16-21; cursed by Jesus, v. 82 n.; they boast of their crime in slaying Jesus, iv. 156; Jews and Christians accused of condemning one another, ii. 112; accused of corrupting their Scriptures, ii. 41 and 160 notes; to be protected on payment of tribute, ix. 29 n. See also *Israelites*.
- Jihád,** primary use of the word, ii. 217 n.; commanded, ix. 13, 14 notes. See *War*.
- Job,** his story, vi. 85, xxi. 83 n., xxxviii. 43 n.
- John,** the son of Zacharias, his birth, iii. 38-41; his character, iii. 39 n., xix. 14; his murder revenged on the Jews by Nebuchadnezzar, xvii. 5-7 notes.
- Jonas,** his story, x. 98; is impatient, lxviii. 48-50.
- Jorhamites,** their origin and fate, p.d. 23, 24, and 29; their alliance with the Ishmaelites, p.d. 25 and 29.
- Joseph,** his story, xii. 1-102, xxxvii. 139-147 notes; the prophet of the Egyptians, xl. 36 n.
- Joshua and Caleb,** sent as spies into the land of Canaan, v. 26.
- Journey,** Muhammad's journey to heaven, xvii. 1 n.
- Jubbaians,** their founder and doctrines, p.d. 245.
- Judaism,** how introduced into Arabia, p.d. 44; what Islám

- owes to it, P.D. 120, 121, 127, 150, 160, 165, 171, 174, 177, 210, and 218; Muhammad's estimate of it, ii. 135 n.
- Judgment-day**, the Muslim tradition concerning it, iii. 25; described, xxv. 24, &c., lii. 1-16; signs of its approach, xxii. 1, xlv. 9, and xlvii. 20 n.; the hour only known to God, xli. 47, xlii. 16, 17; none shall escape it, l. 18-20, lxix. 1-3; the wicked shall be speechless therein, xxxvi. 65 n.; its terrors, lvi. 1-11; judgment shall be according to works, iv. 171, vi. 132, vii. 8, 9; that day shall reveal secret thoughts, lxxxvi. 9, 10 n.; length of the day, P.D. 137, xvi. 79 n., lxx. 4; place of judgment, P.D. 140; time of trial, P.D. 143, 144; great day of assizes, P.D. 142-147; books, balance of judgment, P.D. 144, 145; no intercessor therein, xlv. 41, ii. 47, 123, and 254.
- Junáda**, first practises the intercalation of a month among the Arabs, ix. 37 n.
- Kaabah**, described, P.D. 179-186; its antiquity, P.D. 182; built by Abraham, xxii. 27; the idols of, P.D. 42; made the Muslim Qibla, P.D. 172, ii. 142-146 notes, xxii. 31 n.; defiled, ii. 159 n.; infidels forbidden to enter it, ix. 28; compassing it (Tawáf), and the import of the same, P.D. 187 and 189; keys of it delivered to Othmán Ibn Tálha, iv. 56 n.
- Káb**, Ibn Málík, he is punished, ix. 107 n.
- Káfúr**, that of Paradise, lxxvi. 5.
- Kail**, sent to Makkah to obtain rain for Ád, vii. 73 n.
- Kalima**, the creed of Adam, ii. 36 n.
- Karamians**, their founder and doctrine, P.D. 258, 259.
- Karmatians**, their founder, doctrine, and practice, P.D. 277-279; their disorders, P.D. 30.
- Kauthar**, its refreshing waters, P.D. 153, 154, cviii. 1 n.
- Keys**, of knowledge (the five), iii. 34 n.
- Khaibar**, the expedition thither, xlviii. 15 n.
- Khaitana**, a story of him, ix. 14 n.
- Khadíjah**, the first convert to Islám, P.D. 74; her death, P.D. 79; one of the four perfect women, lxvi. 12 n.
- Khálid Ibn al Walíd**, puts Muhámmad's horse to flight at the battle of Ohod, iii. 152 n.; demolishes the idol of al Uzza, xxxix. 37 n.; drives Akrima and his men into Makkah, xlviii. 24.
- Khalífah**, Adam a *Khiláfah*, ii. 36 n.
- Khantala**, see xxii. 46 n. and xxv. 40 n.
- Khárijites**, the first of Muslim heretics, P.D. 242, 263, 264.
- Khaula bint Thalába**, her case alluded to in Qurán, lviii. introd.
- Khidr**, the prophet, his adventures with Moses, xviii. 64 n.

- Khubaib**, his martyrdom, xvi. 108 n.
- Khudhaa** (the tribe of), held the angels to be the daughters of God, xxi. 26 n.
- Kindah**, a tribe who used to bury their daughters, vi. 137 n.
- Khurram-ud-dîn**. See *Bâbik*.
- Kussai**, names his son after four idols, vii. 190 n.; Quraish ask Muhammad to raise him to life, viii. 23 n.
- Lailat-ul-Qadr**, the Qurán sent down during that night, xliv. 1-6 notes, and liii. 6; Muir's opinion, xcvii. introd.
- Lapwing**, gives Solomon an account of the city of Sabá, and carries a letter from him to the queen, xxvii. 20 n.
- Last day**. See *Judgment*.
- Lát (Al)**, the idol of the Thakífites, P.D. 39; of the Quraish also, iv. 116 n.
- Law**. See *Pentateuch*.
- Laws**, on laws in general, P.D. chap. vi.; distinction between civil and ecclesiastical law, P.D. 217; moral laws enjoined, xlix. 9-13; concerning marriage, see *Marriage*; concerning meats, drinks, games, &c., see *Things forbidden*; concerning polygamy, see *Polygamy*; concerning divorce, see *Divorce*; concerning adultery, see *Adultery*; concerning inheritance, see *Inheritance*; concerning wills, see *Wills*; concerning private contracts, P.D. 214; concerning manslaughter and murder, P.D. 214-216; concerning war, P.D. 220-222; concerning spoils, see *Spoils*.
- Letters of the alphabet in the beginning of certain chapters**, P.D. 101-102, ii. 1 n., vii. 1 n., xix. 1 n., and xx. 1 n.
- Light**, the, of prophecy, v. 17 n., xi. 18 n.
- Lord's Supper**, probably alluded to, v. 112.
- Lot**, the patriarch, his wife a warning to Muslim women, lxvi. 10-12; his story, vii. 81-85, xi. 69-82.
- Lote-tree**, in heaven, liii. 14 n.
- Lots**, forbidden, P.D. 193, ii. 218 n., v. 4 and 92 notes.
- Love**, proved by obedience, iii. 31, 32.
- Lubába (Abu)**, his treachery, viii. 27 n.
- Luqmán**, his history, and whether the same as Æsop, xxxi. 11 n.
- Lying**, sometimes allowable, xvi. 108 n.
- Madian**, a city of the Hajáz, vii. 86 n.; its inhabitants destroyed for their unbelief, xxvi. 189 n. See *Midianites*.
- Madína**, its ancient name and situation, P.D. 18; description of it, P.D. 19; its modern governors, P.D. 31, 32; its first converts to Islám, P.D. 80; the pledge of Aqabah, P.D. 81; Islám

- spreads there, P.D. 80, 81; the second pledge of Aqabah, P.D. 82; its inhabitants reprov'd, ix. 118 n.
- Magian**, religion, its influence on Arabia, P.D. 44, 147 and 160.
- Magog**. See *Gog and Magog*.
- Mahdi**, his coming, P.D. 134; Shiites believe him to be Abu'l Qásim, P.D. 135.
- Mahmúd**, pretends to be Moses, P.D. 277.
- Makkah**, description of, P.D. 16-18; employment of its inhabitants, P.D. 18; how watered, P.D. 17; visited by famine, x. 22 n., xi. 11 n., xxiii. 77 n., xxxii. 21 n.; its destruction foretold, xlvii. 14; spared through compassion, xlviii. 25, 26; captured by Muhammad, P.D. 93, 94; its conquest an attestation of Islám, xlviii. 27-29; its ancient rulers, see *Hijáz* and *Quraish*; its government under Islám, P.D. 31, 32 notes.
- Makkans**, their idolatry condemned, vi. 135-137; reproached for their ingratitude, xiv. 33; threatened with destruction, xli. 12; hold a council and conspire Muhammad's destruction, viii. 30; chastised with famine and sword, xxiii. 78 n., xxxix. 52.
- Málik**, the principal angel who has the charge of hell, xliii. 77.
- Málik Ibn Ans**, his sect and their doctrines, P.D. 238, 239.
- Man**, his wonderful formation, xxxix. 8; created various ways, xxii. 5; shall be rewarded according to his deserts, iv. 53-55; his ingratitude to God, xxx. 32, 33; why destroyed, xi. 117.
- Manicheans**, destroyed by Anaushirwán, P.D. 66.
- Manna**, given to the Israelites, ii. 56.
- Manslaughter**, laws relating to, P.D. 215.
- Marriage**, four lawful wives allowed to Muslims besides concubines, iv. 3 n., lxx. 29-31; prohibited degrees, P.D. 211, iv. 21-24 notes; peculiar privileges of Muhammad, P.D. 211, 212, v. 6 n., xxxiii. 6 and 49 notes; Muslims not to marry idolaters, ii. 221; law relating to non-Muslim wives, v. 6 n.; dowry required by Muslim law, iv. 3 and 23 notes.
- Martyrs**, who they are, P.D. 218; martyrs of Ohod, iii. 140 n., 170 n.; they are not dead but living, ii. 155 n.; the sufferings of two Muslims, xvi. 108 n.
- Márút**. See *Hárút*.
- Mary**, the Virgin, descended from Imrán, iii. 35 n.; her birth and nurture, iii. 35-38 notes, xix. 1-34; the Angel Gabriel visits her, iii. 42-50 notes; miraculous conception, xix. 22 n., and xxi. 91 n.; calumniated by the Jews, iv. 156; one of the four perfect women, lxvi. 12. See also *Jesus*.
- Mary**, the Copt, a slave girl given to Muhammad, lxvi. 1-5.

- Marwa.** See *Safá* and *Marwa*.
- Mashar al Harám (Al),** ii. 198.
- Masfih al Dajjal,** his appearing, P.D. 132.
- Masjid,** the use of the term, vii. 30 n.; who may enter, ix. 18.
- Masjid al Harám.** See *Kaabah*.
- Mastah,** one of the accusers of Ayesha, xxiv. 11 n.
- Masúd (Ibn),** a tradition of, in relation to Pharaoh, xl. 49 n.
- Mazdak,** his communism, P.D. 66.
- Measure,** ought to be just, vii. 86 n.
- Messiah,** prophecies concerning him applied to Muhammad, iii. 188, 189 notes.
- Metempsychosis,** the doctrine believed by some ancient Arabs, P.D. 44.
- Michael,** the friend of the Jews, ii. 96 n.
- Midian.** See *Madian*.
- Midianites,** called the inhabitants of Al Aika, xv. 78 n.
- Mína,** the valley of, ii. 202; stones thrown there, P.D. 187, 188.
- Mínáh,** an Arab idol, P.D. 40.
- Miracles,** of the Qurán and of Muhammad, ii. 98 n., iii. 69, iv. 78 n., viii. 64 n.; at Badr, iii. 13 n.; of Jesus wrought in childhood, v. 109, 110; Muhammad wrought no miracles, vi. 10 and 109-111 notes, xi. 111 n., xiii. 8 n., xiv. 13 n., xvi. 37 n., xvii. 61 and 92-95 notes, xxi. 5 and 6 notes, xxxiv. 27 n., xl. 78 n.
- Miráj.** See *Night journey*.
- Months,** the sacred months of ancient Arabs, P.D. 227, 228; their observance by Muslims, P.D. 228-230, ii. 194 and 216 n.
- Moon,** split in sunder, liv. 1 n.
- Moses,** his story, vii. 104, &c., xx. 8, &c., xxvi. 9, &c., xxviii. 29, &c.; miraculously preserved, xx. 59; adopted by Pharaoh's wife, ii. 48 n.; the first true believer, vii. 143 n.; at first rejected by his people, xli. 45; asks pardon for his sins, vii. 151 n.; an impediment in his speech, how occasioned, xx. 28 n.; kills an Egyptian and flees to Midian, xxviii. 14-16 notes; entertained by Shuaib and receives his rod from him, xxviii. 25; sees the fire in the bush, xxvii. 7; sent a prophet to the Egyptians, and receives power to work miracles, vii. 133 n., xvii. 116, &c., xxv. 38, and xl. 24-28; his transactions in Egypt, vii. 116, &c.; brings water from the rock, ii. 59; cleared from an unjust aspersion, xxxiii. 69 n.; receives the tables of the law, ii. 52; is wroth with Aaron on account of the golden calf and breaks the tables, vii. 150; he goes in search of Al Khidr, xviii. 4 n.

Muadhdhin or **Muazzin**, the Muslim crier who calls the faithful to prayers, P.D. 169.

Mubaiyadites, their origin and faith, P.D. 275.

Muhájjirín, defined and described, viii. 73 n., xvi. 43 and 111 notes; to be provided for, iv. 99 n.

Muhammad, promised to Adam, ii. 37, 38; foretold by Jesus† lxi. 6; expected by the Jews and Christians, xcvi. 1; sen, at forty years of age, x. 17 n.; commanded to 'preach Islám, lxxiv. 1-7, lxxxi. introd.; has visions, liii. 11, and xevi. introd.; complained of by the Quraish to his uncle Abu Tálib, xxxviii. 5 n.; charged with being a madman, lxviii. 1-8, lxxxi. 15-25; claims to be a prophet of God, iv. 67 n., v. 69 n., xxvii. 93 n., xli. 5, xlvi. 29, lxix. 42-52 n., and introductions to chaps. lxxxi. and xevi.; likens himself to Abraham, xxi. introd.; likens himself to all the former prophets, ii. 70 n. and 125 n., iii. 11 and 146 notes, vii. introd. and notes on vers. 60, 66, 74, and 104, x. 40 and 77 notes, xi. 32 n., xiv. 7 and 14 notes, xxi. 77 n., xxiii. 35-43 n., xxvi. 26 n., xxvii. 24-26, xxxiv. 46 n., xl. 41-47 n., xli. 45 n., xlvi. 8 n., liv. introd., and lxx. introd.; at first declares himself to be only a preacher, ii. 119 n., iii. 144 n., xlii. 47, l. 44 and 45, lxxxviii. 21 and 22; is called the Illiterate Prophet, vii. 158 n., x. 17 n.; at first ignorant of Islám, xlii. 52, 53; receives the Qurán, xlv. 17-19, liii. 6, and xevi. introd.; repudiates the charge of being a poet, xxvi. 228 n., lxix. 41 n.; claims to have been inspired, xxxix. 1-3 notes (see also *Inspiration*); his early teachings, lxxxiii. 1-6 n., xciii. 9, 10; was subject to Satanic suggestions, iv. 116 n., xvi. 100 n., xxvi. 222 n., cxiv. 5, 6 n.; charged with being an impostor, iii. 137 and 185 notes, vi. 24 and 48 notes, vii. 203 n., x. 39 n., xxvi. introd., xlii. 23, xlvi. 6 and 7, lxviii. 1-8, lxxvii. 8, &c.; reasons for believing him to have been an impostor, ii. 86, 125, 216 and 246 notes, iii. 93 and 121 notes, v. 26 n., vi. 48, 77-84 notes, vii. 2 and 53 notes, viii. 14, 15 n., ix. 63, 64, 74, 95 and 129 notes, xi. 53 n., xii. introd. vers. 3 and 103 notes, xlvi. 15 n.; his sincerity vindicated, reply, ix. 74 n.; his self-assertion no proof of sincerity, vi. 48 n., xxvii. introd.; his policy, iii. 126 n. and 160 n.; his temporary lapse, iv. 116 n., vi. 55 n., xvii. 75 n., xxii. 53 n., xl. 7 n.; exhorted to be patient, xlvi. 35, and lxviii. 48-50; his patience due to policy, P.D. 83; disclaims all knowledge of future events, vi. 49, and xi. 32; wrought no miracles, ii. 98 and 118 notes, iii. 184 n., vi. 109-111 notes (see *Miracles*); his superstition, chaps. cxiii. and cxiv., introd. and notes; is declared to be a sinner,

ii. 199 n., iv. 105 n., ix. 43 and 118 notes, xl. introd., and notes on vers. 7 and 57, lxxx. 1-11; his personal influence, iii. 100-109 n.; to be implicitly obeyed, iv. 62 n.; to be treated with respect, xlix. 1-5, lviii. 12-14; his charity, lxxx. 1-11 n., xciii. 9, 10; his fondness for women, xxxiii. 36-39 notes, lxxix. 40 n.; his cruelty to enemies, viii. 66-69 n., ix. 129, 130 n., xxv. 29 n.; his journey to heaven, xvii. 1 n.; enters into a league with those of Madína, viii. 30; gains proselytes of the genii by reading the Qurán, xlv. 28-31; accused of injustice in dividing the spoils, xxxi. 62; foretells the victory at Badr, liv. 45; an account of that victory, iii. 13, and viii. 5 n., &c.; loses the battle of Ohod, where he is in danger of his life, iii. 121; his men swear fidelity to him at Hudhaibiyah, xlviii. 18 n.; his courage at the battle of Hunain, ix. 25 n.; conspiracy to kill him, ix. 75 n., and xxxvi. 8 n.; another attempt on his life, from which he is miraculously preserved, iii. 12 n.; his wives demand a better allowance, on which he offers to divorce them, but they chose to stay with him, and he lays down some rules for their behaviour, xxxiii. 28 n.; his privileges in that and other respects, xxxiii. 6, &c. n.; his divorced wives or widows not to marry again, xxxiii. 53; his amour with Mary, the Egyptian slave, lxvi. introd., and vers. 3-5; he changes the Qibla from Jerusalem to Makkah, ii. 142-145 notes; he is pledged to preserve the Jewish and Christian Scriptures from corruption, xl. 56 n.; commands the sword to be drawn against the enemies of Islám, P.D. 84; sends letters inviting foreign princes to embrace Islám, P.D. 90; he consolidates the political power of Arabia, P.D. 67, 68; he is not allowed to pray for reprobate idolaters, ix. 114 n.; utters blasphemy through inadvertence, xxii. 53 n.; no revelation vouchsafed him for several days, xviii. 23 n.; challenges his opponents to produce a chapter like the Qurán, ii. 23 n.; ignorant of the Jewish and Christian Scriptures, ii. 52, 57, 66, 75; 116, 246, and 252 notes, iii. 66 n., iv. 162 n., vi. 85 n., xvi. 105 n., xvii. 1 n., xviii. introd., and vers. 21-23 n., xix. 31 n., and xxviii. 44-46 n.; refuses to eat with an infidel, xxv. 29 n.; prophesies the defeat of the Persians by the Greeks, xxx. 1 n.; his doctrine compared with that of other prophets, xlv. 8; demolishes the idols of Makkah, xvii. 83 n.; warned to prepare for death, cx. introd.; curses his enemies, lxxx. 16, civ. introd. and notes, ix. 35 n.; a brief history of his life, P.D. 68-95.

Muhaqqimites, a sect of the Kharijites, P.D. 263.

Muharram, regulations concerning it, P.D. 229; the days of Ashura, P.D. 178, and ii. 183 n.

Muhrims, described, v. 96 n.

Mukanna (Al). See *Hakim*.

Mukaukas, presents slave girls to Muhammad, P.D. 91.

Munkir and Nákir, described, P.D. 127, iv. 96 n.

Murder, laws concerning, P.D. 214, ii. 178, iv. 91, v. 35 n.

Murjians, their doctrine and sects, P.D. 261-263.

Musailama, claims to be a prophet, but is destroyed, P.D. 270, 271, v. 59 n.

Mushábbihites, their doctrines, P.D. 257, 258.

Muslims, described, ii. 177, ix. 53, 54 n., xlii. 34-41, li. 17-19, xcviii. 6-8; directions in relation to their manners, xxiv. 27-60, xxx. 37, xxxiii. 53; to forgive unbelievers, xlv. 13, 14; their duty to proclaim Islám, ii. 195 n., xli. 33; to avoid near relations if not Muslims, iii. 118, 119 n., ix. 14, 15 and 23, lviii. 22, lx. 1-6 and 13; should have no friendship with Jews and Christians, v. 56 n.; they should fight for Islám, ii. 190-193 and 215 n., iv. 69 n.; they may feign friendship towards infidels, iii. 28, 29 n.; allowed to eat and drink with Jews and Christians, v. 6 n.; bound to establish the religion of Islám in all their dominions, xxii. 43; they obey God through fear, xxiii. 61 n.; they are the chosen of God, iii. 110 n. (see also *Arabians*); shall be joyful in the judgment-day, lxxx. 8-16; all Muslims to be finally saved, iii. 24 n.; the reward of the sincere believers, xxviii. 54 n.; bound to accept the Old and New Testament Scriptures as well as the Qurán, ii. 136 n., iii. 119 n., and v. 70 n.

Mutannabi (Al), his prophetic career, P.D. 279, 280.

Mutazilites, their founder and doctrines, P.D. 242-251; they reject the doctrine of the examination of the sepulchre, P.D. 127; they disbelieve the doctrine of the bridge over hell, P.D. 147; their belief about Paradise, P.D. 153.

Muzdalifah, the oratory between Safá and Marwá, P.D. 187.

Muzdárians, their founder and doctrines, P.D. 247.

Nadhír, the tribe, expelled, lix. 2-5.

Naila. See *Asáf*.

Najáshi, the king of Ethiopia, receives the refugee Muslims kindly, P.D. 78.

Najd, the province, described, P.D. 19.

Nákir. See *Munkir and Nákir*.

Nazarines, Christians so called, v. 19; their kindness, v. 85 n.;

they recognise the Qurán to be God's word, v. 86 n. See also *Christians*.

Nebuchadnezzar, takes Jerusalem, xvii. 5 n.

Night, part of, spent in prayer, lxxiii. 6.

Night journey, of Muhammad from Jerusalem to heaven, P.D. 80 ; was only a dream, xvii. 1 n., 95 n.

Nimrod, disputes with Abraham, ii. 258 n. ; his tower, xvi. 28 n. ; attempts to ascend to heaven and persecutes Abraham, his punishment, xxi. 70 n.

Noah, his story, vii. 60-65, x. 72-75, xxvi. 105-122 ; his prayer, liv. 10 ; his wife's unbelief, lxvi. 10 ; lived 950 years, xxix. 13 ; was a sinner, xi. 47, lxxi. 29.

Nudhár (Al), one of Muhammad's adversaries, his opinion of the Qurán, vi. 24 n. ; introduces a Persian romance as preferable to it, xxxi. 5 n.

Nudhámians, their founder and doctrine, P.D. 246.

Nún, the fish to be slain for the feast of God, P.D. 156.

Nusairians, their doctrine, P.D. 267.

Oaths, by various objects, iv. 63, xv. 72, 92, xxxvi. 1, xxxviii. 1, &c., li. 1-11 and 23 ; to prove the Qurán to be inspired, lvi. 74-81, lxix. 38-52 ; uttered after careful deliberation, lxxxix. introd. ; they should not be in God's name, ii. 224, 225 notes ; yet see iv. 63 ; when they may be violated, ii. 225, 226 n., v. 91, lxvi. 2 ; how inconsiderate oaths may be expiated, v. 91 n. ; not to be violated, xvi. 93 ; the penalty of perjury, iii. 76, and v. 91.

Oda Ibn Qais, an enemy of Muhammad, xv. 95 n.

Offerings, to God, recommended, xxii. 34 n.

Ohod, defeat at, alluded to, iii. 121 *seq.* notes.

Okail (Abu), his charity, ix. 80 n.

Okatz, the fair, suppressed by Muhammad, P.D. 53.

Omar, his conversion, P.D. 78 ; decides a dispute between a Jew and a Muslim, iv. 58 n.

Omm Salma, one of Muhammad's wives, xviii. 131 n.

Orphans, the oppression of them denounced, lxxxix. 18, &c. ; to be treated kindly, ii. 220 n., xciii. 9, 10 n. ; their rights to be maintained, iv. 2-8 notes.

Orthodox, the sect of that name, iii. 95 n., xvi. 121 n. ; who are orthodox Muslims, ix. 85 n.

Othmán Ibn Affán, sent by Muhammad to the Quraish, is imprisoned, xlviii. 18 ; contributes largely to the expedition to Tabúk, ix. 80 n.

Othmán Ibn Matun, his conversion occasioned by a passage of the Qurán, xvi. 92 n.

Othmán Ibn Talha, the keys of the Kaabah returned to him by Muhammad, iv. 56.

Oven, whence the first waters of the Deluge poured forth, xi. 40 n.

Parables, of the Qurán, ii. 261, &c., xi. 25, xiv. 29 n., xvi. 77, 78, xviii. 31 n., xxi. 19-31, xxiv. 35, xxix. 40, xxxviii. 23, lvii. 13.

Paraclete, Muhammad's claim to be the, lxi. 6 n.

Paradise, created before the world, P.D. 153; described, P.D. 153-160, xiii. 35, xlvii. 16, &c.; various names, P.D. 155; where situated, ii. 35 n.; its fruits described, ii. 25; Muslim notions obtained from Magians, P.D. 160; inherited by Muslims and their wives, xliii. 68-73; the rewards of, P.D. 154-160, xlv. 51-57, lv. 46-78, lvi. 12-39; different kinds of happiness, lv. 56-68 notes; the pleasures of Paradise carnal and not spiritual, ii. 25 n., iii. 15 n., 196 and 197 notes, ix. 73 n., xv. 47 n., xxxii. 17 n., xxxix. 74 n., lxxviii. 31-37 and P.D. 158-163; Muslim and Christian Paradise compared, P.D. 161.

Pardon, will be granted to the penitent, ix. 5; God only pardons sin, xiii. 7; obtained by repentance and good works, iv. 30, viii. 29; received on the ground of faith, xxxiii. 73.

Parents to be honoured, xvii. 24, &c., and xlv. 14.

Patience, recommended, iii. 200; the sign of a true believer, ix. 109 n.

Patriarchs, before Moses, neither Jews nor Christians, ii. 140.

Pen, with which God's decrees are written, lxxviii. 1 n.

Penitent, their reward, ix. 113.

Pentateuch, given to Moses, vi. 92; sent down to guide mankind, iii. 3 n.; attested by Muhammad as genuine, P.D. 122 and 126, iii. 93 n., vi. 154 n., xlviii. 70-72; preserved uncorrupted in the days of Muhammad, x. 94, 95, and xi. 18.

Perjury, Muslim opinion, v. 91 n.

Persians, overcome by the Greeks, xxx. 1 n.; their influence in Arabia, P.D. 28; the decline of their empire, P.D. 66, 67.

Peter, the Apostle, his stratagem at Antioch, xxxvi. 12 n.

Pharaoh, his story, vii. 104, &c., x. 76, &c., xxviii. 3; a punishment used by him, xxxviii. 11 n.; his presumption, xliii. 50 &c.; destroyed for rejecting Moses, xlv. 16-32.

Pico de Adam. See *Serendib*.

Pilgrimage, to Makkah, necessary, P.D. 178, 179, ii. 196 n., xxii. 25 n.; fame of, and ceremonies connected with it, P.D. 185-188, v. 2-5, and 96-98; the practice borrowed from heathenism, P.D. 188-190; object of pilgrimage, P.D. 189; trading

- at Makkah, allowable for pilgrims, ii. 198 n.; none excused from the duty except the incapable, iii. 97 n., xxii. 25 n.
- Pledges**, to be given where no contract in writing, ii. 282.
- Poetry**, style of ancient Arab, P.D. 52; poets honoured and rewarded, P.D. 52, 53.
- Poets**, used and censured by Muhammad, xxvi. 228 n.
- Polygamy**, laws regulating, P.D. 205-207, iv. 3 n., xxxiii. 4 n.
See *Marriage*.
- Pomp**, of this life, of no value, xxviii. 60.
- Poor**, oppression of the, denounced, lxxxix. 18-22.
- Prayer**, commanded and enforced, ii. 42 and 109, iv. 102, xx. 132, &c.; not to be entered on by him who is drunk, iv. 42; should pray before reading the Qurán, xvi. 100; prayer of the angels for the penitent, xl. 7 n.; ceremonial cleanliness necessary to, iv. 42, v. 7; in time of war, armour may be worn during prayers, iv. 101; a prayer for light, i. 1-7; a prayer for forgiveness, iii. 16; prayer of a believer, ii. 238, iii. 8 and 192-195, x. 10, 11, xvii. 82; a prayer of Abraham, xiv. 38-42; prayers accepted by God, iii. 196; Muslim doctrine of prayer described in detail, P.D. 165-171; stated hours of prayer, P.D. 169-171, ii. 109 and 238 notes, v. 105 n., vii. 205 n., xvii. 80, 81 notes; postures in prayer, iii. 192 n.; prayer for the dead, ix. 85 and 114 notes.
- Predestination**, the doctrine of, iii. 145 n., xvii. 14.
- Pre-existence**, of souls, a doctrine not unknown to the Muhammadans, vii. 173.
- Preserved Table**, contains the eternal decrees of God, x. 62; the Qurán copied from it, xliii. 1-3.
- Pride**, abominable in the sight of God, xvii. 39.
- Prodigality**, a crime, xvii. 29 n.
- Prophecies**, concerning Muhammad, iii. 80 and 188 notes, viii. 158 n., lxi. 6; of victory, viii. 36 n., cx. 1, &c.; Muhammad said to have prophesied he would rise from the dead within three days, iii. 144 n.; other prophecies of Muhammad, v. 59, ix. 42 and 96 notes, xi. 110 n., xxviii. 85 n., xxx. 1 n.
- Prophets**, distinction between *Nabi* and *Rusûl*, xix. 42 n.; their enemy will have God for his, ii. 96; rejected and persecuted before Muhammad, vi. 33, and x. 40, xliii. 4-7; the *Nabi-ul-a'zim*, ii. 86 n.; they spoke by revelation from God, iv. 162; the guardians of God's word, v. 48; Satan their enemy, vi. 112; the number of prophets, v. 22 n., xiv. 10 n.; one sent to each nation, iv. 40 n., xxviii. 75 n.; Muhammad conceives of them as descendants or successors one of another, the number mentioned in the Qurán, vi. 85 n.; all prophets obliged to make a great slaughter of infidels,

- viii. 68 n.; Muslim false prophets, P.D. 270-280, v. 59 n.; those of the Old and New Testaments attested by the Qurán, P.D. 125, lvii. 26, 27, ii. 177 n.; all declared to be sinners by the Qurán, iii. 147 n., xiv. 42 n., xxvi. 82 n., lxxi. 29.
- Prosperity**, or adversity, no mark of God's favour or disfavour, lxxxix. 18 n.
- Psalms**, the Book of, given to David, xvii. 57; confirmed by the Qurán, P.D. 123.
- Punishments**, and blessings, of the next life, vii. 36, &c. See *Hell* and *Paradise*.
- Purifications**, ceremonial, P.D. 165-167; whence practice was derived, P.D. 165, 166; based on cleanliness, P.D. 166; sand used instead of water, P.D. 167. See also *Prayer*.
- Purgatory**, Muslims only suffer for a short time in, iii. 24 n., ix. 114 n.
- Qáb, Ibn Asad**, persuades the Jews to desert Muhammad, xxi. 26 n.
- Qáb, Ibn al Ashraf**, a Jew, Muhammad's inveterate enemy, iii. 71 n.; Muhammad causes him to be slain, lix. 2 n.
- Qadarians**, their founder and doctrine, P.D. 248-250.
- Qárún**, his story and fearful end, xxviii. 76 n., xxix. 38.
- Qibla**, how to find the direction of, P.D. 170; the Jewish Qibla for a time adopted by Muhammad, P.D. 172; reason why no Qibla is wanted, ii. 115 n.; the Kaabah in Makkah adopted instead of Jerusalem, ii. 142-145 notes; the Kaabah the true Qibla, ii. 125. See also *Kaabah* and *Makkah*.
- Quails**, given the Israelites, what kind of birds they were, ii. 56 n.
- Quarrels**, between the true believers to be composed, xlix. 9; to be avoided on the pilgrimages, ii. 294.
- Quraidha**, their destruction, xxxiii. 26 n.
- Quraish**, chief tribe of Makkah, P.D. 30; their nobility, iii. 165 n.; not guardians of the Kaabah, viii. 34 n.; their hatred towards Muhammad, vi. 24 n., lxviii. 51, 52; their anger at the flight of Muslims to Madína, P.D. 85; Muhammad commanded to leave them, xliii. 88, 89; they conspire to kill Muhammad, P.D. 85, viii. 30, xxxviii. 10 n.; the claim that they are the children of Abraham, ii. 129 n.; plagued with famine, xxiii. 65 n.; threatened with destruction, xi. 110 n., xvii. 78 n.; demand miracles of Muhammad, xiii. 30 n.; propound three questions, xvii. 87 n.; make a truce with Muhammad at Hudaibiyah, xlviii. 24 n.; violate truce and lose Makkah, xlviii. 1 n.
- Qurán**, meaning of the word, P.D. 96; other titles, P.D. 97, xv. 9 n.; divisions of, P.D. 97-100; letters at the beginning of

the chapters, P.D. 100-102; language, style, and composition, P.D. 102-104; design, doctrine, and relation to the former Scriptures, P.D. 105, 106; declared to be given by revelation from God, xli. 1-3 and 41, 42, xlii. 1, 2, lxix. 38-52, xcvi. introd., and iv. 163; why revealed in the Arabic language, xli. 44, xlii. 5, xliv. 58, xii. 2 n.; copied from the Preserved Table, P.D. 108, i. introd., xiii. 39, xliii. 1-3, l. 2 n., lxxxv. 22; believed to be eternal, P.D. 111, 112, xxxvi. 82 n.; other opinions in regard to, P.D. 112, 113; punishment of those who reject it, xlv. 6-10; the author of the Qurán was Muhammad, P.D. 106, 107; composed by him during the night-time, lxxiii. 20 n.; revealed to Muhammad by God, xlv. 17-19, liii. 6; regarded as a forgery by the Jews, v. 11 n., xvi. 105 n., xlv. 10 (see also *Muhammad*); regarded from the first as a complete volume, ii. 152 n., vi. 19 n., vii. 53 n., xv. 1 n., lxxv. 16-19 n.; explained by tradition, lxxv. 19 n.; confirms the Pentateuch, iii. 83 n., v. 50 n., xxviii. 48, 49 n., xlv. 11; confirmed by the former Scriptures, xx. 133 n., lxxxvii. 18, 19; contains everything necessary to be known, xvi. 92 n.; imperfect, ii. 17 n., iii. 26, 27, and 130 notes, viii. 75 n., xv. 9 n., xvii. 2 n., xxx. 1 n., xliii. 88 n.; twenty-three years in completing, xxv. 34 n.; contrast between Makkan and Madína chapters, xlvii. introd.; Othmán's recension described, P.D. 109; Muslim reverence for the Qurán, P.D. 114; doubt cast on its being from God by its own self-assertion, ii. 2 n., vii. 2 n.; none can write a book like it, ii. 23 n., vi. 94 n., xi. 14 n., xvii. 90; Arabs not convinced of its inimitable style, viii. 31 n., xxi. 5 n.; its influence due to its teachings, ii. 45 n.; said to be the Word of God, ii. 88 n.; claims to attest former Scriptures, ii. 90 n., xii. 111; it attests the Jewish and Christian Scriptures, ii. 40, 91, 96 and 100, iii. 2 and 80, iv. 45-49, 135 and 161, v. 47-52, 72, vi. 90, 93, and 154, ix. 112, x. 38, xi. 18, xii. 111, xxi. 105, xxv. 37, xxviii. 43, xxxv. 23 and 28, xxxvii. 116, xl. 56, xlv. 11, lvii. 27; Muslim scruples to preserve the text pure, ii. 210 n., xxii. 38 n.; its contradictions of the teachings of the former Scriptures, ii. 243 n., 246-249 n., 259, 271 notes, iii. 2, 35, 148 notes, iv. 169 n., v. 53 n., vii. 81, 85, and 136 notes, ix. 112 n., x. 79 n., xi. 40 and 82 notes, xii. *throughout*, xiv. 13 n., xvi. 95 and 125 notes, xix. 8 and 23 notes, xx. 31-35, xxii. 36 n., xxviii. 23 and 29 notes, xxiv. 13 n.; classification of its revelations, iii. 7 n.; its interpretation known wholly only to God, iii. 7 n., vii. 55 n.; claims to be free from self-contradiction, iv. 81; contradicts itself, iii. 13

- n., iv. 81 n., viii. 45, 46 n., ix. 40 n., xvi. 93 n., xx. 91 n., xxv. 53 n., xxvi. 94 n., xxvii. 8 and 10 notes, xxxii. 4 n., xxxix. 24 n.; contradicts science, xv. 19 n., xviii. 59 n., xxxi. 9 n.; not eternal, xxxvi. 82 n.; it is pledged to keep the former Scriptures from corruption, xl. 56 n.
- Rahún.** See *Sarandīb*.
- Raina**, a word used by the Jews to Muhammad by way of derision, ii. 103.
- Raún (Al)**, what, xviii. 17 n.
- Ramadhán**, the month appointed for a fast, P.D. 175-177, ii. 184-187 note.
- Ransom**, of captives, disapproved, viii. 69 n.
- Rass (Al)**, various opinions concerning it, xxv. 40, 41 n.; dwellers at, xi. 26-100 notes, l. 12.
- Rationalism**, its relation to Islám, vi. 19 n.
- Rázika**, an idol of A'd, vii. 66 n.
- Relationships**, in the order of hereditary rights, iv. 10-13 notes.
- Religion**, originally but one, ii. 212 n.; the true religion is Islám, iii. 19 n.; ancestral religion no excuse for idolatry, ii. 171 n., xlii. 19-24; the religion of the ancient Arabians, P.D. 36-43; the character of true religion, ii. 177 n.; not to be propagated by violence, ii. 256 n., iv. 94 n., xi. 29 n.; Islám to be propagated by the sword, ii. 190-193, viii. 40 n., ix. 1-6, 28, 29 and 124 notes; various sects, xxiii. 55.
- Religious leaders**, the fate of false teachers, xli. 29.
- Repentance**, necessary to salvation, ii. 16 n., xxxix. 55, 56; its evidence, ix. 11 n.; repentance after the judgment of no avail, xlii. 46.
- Reprobates**, the doctrine of reprobation, P.D. 164; God reprobates whom he will, xvi. 9 n., 39 n., and 109 n.; the miserable condition of reprobates, vi. 125 n., xlii. 42-45.
- Resurrection**, the doctrine asserted, xvii. 52, &c., l. 19, &c.; denied by the ancient Arabians, P.D. 43; one of the five fundamental doctrines of Islám, P.D. 126; Muslim opinions concerning it, P.D. 130-141; the doctrine ridiculed by the Quraish, vi. 28; proof of the doctrine, l. 6-11, and lvi. 57-73; the object of the resurrection, P.D. 140; the state of those raised pending judgment, P.D. 140-142; the time known only to God, xxxii. 17; signs of its approach, P.D. 131-137, lxxv. 7, &c.; to be general, P.D. 138; manner of the rising of the dead, P.D. 138-140, xxiii. 102, &c., lxxx. 33-42.

- Retaliation**, the law relating to, P.D. 216, ii. 178 n.; mutual retaliation of the judgment-day, P.D. 145, 146.
- Revelation**, the character of Muslim, iv. 162, 163 notes; revelations in writing given to several prophets, ii. 4 n. See also *Inspiration*.
- Revenge**, allowed, xxii. 61 n.
- Rewards**, bestowed on the ground of God's mercy, P.D. 156; granted in accordance with justice, iii. 164 n.; described, P.D. 157.
- Riches**, will not gain a man admission to Paradise, xxxiv. 36; they employ a man's whole life, cii. 1.
- Right way**, what the Muhammadans so call, i. 5-7 n.
- Righteous**, their reward. See *Paradise*.
- Righteousness**, wherein it consists, ii. 177, &c.; that which is required in dealing, ii. 188 and 282.
- Rites**, appointed in every religion, xxii. 68.
- Rock**, whence Moses produced water, ii. 59 n.
- Romans**, decline of their empire, P.D. 65.
- Ruh-ul-Amín**, a name of Gabriel, xxvi. 193 n., liii. 6.
- Saad Ibn Abi Waqqás**, mentioned, viii. 1 n.
- Saad Ibn Muádh**, his severity, viii. 69 n.; dooms the Bani Quraidha to destruction, xxxiii. 26 n.
- Sabá**, queen of. See *Balgís*.
- Saba**, the wickedness of his posterity, and their punishment, xxxiv. 15; the city of, and its destruction, P.D. 27.
- Sabians**, their religion described, P.D. 34; called the Christians of St. John the Baptist, P.D. 35, and ii. 61 n.
- Sabbath**, the transgression of, punished, vii. 164; the Sabbath of Islám, xvi. 125 n., lxii. 9 n.
- Sacred animals**, described, v. 102.
- Sacred territory**, described, P.D. 181, v. 96-98.
- Sacrifices**, appointed for all nations, xxii. 36; at the Ashura, P.D. 178; at the pilgrimage, P.D. 188; not to be regarded as a mere form, xxii. 39; never offered by Muslims as a *sin-offering*, ii. 82 n., iii. 194 n.; Muhammad not ignorant of the Jewish practice, ii. 66-70, and iii. 194 n.
- Sadaqa**. See *Almsgiving*.
- Safá and Marwá**, mountains and monuments of, ii. 159 n.; description of rites at these places, P.D. 187.
- Saffa**, one of Muhammad's wives, xlix. 11 n.
- Sáhira**, one of the names of hell, lxxix. 14 n.
- Saiba**, a sacred animal, v. 102.
- Saints**, Muslim worship of, iii. 63 n.

Sajáj, the prophetess, P.D. 273, v. 59.

Sákia, an idol of A'd, vii. 66 n.

Sakínat. See *Shechínah*.

Sakhar, a devil, gets Solomon's signet and reigns in his stead, his punishment, xxxviii. 32 n.

Sálih, the prophet, his story, P.D. 22, vii. 74 n. See also *Thamúd*.

Salima, an idol of A'd, vii. 66 n.

Salsabíl, the fountain of, P.D. 154, lxxvi. 18.

Salutation, mutual, recommended, iv. 85 n.; form of, among Muslims, iv. 85 n., xxv. 18 n.

Salvation, who will be saved, ii. 61, v. 73, xi. 12, xxiv. 52; by faith, ii. 3-5, 37 and 38, iii. 194, iv. 55 and 174; by grace and works, ii. 81, 111, and 161 notes, iii. 31 n., vii. 44 n., xxxv. 48 n., xl. 17 n.; by repentance, faith, pilgrimage, and warring for the faith, ii. 217, iii. 196, &c.; salvation by atonement rejected by Muhammad, xvi. 34 n. (see also *Atonement*); by grace only, xxxvii. 39 and 55.

Samairi, makes a golden calf for Aaron, ii. 50 n., xx. 96 n.

Saráb, what, xxiv. 39, 40 n.

Saracens, the name, P.D. 13.

Sarah, wife of Abraham, her laughing, xi. 71 n.

Sarandíb, the isle on which Adam fell when cast out of Paradise, his footprint shown there, ii. 35 n.

Satan, Muslim belief concerning him, P.D. 120, 121, ii. 34, &c., vii. 216; his wife and family, xviii. 48 n.; tempts Muslims to apostatise, ii. 207 n.; how he influenced Muhammad, iv. 116 n., liii. 9 n.; God the refuge of Muhammad and his people against his evil suggestions, xli. 36; deceives Adam and Eve, and is punished, vii. 18; he assisted the Quraish, viii. 50 n. See also *Iblís*.

Saul, his story, ii. 247, &c.

Science, what it owes to Muslim learning, P.D. 58-60; scholastic divinity, P.D. 233; Muslim jurisprudence, P.D. 234.

Scriptures, of the Old and New Testament; the teaching of the Qurán *in re*, P.D. 122-125; Muhammad commanded to believe them, iii. 119 n., xlii. 14; Muhammad's knowledge of them acquired from others, ii. 46 n., xxviii. 11 n., xxxvii. 146 n.; current in the days of Muhammad, ii. 40, 77, 90, 100, 112 notes, iii. 23, 64, 77 notes, iv. 45 n., v. 77, 86 notes, x. 38 and 94 notes, xii. 111 n., xvi. 45, xxi. 7 n., xxviii. 49 n., xxix. 45 n.; the text not corrupt in Muhammad's estimation, ii. 41, 78 and 121 notes, iii. 77 n., iv. 44 n., v. 47, 48 n., xviii. 26 n.; if those now current are corrupt, Muhammad and his followers are responsible, v. 86 n., xvi.

- 45 n., xl. 56 n. ; they are not abrogated in the Muslim sense, ii. 105 n.
- Sects**, the orthodox sects of Islám, P.D. 236-241 ; the heretical sects, P.D. 241-290 ; sects of Jews and Christians alluded to, iii. 105 n.
- Sennacherib**, alluded to, xvii. 5 n.
- Sepulchre**, the examination of, P.D. 127, iv. 96 n. ; this doctrine borrowed from the Jews, P.D. 127.
- Sergius**, the monk, xvi. 105 n.
- Serpent**, his sentence for assisting in the seduction of man, vii. 18.
- Service**, of danger, described, iv. 100, 101 notes.
- Seven sleepers**, story of, xviii. 15 n. ; the only story but one from church history found in the Qurán, xxxvi. 12 n.
- Seventy Israelites** demand to see God, are killed by lightning, and restored to life at the prayer of Moses, ii. 54 n.
- Sháffites**, their founder and doctrines, P.D. 239, 240.
- Shamhozai**, a debauched angel, his penance, ii. 101 n.
- Shás Ibn Qais**, a Jew, promotes a quarrel between Aus and Khazraj, iii. 100 n.
- Shechinah**, allusion to it, ii. 248 n., ix. 26 n.
- Sheddád**, son of Á'd, makes a garden in imitation of Paradise, and is destroyed in going to view it, lxxxix. 6 n.
- Shedim**, Jewish faith in them compared with Muslim faith in genii, P.D. 121.
- Shíahs**, their distinguishing doctrines, P.D. 264-270.
- Shuaib**, the prophet, his story, vii. 86-94 n., xii. 83, &c., 176-191.
- Sifátians**, their founder and sects, P.D. 250 and 253.
- Sijf (Al)**, the angel who takes an account of men's actions, xxi. 104 n.
- Sijjín**, lxxxiii. 7-9.
- Simon**, the Cyrenian, supposed to be crucified instead of Jesus, iii. 53 n.
- Sin**, great and small, iv. 30 n. ; the unpardonable sin, ii. 80 n., iv. 46 n., xiv. 39 n. ; defined to be a wilful violation of known law, ii. 284-286 n., ix. 116 n., lxxxix. 35 n., lxxxvi. 9 n. ; the sins of believers are expiated, xlvii. 2, 3.
- Sinai, Mount**, lifted up over the heads of the Israelites, ii. 62 and 92 ; the souls of all the prophets present there at the delivery of the law to Moses, iii. 80 n.
- Sinners**, the first was Adam, ii. 35 ; their portion is hell, xviii. 51, xix. 89, and xx. 76.
- Sirius**, or the greater dog-star, worshipped by the old Arabs, liii. 50 n.

- Slander**, forbidden, xlix. 12; the punishment of those who slander the prophets, ix. 66, civ. 1 n.
- Slavery**, freeing of slaves commended, xxiv. 33 n., xc. 8-16 n.; slaveholding not a sin, iv. 24 n., xxiv. 33 n., xc. 13 n.; its moral influence, iv. 3 n.; Muhammad's responsibility for slavery, iv. 24 n.
- Smoke**, of the judgment-day, P.D. 133, xlv. 9 n.
- Sodom**, destroyed, vii. 85 n., xl. 80, &c., li. 31-37.
- Sodomy**, iv. 15 n.
- Solomon**, succeeds David, xxvii. 16; his power over the winds, xxi. 81, xxxviii. 35; his and David's judgment, xxi. 79 n.; his manner of travelling, xxvii. 20 n.; what passed between him and the Queen of Sabá, xxvii. 23, &c.; a trick of the devils to blast his character, ii. 101 n.; orders several of his horses to be killed because they had diverted him from his prayers, xxxviii. 30 n.; deprived of his signet and his kingdom for some days, xxxviii. 33 n.; his death concealed for a year, in what manner, xxxiv. 13 n.
- Somnáth**, the idol of, P.D. 41.
- Son of God**, the Christian doctrine concerning him misunderstood by Muhammad, ii. 116 n.; Muhammad's declaration that if God had a son he would be the first to worship him, xliii. 81 and 82.
- Sorcerers**, those of Egypt believe in Moses, vii. 111, &c., xxvi. 33, &c.
- Soul**, its origin, xvii. 87; state of the soul after death, P.D. 127; examined in the sepulchre, P.D. 127.
- Spirit (the Holy)**, the Angel Gabriel so called, ii. 86 and 253 notes, xvi. 2 and 104 notes, xviii. 87 n., xxxii. 8 n.
- Spoils**, laws relating to, P.D. 222-226, viii. 1, &c., notes; given as a reward of faithfulness, iii. 152 n., ix. 75 n., xlviii. 18 and 19; special ruling in regard to them, lix. 6-10; Muslims slain for the sake of spoil, iv. 93 n.; spoils of Badr, viii. 1 n.; a quarrel over them, viii. 48 n., ix. 58, 59 n.
- Stars**, shooting stars thrown by the genii, lxxvi. introd.
- Star-worship**. See *Idols and Idolatry*.
- Stoning**, as a punishment, iii. 23 n.
- Stones**, worship of. See *Idols and Idolatry*.
- Strategy**, justified, viii. 60 n.
- Sulát**. See *Prayer*.
- Sufián (Abu)**, commands the army of the Quraish at Ohod, iii. 121 n.; and the convoy of the caravan at Badr, viii. 5 n.; challenges Muhammad to meet him at Badr a second time, iii. 151 n.; but fails to do so, iii. 173 n.; embraces Muham-

- madanism on the taking of Makkah, ix. 7 n.; expostulates with Muhammad, xxiii. 76 n.
 Suffis, their pantheism, P.D. 267, 268.
 Suhaib, flies to Madína, ii. 206 n.
 Suhail, Ibn Amru, treats with Muhammad on behalf of the Quraish, xlviii. 26 n.
 Sunnis, a sect of the Muslims, P.D. 237.
 Supererogation, xvii. 81.
 Superstitions, of the ancient Arabs, P.D. 43, 44; heathen Arab superstitions conserved in Islám, P.D. 178-190.
 Sura, or chapter of the Qurán, i. introd., ix. 65 n.; chronological order of the, see table at p. 302, vol. iv.
 Suráqah Ibn Málík, the devil appears in his form, viii. 50 n.
 Sun and moon, not to be worshipped, xlvii. 37.
 Swines' flesh. See *Things forbidden*.
 Tabála and Jorash, inhabitants thereof embrace Islám, ix. 28 n.
 Tables, of the law, vii. 145 n.
 Tabúk, the expedition of, ix. 38 n.
 Taghút, an Arab idol, ii. 256 n., iv. 58 n., xvi. 38 n.
 Taháma, its boundaries, climate, &c., P.D. 19.
 Tasm, the tribe, almost destroyed, P.D. 23.
 Tasním, a fountain in Paradise, P.D. 154-157, lxxxiii. 27 n.
 Tayif, the inhabitants of, reject Muhammad, P.D. 79.
 Tawáf, the march around the Kaabah, ii. 198, 199.
 Temple, of Makkah, see *Kaabah*; of Jerusalem, built by genii, xxxiv. 13 n.; the idol temples of ancient Arabians, P.D. 38.
 Testimony, law of, v. 105-107.
 Thakíf, the tribe of, demand terms of Muhammad, which are denied, xvii. 75 n.
 Thálaba, grows suddenly rich on Muhammad's prayer for him, but refusing to pay alms, is again reduced to poverty, ix. 76 n.
 Thamámians, their founder and doctrine, P.D. 248.
 Thamúd, the tribe of, their story, P.D. 22, vii. 74, &c., xi. 61, and xxvi. 141, &c.
 Theft, laws relating to, P.D. 216, v. 42.
 Things forbidden, laws for meats and drinks, P.D. 191 and 197, v. 2-5 n.; why wine was forbidden, P.D. 193; question of coffee and tobacco, P.D. 192; games forbidden, P.D. 193-196; divining by arrows forbidden, P.D. 196, 197; blood and swine's flesh forbidden, P.D. 198; usury forbidden, P.D. 199, ii. 275 n.; infanticide forbidden, P.D. 202-204; sacrificing of children forbidden, P.D. 204; flesh of sacred animals for-

- bidden, vi. 143, 144; silk clothing forbidden, xxii. 23 n.; meats offered to idols forbidden for food, P.D. 198.
- Throne**, of God, ii. 255; will be borne by eight angels on the day of judgment, lxix. 17.
- Thur**, a mountain, in a cave of which Muhammad concealed himself in the flight from Makkah, P.D. 86.
- Tîma Abu Ubairak**, his theft, iv. 104 n.
- Time**, computed by the sun and moon, vi. 97.
- Titian**, the name of the person supposed to have been crucified instead of Jesus, iii. 53 n.
- Tobacco**. See *Things forbidden*.
- Tradition**, when relating to genealogies, copied from that of the Jews, P.D. 25 n.
- Translations**, of the Qurán, P.D. 115.
- Tree**, of knowledge of good and evil, confounded in Qurán with the tree of life, vii. 21 n.
- Tribute**, its imposition, ix. 29 n.
- Trinity**, the doctrine according to Islám, iii. 2 n., iv. 169 n.; doctrine rejected by Muhammad, iii. 2 n., iv. 169 n., and v. 116 n.
- Trump**, of the resurrection, P.D. 135, 136, xxvii. 89, xxxix. 68.
- Tûba**, the tree of Paradise, P.D. 153, 154.
- Tubbá**, descended from Qahlán, P.D. 26; they are destroyed, xlv. 33-37.
- Tulaiha**, a false prophet of Islám, P.D. 272, 273, v. 59 n., xxxiii. 9 n.
- Turks**, their rule in Arabia, P.D. 31-33 and notes.
- Tuwa**, the valley where Moses saw the burning bush, lxxix. 16.
- Ummi**, a title assumed by Muhammad, vii. 158, lxii. 2.
- Ummat**, what, iii. 64 n., 110 n., x. 20, xlv. 25 n.
- Unbelievers**, described, xxxiv. 42, &c.; they oppose the truth with blasphemous levity, xli. 25-28 n.; they shall not escape in the judgment, xli. 8-22, 40, 52-54, xlvii. 9-17, l. 12, 13; their punishment, ii. 162, iv. 54.
- Unity**, of God, asserted, cxii. 1, &c.
- Usury**. See *Things forbidden*.
- Uzza (Al)**, an idol of the Quraish, P.D. 39, iv. 116, xxxix. 37 n.
- Various readings**, of the Qurán, P.D. 110, iii. 115 n., and 165 n., vi. 62 n., xxx. 1 n.
- Victory**, of the Greeks over the Persians, foretold by Muhammad, xxx. 1 n.
- Virgin Mary**, was worshipped by Christians in the days of Muhammad, P.D. 64.

- Wahábis**, their founder and doctrine, P.D. 281-283 ; defeated by Ibrahim Pasha, P.D. 32 n. ; they repeat the "Amen" in a loud voice, xx. 6 n.
- Wahi**. See *Inspiration and Revelation*.
- Wáidians**, their name and peculiarities, P.D. 264.
- Walíd**, Ibn al Mughaira, a great enemy of Muhammad, was a bastard, invective against, lxviii. 9-16 n. ; derides Muhammad for calling God al Rahmán, vii. 181 n. ; his prosperity and decay, lxxiv. 11, &c., notes ; his death, xv. 95 n. ; constituted a typical enemy of Islám, xc. introd.
- Walíd**, Ibn Uqba, xlix. 6 n.
- War**, against infidels, commanded, P.D. 218, iv. 83, viii. 62-68, xlvii. 4 and 5 ; how war should be conducted against infidels, P.D. 220-222, xlvii. 4, 5 ; forbidden in the month of Ramadhán, ii. 16 ; Muslims bound to help in holy war (Jihád), ii. 190-193, 217, 244-246 notes, xlvii. 37-40, lvii. 7-11 ; who may be excused from fighting in holy warfare, ix. 92 ; rewards of those who fight, xlvii. 6-8 ; those slain in holy war counted martyrs, iii. 140 and 158.
- Waraqá**, confirms Khadjíah's faith in her husband, P.D. 75.
- Wasíla**, described, v. 102.
- Water**, produced from the rock by Moses, ii. 59.
- Weight**, to be just, and false weights denounced, vii. 86, lxxxiii. 1-6.
- Whoredom**, laws concerning, iv. 14, xxiv. 4.
- Wicked**, their sentence, x. 71, xiv. 50, &c., lxxvii. 16, &c. See also *Unbelievers*.
- Widows**, to be provided for, ii. 240 ; laws relating to them, ii. 234.
- Wills**, laws concerning them, P.D. 213, iv. 6-32 ; not to be tampered with, ii. 181, 182, v. 105 n.
- Winds**, their use, xxx. 45, &c. ; subject to Solomon, xxi. 81 n., xxxviii. 35.
- Wine**, the drinking of, forbidden, P.D. 191, ii. 218 n., iv. 42 n., v. 92, 93 n. ; rivers of, in Paradise, xxxvii. 44, &c., xlvii. 16 n., lxxvi. 5 n.
- Witchcraft**, used against Muhammad, cxiii. 1, &c.
- Witnesses**, laws relating to them, iv. 133, v. 9 ; necessary in bargains and to secure debts, ii. 283.
- Wives**, number allowed by the Qurán, iv. 3 n. ; their duty to their husbands, ii. 228 ; their position in relation to their husbands, iv. 33 n. ; may be chastised, iv. 33 n. See also *Adultery, Divorce, Marriage, and Women*.
- Women**, to be respected, iv. 1 ; requirements of Islám in regard to them, ii. 221-223 ; if converted to Islám, they are

- ipso facto* divorced from unbelieving husbands, lx. 10; how married if twice divorced, ii. 230; their apparel in time of prayer, P.D. 171; the wives of ancients an example to them, lxvi. 10-12; they ought to have part of their relations' inheritance, iv. 6; not to be inherited against their will, iv. 18; to be subject to the men, iv. 33; some directions for their conduct, xxiv. 31, &c.; punishment of those who falsely accuse them of incontinence, xxiv. 4, &c.; their rewards in Paradise, P.D. 163, iii. 196 n., iv. 123; their degradation under Islám, ii. 282 n., iv. 15, 33 and 127 notes, xxiv. introd. 13 n.
- Works**, of an infidel, will appear to him at the last day, vi. 30 n.
- Writing**, the art, in Arabia, P.D. 50, 51; known to Muhammad, x. 17 n., xxix. 47 n.
- Yajúj and Majúj**. See *Gog and Magog*.
- Yamáma (Al)**, the province described, P.D. 19; the city of Musailama, the false prophet, P.D. 19; its people warlike, xlviii. 16 n.
- Yaman**, described, P.D. 14, 15; climate and productions, P.D. 15, 16; founder of the kingdom, P.D. 26; its Himyár and Qahlán princes, P.D. 26; conquered by the Ethiopians, P.D. 28; Persian supremacy established, P.D. 28; Muslim rulers of, P.D. 30, 31 n.; the inhabitants of it slay their prophet, xxi. 10.
- Yathrib**, the ancient name of Madína, xxxiii. 13.
- Zabír (Al)**, Mount, vii. 143 n.
- Zacharias**, his story, iii. 38, &c., xix. 7, &c.; praying for a son, is promised John, iii. 38, 39; educates the Virgin Mary, iii. 44; is numbered among the prophets, vi. 86 n.
- Zaid, Ibn A'mru**, acknowledges one God before the mission of Muhammad, iv. 82 n.
- Zaid**, the husband of Zainab, his story, xxxiii. 36-40 notes; divorces his wife in favour of Muhammad, xxxiii. 37 n.; the only person of Muhammad's company named in the Qurán, xxxiii. 37.
- Zainab**. See *Zaid*.
- Zakát**, described, P.D. 89, ii. 42 n.; rules concerning it, P.D. 172-174, ix. 60 and 104.
- Zamharir**, the cold of, vi. 128 n.
- Zamzam**, the well described, P.D. 185; taste of its water. P.D. 17.
- Zanjabíl**, a stream in Paradise, lxxvi. 17.

Zaqqúm, the tree of hell, xvii. 62 n., xxxvii. 60.

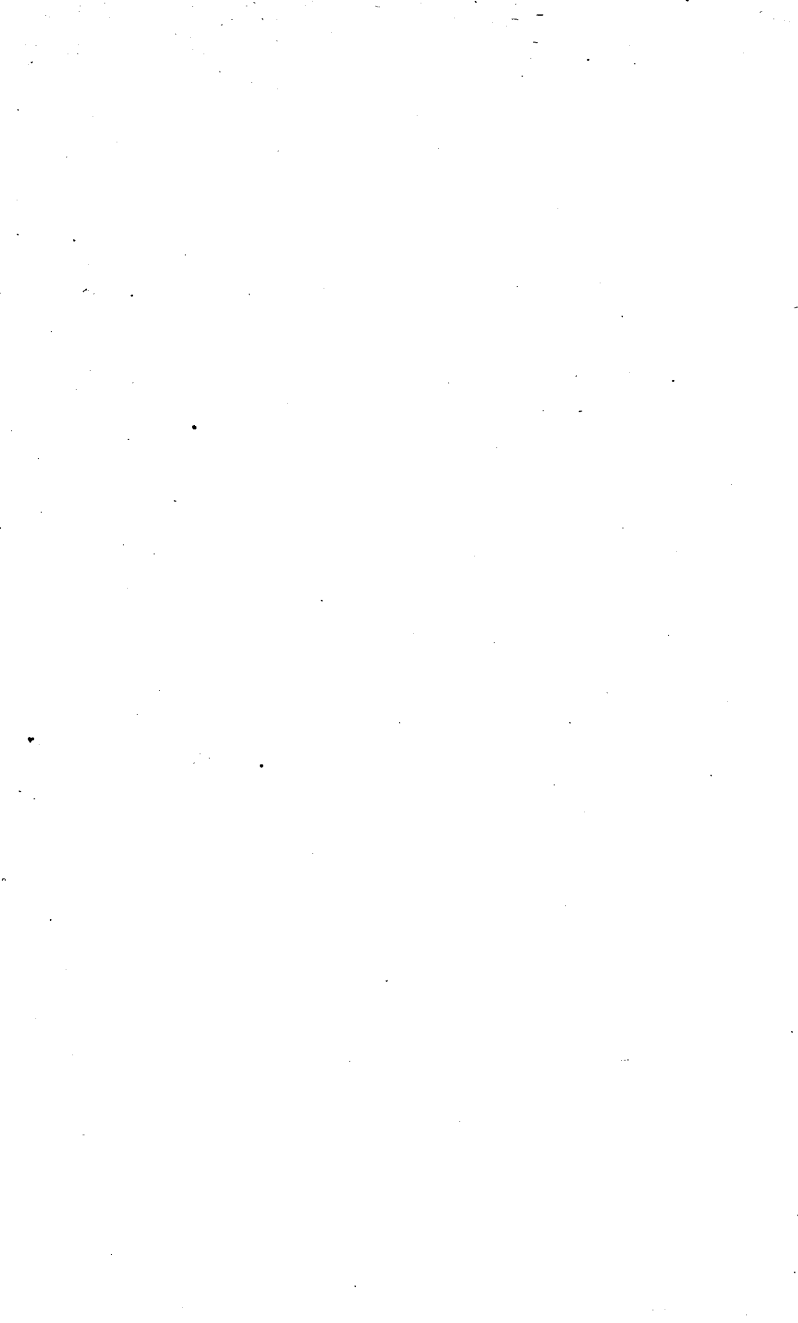
Zendicism, its influence in Arabia, P.D. 48; its professors in the resurrection, P.D. 139.

Zulaikha, Joseph's mistress, xii. 21, &c.

Zulkifl. See *Ezekiel*.

Zulqarnain. See *Alexander the Great*.

THE END.



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